

THE MILITANT

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

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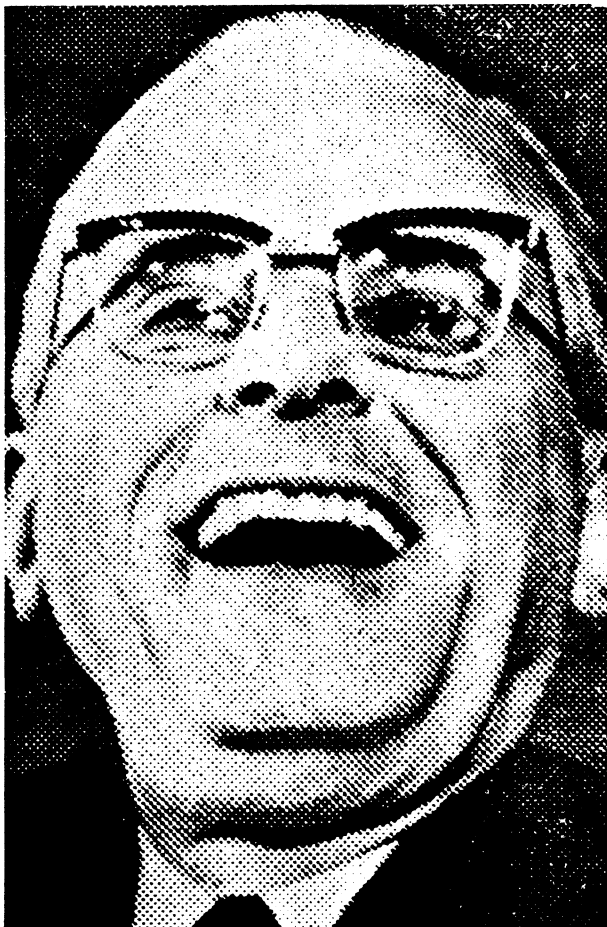
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AMERICA'S RACIST RULERS

Butz slur, death penalty ruling reveal true face of capitalist government



EARL BUTZ: Official bigotry



ELECTRIC CHAIR: Legalized murder

[The following statement was issued October 6 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.]

Two events occurring within a few days of each other have vividly highlighted the racist character of the United States government.

First, the exposure of the outrageous anti-Black slurs of Cabinet member Earl Butz.

Second, the Supreme Court go-ahead to legalized murder.

On October 4 the court reaffirmed its July decision upholding the death penalty. As a result, the first execu-

tions in this country since 1967 may occur before Thanksgiving.

Because of the racism built into every aspect of capitalist "justice," the majority of the more than 600 prisoners on death row today are Black.

Rarely has the government's bigotry been expressed more openly than by Earl Butz. Most of the capitalist-owned news media have declined to print what this high Washington official really said. Claiming "good taste," they cloak Butz's remarks in euphemisms.

We believe that the American people have a right to know the despicable prejudices of the politicians running



Willie Mae Reid



Peter Camejo

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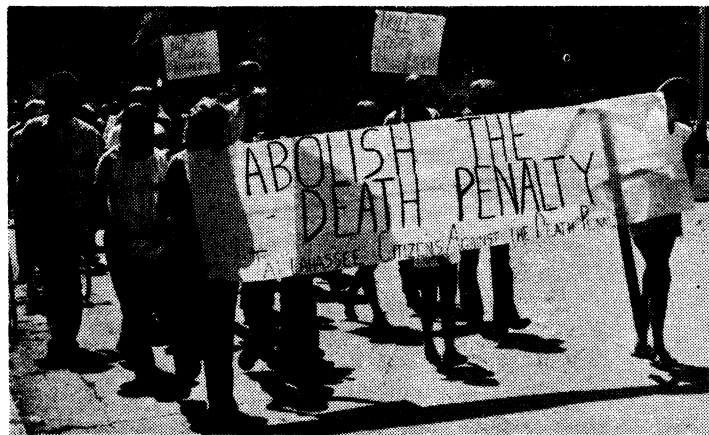
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Tallahassee protest against death penalty

PROTEST DEATH PENALTY IN FLORIDA: On October 2, 125 people rallied on the steps of the Florida Supreme Court Building to call for the abolition of the death penalty. The rally was organized by the Tallahassee Citizens Against the Death Penalty. Similar rallies were held that day in Tampa and Jacksonville.

Speakers at the rally included the Rev. C.K. Steel, a former vice-president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Judy Dougherty, a lawyer from the Public Defender's Office, representing one of the eighty-one people on Florida's death row.

NAACP WINS DELAY ON \$1.6 MILLION: Enforcement of a court order that NAACP officials said threatened the nation's oldest civil rights organization with bankruptcy was delayed October 1. The order would have required the NAACP to pay \$1.2 million in damages for its role in organizing a boycott of racist white Port Gibson, Mississippi, merchants in 1966-67.

Mississippi law required the NAACP to post a \$1.6 million bond by October 1 in order to appeal this penalty imposed August 9 by a state court. A major fund-raising drive to raise this appeal bond had left the NAACP a little under the halfway mark by the deadline.

The last-minute delay was granted by Federal District Judge Orma Smith. Smith ordered a hearing in the case for October 7 and set back the October 1 deadline by one week.

Also on October 1, the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers union agreed to lend the NAACP more than \$800,000 had a delay not been won. "We do not abandon our friends in the midst of battle," promised the unions. Other labor support came from the National Education Association, which set up a \$50,000 seed fund and urged its affiliates to contribute.

PHILA. NOW BACKS SWP CONGRESSIONAL SLATE: An October 5 meeting of the board of the Philadelphia chapter of the National Organization for Women passed a resolution endorsing the campaigns of SWP congressional candidates in Pennsylvania's First and Second congressional districts. The resolution said: "While Philadelphia NOW does not endorse the entire platform of the Socialist Workers party, NOW endorses the candidacies of Clare Fraenzl and Tony Austin on the basis of their positions on women's issues."

PEACE MARCHERS TO REACH WASHINGTON: The Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice—three cross-country feeder marches from California, New Orleans, and Boston—will reach Washington October 16. The marchers have passed through thirty-four states over the past nine months. They are calling for a halt to nuclear bomb production, passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" and Kennedy health bills by Congress, cuts in the military budget, and abolition of the CIA and FBI.

A 2:00 p.m. rally at the Sylvan Theater behind the George Washington Monument will mark their arrival. Speakers include Rev. Ralph Abernathy, president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Anne Braden, cochairperson of the Southern Organizing Committee; Daniel Ellsberg; Dave Dellinger; and David McReynolds, War Resisters League.

Continental Walk activities will continue through the weekend.

For more information contact the Continental Walk at: New Bethel Baptist Church, 1739 Ninth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20001. Telephone: (202) 332-8252.

SPEAK OUT AGAINST NEW YORK BUDGET CUTS: That's what you can do at a meeting scheduled for Saturday, October 16, at Public School 41, Sixth Avenue and Eleventh Street in New York, beginning at 10:30 a.m. The event is sponsored by the newly formed Community/Labor Alliance Against the Cuts.

Speakers will include: Queens College economics professor Bill Tabb, who will speak on the causes of the crisis; and Caryl Towner, activist in District 1199, National Union of

Hospital and Health Care Employees, who will discuss fight-back strategies. For more information contact the alliance at: CF 347, Queens College, Flushing, New York 11367, or call (212) 691-8938.

CORNELL STUDENTS HIT U.S.-APARTHEID TIES: Two hundred students at Cornell University in upstate New York rallied against apartheid September 29. The protest was organized by the Coalition Against Apartheid and cosponsored by the Committee on U.S.-Latin American Relations and the Young Socialist Alliance.

DEMAND FREEDOM FOR VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY: Forty recent emigrants from the USSR demonstrated outside the Soviet Mission to the United Nations October 1. The protest, called by the Committee to Help People in the Soviet Union, demanded freedom for Vladimir Bukovsky.

The Stalinist regime sentenced Bukovsky to seven years in prison and five years of internal exile in January 1972. He was convicted because he had made facts available to foreign psychiatrists on the Kremlin's abuse of psychiatric treatment to persecute dissenters. He has been repeatedly brutalized by authorities since.

RALLY IN DEFENSE OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: a meeting of 125 people called by Women Employed, a Chicago organization, has set plans to protest proposed Labor Department restrictions on already ineffective government guidelines on affirmative action.

Women Employed plans a noon rally at the Department of Labor on October 13. That day, it expects women's and civil rights organizations to be organizing similar protests in Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Washington, D.C., Minneapolis, Seattle, Houston, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Detroit, New York, and San Francisco.

SWP FORUM ON MAOISM: Two hundred fifty people came to hear Les Evans, a member of the Socialist Workers party National Committee, present a forum in New York City September 30 on "The Politics of Mao Tsetung . . . A Marxist View."

TAX REFORM, ANYONE?: Eleven major corporations whose combined 1975 earnings topped \$1 billion paid no federal income taxes that year. So says U.S. Rep. Charles Vanik (D-Ohio), a member of the House Ways and Means Committee. Vanik based his claims on public Securities and Exchange Commission records.

The eleven freeloaders are: Ford Motor Co., Delta Air Lines, Northwest Airlines, Chemical New York Bank, Manufacturer's Hanover, Western Electric, Bethlehem Steel, Lockheed Aircraft, National Steel, Phelps-Dodge, and Freeport Minerals.

—Peter Seidman

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Subscription drive in third week

Bored by the debates? Read the 'Militant'

By Harvey McArthur

Well, the "Great Debates" between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford have begun. They are proving just how little the Democrats and Republicans have to offer working people.

Some people this fall are working hard to spread the word about an alternative to Ford and Carter. They are selling subscriptions to the *Militant* and campaigning for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party presidential candidates.

Susan Vass from Rockville, Minnesota, meets regularly with a group of feminists. Vass says, "There was a real undercurrent of despair as these women discussed the elections at one of our meetings.



Militant/Joanne Murphy

Socialists selling subscriptions outside headquarters of new Broadway branch of Socialist Workers party in Newark's Puerto Rican community.

"Then one sister turned to me and asked: 'How come you are so optimistic?'"

"So I shared my political perspective for half an hour. Every single woman there bought a subscription, and they are making plans to hear Peter Camejo in Minneapolis in October."

Young Socialist Alliance chapters at the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University organized rallies for Camejo when he was in Philadelphia for the first "Great Debate." More than 400 students attended, and twenty-six bought *Militant* subscriptions.

Camejo's appearances gave such a boost to the Temple and Penn YSA that they decided to raise their joint subscription goal from 50 to 100.

Texas Becky Ellis reports an interesting experience while selling subscriptions in Dallas.

"We met one young woman on welfare who is threatened by government cutbacks. She realized that the Democrats and Republicans are responsible for the cuts and already looked to the SWP campaign as an answer. She can't wait to come meet Willie Mae Reid next week."

The *Militant* also gets a good response at political meetings. Twenty-five subscriptions were sold at a recent conference of Arab American University Graduates—twelve of them by a Palestinian professor attending the meeting.

Twenty-six subscriptions were sold at the Texas Raza Unida convention last month. The convention voted to launch a suit against government harassment, and participants were especially interested in the *Militant's* coverage of the SWP suit against the FBI.

Responses like these promise important results for the subscription drive in the weeks remaining before the

elections.

After the third week of the drive we have received 5,767 subscriptions. To be on schedule 6,000 should have been sent in by now. This means that currently the drive is 1.2 percent behind.

Several large cities got off to a late start. But they are now planning the door-to-door and street canvassing

needed to meet new subscribers. New Orleans and San Francisco both made big steps forward this week, and Chicago jumped to 169 subscriptions from 33 last week.

Eight of the ten socialist campaign teams visiting campuses across the country are now on the road. Their subscriptions will also appear regularly on the scoreboard.

Subscription scoreboard

	Goal	Sent in	%			
Louisville	150	88	58.7	Washington, D.C., Area	700	178 25.4
Buffalo, N.Y.	25	14	56.0	Indianapolis	100	25 25.0
Portland, Ore.	350	194	55.4	Boulder, Colo.	20	5 25.0
Allentown, Pa.	20	10	50.0	Los Angeles	1000	248 24.8
Dallas	150	68	45.3	Atlanta	600	147 24.5
Baltimore	300	132	44.0	San Jose	350	84 24.0
Richmond, Va.	100	44	44.0	Detroit	800	178 22.3
Newark	400	172	43.0	Salt Lake City	50	11 22.0
Cincinnati	150	64	42.7	San Diego	400	84 21.0
Oakland, Calif.	350	149	42.6	Miami	50	10 20.0
Tacoma, Wash.	100	41	41.0	Champaign, Ill.	25	5 20.0
Kansas City	125	50	40.0	Cleveland	450	86 19.1
Bloomington, Ind.	50	19	38.0	Chicago	900	169 18.8
Madison, Wis.	100	37	37.0	State College, Pa.	30	5 16.7
Kent, Ohio	30	11	36.7	San Francisco	800	122 15.3
Houston	900	326	36.2	Edinboro, Pa.	30	2 6.7
New Orleans	225	80	35.6	Phoenix	50	3 6.0
Pittsburgh	450	160	35.6	Albany, N.Y.	40	1 2.5
St. Paul	175	61	34.9	Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	0 0.0
Lexington, Ky.	50	17	34.0	Arlington, Tex.	30	0 0.0
San Antonio	175	57	32.6	Columbus, Ohio	25	0 0.0
Philadelphia	650	207	31.8	Sarasota, Fla.	25	0 0.0
Denver	600	185	30.8	Knoxville, Tenn.	10	0 0.0
Boston	800	241	30.1			
St. Louis	425	126	29.6	Campaign teams:		
Ithaca, N.Y.	100	28	28.0	New Mexico	85	82 96.5
New York	2000	555	27.8	Ohio	400	77 19.3
Seattle	475	132	27.8	Michigan-Indiana	400	51 12.8
Toledo	150	41	27.3	Rocky Mountain	215	15 7.0
Milwaukee	650	177	27.2	Northeast	400	21 5.3
Minneapolis	700	182	26.0	General		388
Berkeley	400	102	25.5	Total	20,000	5,767 28.8
				Should be		6,000 30.0

Challenge to 'Great Debates'

Socialist equal-time suit goes to Supreme Court

By Dick Roberts

The Socialist Workers party challenge to the "Great Debates" went before the U.S. Supreme Court October 4. The suit demands equal time with the Democratic and Republican candidates for SWP candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

At issue is the government stripping away of equal-time protection for independent parties and candidates.

"An unfavorable ruling," said Eric Lieberman, attorney for Camejo and Reid, "would be a significant step toward instituting the Democratic and Republican monopoly on air time."

The Ford-Carter debates were made possible by a 1975 interpretation of the equal-time laws that converts staged debates into "bona fide news events."

"What we show in our suit," Lieberman explained, "is that Congress intended the exemptions from equal-time protection to be very narrow and limited. To be a 'bona fide news event,' an event would have to be one that would occur without the appearance of any specific candidate and which would happen whether or not there was TV coverage."

But in the Ford-Carter debates, "the event is staged for the explicit purpose of furthering the candidates, and it absolutely requires TV coverage. That should be subject to equal-time protection. If it isn't, the doors are opened for complete control of the air by the Democrats and Republicans because they can obviously stage 'debates'

whenever they want."

The debate between the Democratic and Republican vice-presidential candidates will take place in Houston October 15. Willie Mae Reid will be in Houston that evening to take part in the protest that is being planned.

On October 5 the Supreme Court overruled an attempt by Eugene McCarthy to obtain equal time in the debates. The difference between McCarthy's suit and the one filed by the SWP is that the SWP suit was previously taken to a U.S. court of appeals, a step McCarthy omitted. On this technicality the high court refused to accept McCarthy's suit.

Meanwhile, the Carter forces in New York are trying to drive McCarthy off the state ballot. Seizing on the technicalities of the undemocratic election laws, the New York Democratic party is going over McCarthy's petitions signature by signature in an attempt to disqualify enough of them to have McCarthy ruled off.

In a telegram to Jimmy Carter, Camejo and Reid demanded that this challenge be dropped. They stated, "Today there are more people registering as independents, or simply not voting, than the combined total of those registering as Democrats and Republicans."

"The challenge to McCarthy's nominating petitions is another component of the Democratic and Republican

parties' strategy to enforce an electoral monopoly through undemocratic ballot laws, attempted reversal of equal-time legislation, and discriminatory public financing schemes."

While the ruling capitalist parties have so far succeeded in freezing out discussion of their politics on the presidential and vice-presidential level, several other important debates have been set around the country.

In Boston, Sen. Edward Kennedy has agreed to a panel debate between candidates for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts that would include Carol Henderson Evans, the Socialist Workers candidate.

Air time for this debate was offered by WTEV-TV of New Bedford. It would be shown in New Bedford, Boston, and Springfield, Massachusetts.

At North Carolina State University in Raleigh, a panel discussion has been set that includes: Toba Singer, SWP Virginia state coordinator; Joel McClearie, North Carolina state coordinator for Carter; Ron Davis, regional coordinator of the Youth for Ford; Arlan Andrews, the Libertarian party gubernatorial candidate; and a representative of the McCarthy campaign.

And in New York, a debate is scheduled October 19 between Ruthann Miller, the SWP candidate for state representative from New York's Seventieth Assembly District, and Ed Sullivan, the Democratic candidate.

This debate will take place in the Broadway Presbyterian Church at 114th Street and Broadway.

Side by side with the SWP suit in the Supreme Court is a second important equal-time suit filed earlier in the year by Shirley Chisholm, the Black New York Democratic congresswoman. The difference between the two suits is that the SWP's specifically focuses on the "Great Debates" that were scheduled after the Chisholm suit went to court.

Since last week's *Militant*, the SWP suit has been transferred from the U.S. Court of Appeals in New York to Washington. This unusual maneuver was carried out under pressure from the Federal Communications Commission because it was the Washington court that had ruled against Chisholm's suit earlier this year.

True to form, the court of appeals in Washington did reject the SWP's suit. In a one-sentence declaration it stated that the decision it made on the Chisholm suit still applied.

This brought the two important suits before the Supreme Court. The court has said that it will rule on the Chisholm suit by October 11.

"We have asked for expedited treatment, and they may rule on both suits together," Eric Lieberman said. The SWP's suit is sponsored by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin is also an attorney for Camejo and Reid.

School 'turmoil' continues

Boston racists undermine parents' group

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—South Boston ROAR activists have launched a bold, and apparently successful, "legal" attempt to sabotage Black rights in "Southie High," a central target of unrelenting racist defiance of desegregation.

Antibusing bigots captured all five seats reserved for white parents on the South Boston High School Racial Ethnic Parents Council. The councils were mandated in the school desegregation order to infuse parent participation in the busing program.

The full complement of Black parents has yet to be elected.

In the past ROAR has organized a boycott of participation in such groups, combined with violent disruptions of meetings and elections and physical harassment of white parents who are involved with them.

For the first year of its existence, the South Boston Parents Council met secretly.

ROAR's reason for moving in on the body was made clear by racist leader James Kelly. "Our action should not be construed with compliance with the court order," he said. "We decided to

try to take over the parent councils and destroy them from within."

An ominous side of the racists' election is their potential ability to gain access to the tense high school.

In other neighborhoods where white resistance to desegregation is high, the splintered ROAR organizations appear to have boycotted or picketed similar elections.

Kelly's warning is an open and illegal threat of intimidation of Black parents, a loud boast of direct challenge to the federal court's authority. Federal District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity has yet to make any comment.

School Supt. Marion Fahey welcomed the ROAR election victory, terming it the start of "talking" with Black parents.

The high school itself was the scene of ongoing fights between Black and white students and numerous suspensions throughout the week.

On September 27 anonymous leaflets were found near the school grounds urging white students to fight with Blacks, calling for "turmoil" in the schools.

This racist call to arms inside the

building, coupled with the ROAR triumph in the parents council, means one thing: South Boston High School

is a war zone for Black students.

And the war on their rights is far from over.

NSCAR meeting

BOSTON—An important national steering committee meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism will take place at Boston University on October 23.

The gathering will open a discussion among antiracist activists on school desegregation in Boston and elsewhere.

The meeting will also map plans for the third National Student Conference Against Racism, set for Boston University, November 19-21.

The steering committee will discuss a national campaign that NSCAR is launching in solidarity with the struggles in southern Africa for Black majority rule.

The meeting is open to everyone interested in acting against racial oppression.

"New attacks on Black rights are

arising daily out of the government's racist offensive," said Hattie McCutcheon, an NSCAR spokesperson. "Among them is the reenactment of the death penalty."

"We want to rally opposition to the death penalty," McCutcheon said. "We want to marshal our membership to build public campaigns to free victims of racist injustice such as Gary Tyler and Ben Chavis and the Wilmington Ten."

The steering committee meeting begins at noon on October 23 in the Memorial Auditorium of the George Sherman Union at Boston University, 775 Commonwealth Avenue.

For further information contact: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.

Ky. board moves to shut desegregated school

By Debby Tarnopol

LOUISVILLE—Roosevelt Elementary School is fighting for its life. When the Louisville school system went bankrupt two years ago, it merged with the Jefferson County school system. That was the beginning of big problems for inner-city schools such as Roosevelt.

The county school board has already closed several inner-city schools and has been trying to close Roosevelt since last spring. The board says the schools are too old. But in the case of Roosevelt there is a great deal more behind the board's actions.

Roosevelt is located in a racially mixed area in northwest Louisville that was exempted from the 1975 cross-county desegregation plan. Since 1972 Roosevelt has been governed by a community-elected school board.

Roosevelt's experiment with the community school board seemed to work well. Each year more parents turned out for the elections. Many got involved in adult education and helping out in the classrooms.

The school also has an open classroom setting in which students learn

at their own speed.

It is because Roosevelt is a desegregated school with a popularly supported community school board and an open educational system that the conservative and racist county board is pressing to close it.

Some 250 parents filled a board hearing September 21 to defend Roosevelt's educational programs and make clear their determination to keep the school open. They protested harassment of the school by the county board.

The plant operator for the school, the parents explained, has been changed by the board thirty times in the last year. Recently, the state fire marshal was sent by the board to visit Roosevelt, and he issued a report that suggested the school be closed because of fire violations.

Angered parents demanded that the board remedy the violations to keep the school open.

In a recent interview Emma Washington, the Black head of the Roosevelt Community School Board, explained some of the problems the school has encountered.

By Chris Brandlon

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 1,000 students walked out of Washington High School September 21 to protest a rash of education cutbacks.

"What we need is more demonstrations, demonstrations that are city-wide, that unite students and teachers against these cutbacks," said Roy Womack, a leader of the protest.

The demonstration protested Supt. Robert Alioto's new "consolidation plan." Under the plan 250 teachers have been removed from classroom assignments. One hundred of them have been assigned to district child-care centers. The others have been reduced to substitute status.

The new plan follows a five-year hiring freeze that through attrition has cut the number of teachers in the district.

Washington said the county board was using the fire violations allegation as a political football. The main violation, she said, was open stairwells at the school. At least forty other schools in the system have open stairwells, but there has been no move to close them.

Washington also explained that the Roosevelt school board, the principal, and teachers had worked to improve race relations at the school. She felt this effort had virtually ended the racial tensions that existed in 1972 when the community board was elected.

"They're really opposed to having parents in the school," Washington said of the county board. "They don't like the parent support and parent involvement that we've got here."

Parents won a round on September 27 when U.S. District Judge James Gordon, who issued the Louisville busing order, overruled the county board and ordered Roosevelt kept open pending repairs. However, no funds for this were immediately available. Until money is found, the school remains in danger.

Black, Chicano, and Asian students, who comprise more than 75 percent of the district's students, are hit the hardest by these cutbacks.

At Balboa High, the "English as a Second Language" program has been cut in half. Twenty percent of Balboa students have little or no background in English.

At Galileo High, where there is a sizable number of Chinese students, instruction in Cantonese has been eliminated.

Reading programs have been slashed throughout the district, while the district's reading scores are among the lowest in the state.

The effect of the cutbacks on teachers and classes has been chaotic. Teachers arrived for the start of school to find themselves teaching classes they have never taught before. Other



Students at Roosevelt Elementary School.

classes are packed beyond capacity.

Hundreds of students, many of whom had taken part in the walkout earlier in the day, turned out at the September 21 board of education meeting. After picketing outside, dozens of students spoke to the meeting to demand that all teachers be reinstated.

The board, however, was unmoved.

In response, the students have called for city-wide planning meetings to discuss a plan of action and protests against the cutbacks.

"These cutbacks are totally unnecessary," said Socialist Workers party board of education candidate Sylvia Weinstein. "These programs, and others that would make quality education in San Francisco a reality, could easily be funded by taxing the downtown corporations for funds for education."

S.F. high school students protest cuts

Butz & the rogues' gallery of racist politicians

By Steve Clark

Earl Butz has guaranteed himself a spot in the rogues' gallery of racist politicians.

The big-business-owned press would like us to believe that Butz's disgusting white-supremacist views are a rarity in Washington. "It could only have been Earl Butz," the *Washington Post* editorialized.

The truth is that racism is the stock-in-trade of the U.S. government and the Democratic and Republican parties. They refuse to enforce equal educational, job, and housing opportunities for Black people. They help prop up the apartheid

AS I SEE IT

regime in South Africa. They conducted a genocidal war against the people of Vietnam.

As a result of the Black struggle of the past two decades, most politicians today try to keep up appearances in public by avoiding overtly racist remarks. Once in a while, however, something slips out.

Just last month, for example, a racist conversation between Republican Vice-president Nelson Rockefeller and Democratic Speaker of the House Carl Albert was broadcast over a microphone they thought was shut off.

The president of the African country of Liberia was slated to address Congress, and Rockefeller and Albert were chatting a few minutes before

the speech. Referring to the Senate's only Black member, Rockefeller said, "Ed Brooke is a one-man receiving committee." Laughing, Albert replied, "Yeah, he'd be a slave if he were over there [Liberia]."

Jimmy Carter's defense of "ethnic purity" last spring is another well-known example.

Anti-Semitism also runs deep in Washington. Transcripts of the Watergate tapes revealed that former President Richard Nixon used the term "Jewboys." Nixon also advised his campaign staff to avoid engagements before groups of artists because, "The Arts you know—they're Jews, they're left-wing—in other words, stay away."

Gen. George Brown, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, said openly in 1974 that Americans should "get tough-minded" about "Jewish influence."

"They own, you know, the banks in this country, the newspapers," Brown said. "Just look at where the Jewish money is. . . ."

Despite these comments—reminiscent of Nazi propaganda—President Ford nominated Brown for a second term, and the Democratic-controlled Senate Armed Services Committee approved the appointment. Clearly, they see nothing alarming or unusual about such views.

Asians are also targets of racist abuse by politicians in both capitalist parties. Nixon's Vice-president Spiro Agnew called a Japanese reporter a "fat Jap."

Lyndon Johnson made his attitude toward

Asians crystal clear while he was serving in the House of Representatives in 1948. Speaking in support of increased spending on the air force, Johnson said, ". . . without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant; impotent and easy prey to any yellow dwarf with a pocket knife."

Later, as president, Johnson used the air force to pour death and destruction on the Asian people of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

America's rulers have also tried to whip up anti-Arab sentiment in this country to bolster their efforts to crush the Palestinian liberation struggle. A report on the CIA by the House Intelligence Committee this year documented several examples of vile, anti-Arab prejudice.

According to the House report, the CIA's 1971 handbook stated that the Arab "lacks the necessary physical and cultural qualities for performing effective military services."

Another CIA memorandum said that "many Arabs, as Arabs, simply weren't up to the demands of modern warfare and that they lacked understanding, motivation, and probably in some cases courage as well."

* * *

Such comments are undoubtedly bandied about daily in Washington and on Wall Street. Most of them we will never hear.

But the racist policies cranked out by Congress and the White House speak loudly enough.

Palestinians on defensive

Lebanese civil war reaches turning point

By David Frankel

From *Intercontinental Press*

After a year and a half of fighting, it is clear that the civil war in Lebanon is nearing a turning point. Helped by Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, the Christian rightists are now hoping for a military victory.

In the north of Lebanon, Palestinian and Muslim leftist forces are bottled up in a small enclave around the city of Tripoli. In the south, long a Palestinian stronghold, the right-wing Phalangists have begun to raise their heads. They have received arms and training from Israel, and Phalangist leaders say that they will soon go on the offensive in the southern region.

But what tipped the scales in the civil war was the rapid victory of Syrian and Lebanese rightist forces in the mountain battle east of Beirut. On September 28, Syrian troops and Lebanese rightists, backed by massive artillery barrages and at least ninety Soviet-built tanks, launched an offensive against Palestinian positions in the mountains.

In two days of fighting, Palestinian forces were pushed out of a twelve-mile-long salient, their last important position north of the Beirut-to-Damascus highway. Syrian troops occupying eastern Lebanon were able to complete their link-up with the Christian rightists in the west, and the proimperialist forces now threaten the last short section of the Beirut-to-Damascus highway still in the hands of the Palestinians and Muslim leftists.

More important, Beirut itself is threatened with encirclement. One Palestinian was quoted in a September 30 United Press International dispatch as saying, "The loss of Tal Zaatar was a prestige blow. But the mountain front is a real strategic loss." (Tel Zaatar, a Palestinian refugee camp in Beirut, withstood a fifty-five day siege before falling to rightist attackers in August.)

In keeping with the step-by-step

character of his intervention in Lebanon up to now, Assad ordered his troops to halt their offensive after they had succeeded in driving the Palestinians out of their key mountain positions. When the Christian rightists attempted to carry on the attack by themselves October 1, they were pushed back with heavy losses.

Assad's tactic of alternating military pressure with negotiations has led some commentators to suggest that he is trying "to cut the Palestinian movement down to controllable size," as Geoffrey Godsell put it in the October 4 *Christian Science Monitor*. Similarly, *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner argues that "the Syrians wanted to 'tame' the [Palestinian] movement, not to liquidate it."

It is true that Assad would like the luxury of a housebroken Palestine Liberation Organization, which he could use as a pawn in negotiations with Israel and in his relations with other Arab regimes. He has already called for the replacement of the current PLO leadership.

But it is not only the Palestinian national liberation movement that is threatened by Assad's actions. The whole Palestinian community in Lebanon is in deadly danger. Whatever Assad's intentions—and there is good reason to assume the worst—his policy in Lebanon will lead inexorably to a bloody massacre if it succeeds.

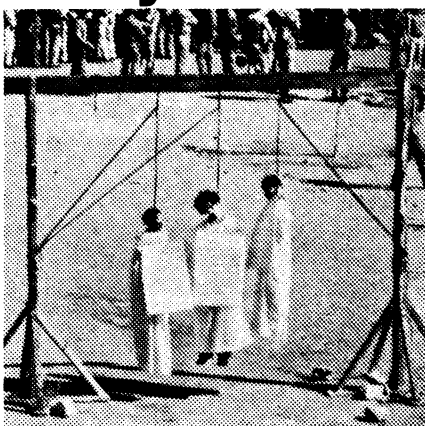
The Palestinians have proved to be an ever-present danger as far as Assad's rightist allies in Lebanon are concerned. Both the Palestinian national liberation movement and the population that is its source are a threat to the Maronite Christian establishment that has ruled Lebanon for the last thirty years.

If the Maronite rightists gain the upper hand in Lebanon, it will only be a matter of time before they try to settle accounts. Awareness of this was expressed by one Palestinian youth fighting in the mountains, who said,

"What can we do? Where can we run if we don't fight? Out to sea? The Israelis will shoot holes in our boats." (*New York Times*, September 30.)

Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat accused Assad September 28 of attempting to "liquidate the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon" with his new offensive. He said, "The only winner is Israel."

Assad moves against foes of Syrian role



Despite major gains by the Syrian and rightist forces in Lebanon, the Palestinians have not been defeated yet. One problem Assad has, should his Lebanese intervention become too drawn out, is growing opposition to his policies both within the Syrian army and among the Syrian masses.

Nervousness about his home base was reflected in Assad's decision to stage a public hanging September 27. The victims were three Palestinian guerrillas who seized hostages and tried to exchange them for some of the 100 Palestinians reported to be held in Assad's jails for oppositional activities.

The statement was accurate, but Sadat himself, along with the rest of the Arab rulers, has been playing a cynical game. While giving lip-service to the Palestinian cause, he has made no real effort to stop Assad. On the contrary, Sadat pledged his full support to Elias Sarkis, the new president of Lebanon, who was elected with Syrian support and who has expressly approved the presence of Assad's army in Lebanon.

A similarly hypocritical gesture was made by the Saudi Arabian regime, which has announced the withdrawal of its troops stationed in the Golan Heights, ostensibly as a protest over Assad's offensive.

The Kremlin, which also professes support for the Palestinians, has limited itself to reproaching Assad in letters and urging him to withdraw from Lebanon. The Syrian army is totally dependent on Soviet equipment, but Moscow has made no move to cut off supplies.

Meanwhile, both the U.S. State Department and the Israeli regime are watching events in Lebanon with undisguised satisfaction. With the Palestinians surrounded on land, blockaded by sea, and seemingly without recourse in their last stronghold, the imperialists are having visions of finally eliminating the biggest stumbling block to an imposed Middle East settlement.

But even if the Palestinians are militarily defeated in Lebanon, the problem of Palestine will remain to haunt those who would like to see it buried once and for all. Following the 1948-49 Arab-Israeli war, the very name of Palestine disappeared from the map. In 1967, the Israeli regime was reinforced by a military victory over its Arab opponents. In 1970, the Palestinian liberation movement in Jordan was defeated and its organizations destroyed. But in every case the issue of Palestine has remained in the center of Middle Eastern politics.

Sponsored by Raza Unida

Camejo campaigns in New Mexico

By Harry Ring and Miguel Pendás

ALBUQUERQUE, N. Mex.—Peter Camejo ended a three-day tour of New Mexico and El Paso, Texas, here September 29. Camejo's tour was sponsored by the New Mexico Raza Unida party.

The RUP voted to endorse the Socialist Workers party campaign last spring. Noting the fact that Camejo is the first Latino ever to run for U.S. president, the RUP's state convention adopted a resolution declaring that Camejo's "ideology is similar to that of the Raza Unida Party of New Mexico."

The RUP and other Chicano groups pitched in to get media coverage and to bring people to hear the socialist candidate.

Highlights were two public rallies, one at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas, the other at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. At the university in Albuquerque, 250 people filled the rally hall.

Both meetings were chaired by Juan José Peña, RUP state chairperson, who is an endorser of the SWP campaign.

In El Paso, Texas, where there are neither RUP nor SWP campaign groups, a news conference for Camejo was sponsored by the Committee for Development of Mass Communications. Camejo spoke in defense of the three Chicano activists who were convicted on frame-up arson charges in El Paso September 9.

Two of the three, Ramón Arroyos and Alfredo Espinosa, met with Camejo after the news conference. The third, Rubén Ogaz, remains imprisoned, unable to raise \$50,000 bail.

In Las Cruces, Camejo's campus appearance was sponsored by Los Chicanos. The meeting was introduced by Larry Hill, the RUP's state counsel.



Camejo is interviewed by Eduardo Díaz, public affairs director of Channel 7 Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Las Vegas is a small, majority-Chicano town. The campus, with about 1,500 students, is also mainly Chicano. La Raza Unida has a strong base and 125 people turned out for the Camejo rally. After the meeting, thirty people came to talk with Camejo at the RUP headquarters.

The response to Camejo was summed up by one young Chicano as he was leaving the rally. "A lot of people's eyes have been opened tonight," he commented.

As the Las Vegas meeting began, the audience was very quiet. You could sense that they didn't know quite what to expect from a socialist speaker. It took Camejo perhaps a few minutes longer than it usually does to establish rapport with his audience. The breakthrough came when he made an angry denunciation of the brutal victimization of undocumented Mexican workers and called for solidarity with them.

The audience broke out in applause. From then on they clapped and laughed frequently. When he finished they gave him a standing ovation.

One Chicano, who stopped at the socialist literature table after the rally, said his cousin had invited him to attend. At first he had said no. It was a "communist meeting" and there would be talk of "violence." But he was finally persuaded to come.

What did he think of Camejo's speech? "I was amazed," he replied. "I agreed with everything he said." He bought a one-year subscription to the *Militant*.

He wasn't the only one to subscribe to the paper. Sales of the *Militant* and other socialist literature were organized by *Militant* columnist Miguel Pendás and Mike Zárate, Young Socialist Alliance Chicano work director. They had come in as an advance team for Camejo's tour and in eight days sold eighty-two *Militant* subscriptions.

Participants in the Albuquerque rally also enjoyed Camejo's speech. Its basic outline is now familiar to people in the many cities where he has spoken. On tour as long as he has been, a candidate can't write a different speech for each city.

But Camejo's presentation is something like that of a jazz musician. There's improvisation and shifts in tempo and mood. He adds comments on new developments as they occur and emphasizes particular points for a given audience. His eloquence and wit are, of course, greatly appreciated.

At both meetings the best response seemed to be evoked by the devastating way he dissected the hypocrisy, irrationality, and injustice of the capitalist system.

"The oppression of women and minority nationalities has increased with the economic crisis," Camejo emphasized. "The gaps in wages—between men and women, between whites and Blacks and Chicanos—are widening."

Noting that capitalist profits are rising, Camejo emphasized that this is inextricably linked to the fact that the standard of living of working men and women is worsening. "Capitalist profits result from keeping our wages down."

"And at the same time," he stressed, "they are cutting away at education, they are firing thousands of city workers, they are freezing wages. They are waging a campaign of terror against undocumented workers and the activists of the Chicano movement."

The Albuquerque audience was perhaps half-Anglo and half-Chicano. It included many campus radicals, some independent and some supporters of various groups.

Camejo discussed the role of U.S. imperialism in the colonial world and how it has tried to destroy so many movements for independence. He detailed the bipartisan responsibility for this and then added:

"Every time you vote for a Democrat, consciously or not you are voting to suppress and shoot down liberation fighters."

At both meetings people seemed genuinely gratified that the socialist movement is making progress. Both audiences applauded when he told of the SWP petitioning victory in California and how it meant that a socialist ticket would be on the ballot there for the first time in decades.

Media coverage of the tour was excellent. When Camejo arrived in Albuquerque, his news conference was covered by both TV channels and both daily newspapers.

In Las Vegas a local radio station interviewed him for a half hour in Spanish.

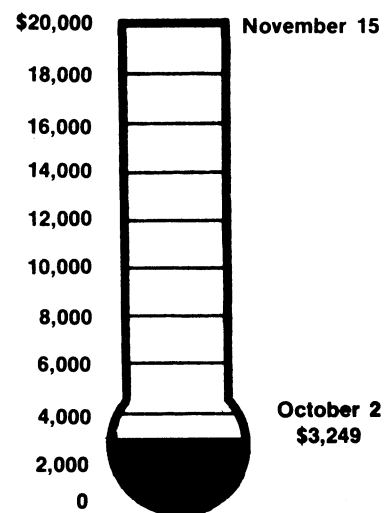
In Albuquerque he was interviewed for a half hour by the popular broadcaster Eduardo Díaz, public affairs director of Channel 7. When Camejo went to Channel 7's studio to tape the Díaz interview, you could see some of the results of his visit. A cameraman came over to tell him that he had filmed his news conference a few days previous and wanted him to know how much he had enjoyed it.

The El Paso news conference, where Camejo called for the end of harassment of Chicano activists and the freedom from jail of Rubén Ogaz, was covered by all three TV networks and the two city papers.

\$20,000 Camejo & Reid campaign fund

The enthusiastic response for Peter Camejo in New Mexico. The increasing endorsement of the Camejo and Reid campaign—Texas Chicano leader Mario Compeán and 'Black Scholar' Editor Robert Allen added their names this week. The hundreds of inquiries about the socialist program that come after Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are heard on radio and TV. This is one side of the story. The other side is the massive disinterest in Ford and Carter, especially when the capitalist candidates refuse to deal with pressing issues in the debates. It adds up to the crucial importance of publicizing the SWP's 1976 election campaign far and wide in the remaining month before elections. To do so we urgently need your financial help. Any amount will be appreciated.

How we're doing



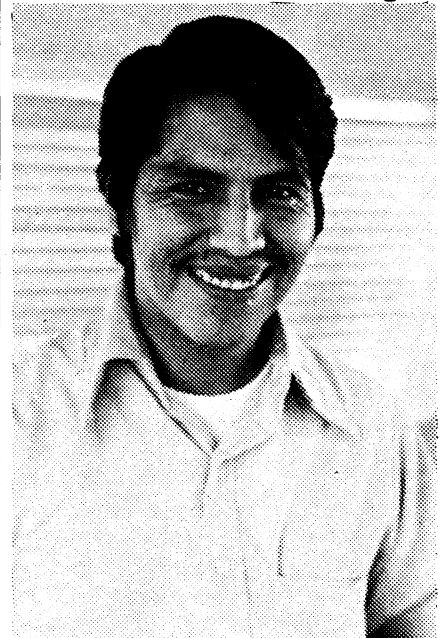
Make checks payable to the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.
 Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

Please send me more information on the SWP campaign.

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A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

Compeán backs Camejo



Militant/Harry Ring

SAN ANTONIO, Oct. 4—Mario Compeán, a leader of the Chicano movement in Texas, has joined a growing list of Camejo and Reid campaign endorsers. Compeán helped to found both the Texas La Raza Unida party and the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO). He later served as state chairperson of the Texas RUP. Other new endorsers include Ernesto Borunda, New Mexico La Raza Unida party candidate for U.S. Senate, and Oscar Treviño, who is co-coordinator of the Chicano Studies Library on the University of California's Berkeley campus.



1971 student protest won appointment of Juan José Peña as director of Chicano studies at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas.

Raza Unida in New Mexico

A talk with Juan Jose Pena

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—I first met Juan José Peña this spring at his home in Las Vegas, New Mexico.

Peña is the director of the Chicano studies department at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas. He is also coordinator of ethnic studies. He's been on the faculty for five years, has one master's degree, and is now completing a second.

This interview by Harry Ring was conducted during a trip he and Arnold Weissberg made to New Mexico for the Militant Southwest Bureau.

But he is still an instructor. Why?

Peña is state chairperson of La Raza Unida party of New Mexico. He was hired for his present position only after Chicano students occupied the administration office.

Now the administration apparently is not up to firing Peña. But the professorship that he so obviously deserves is regularly denied.

Peña doesn't take it personally. It's simply one more reflection of the racism of this society. For him the important thing is the fight against racism and the society that breeds it.

Talking with Peña, you realize that his entire life and those of the generations that preceded him have shaped him as a resolute fighter for Chicano liberation.

Peña is well known in the area. That's the result of his political activity plus the reputation he gained as a high school and college athlete.

Also, his family has been around for a long time.

New Mexico roots

With obvious pride, Peña will tell you that his family came to New Mexico nearly 300 years ago.

Peña's great-grandfather was a member of the Partido del Pueblo Unido. "That was organized in 1892," Peña commented.

"So you see, the concept of an alternative party for the Chicano in New Mexico is nothing new."

Now thirty, Peña was born in southern New Mexico where his family was working in the onion fields. His father died when he was four and his mother and grandfather brought the children back to Las Vegas.

School brought Peña face to face with racism. When he started he had already been tutored by his grandfather and spoke and read Spanish well.

But he didn't speak English.

"I didn't really catch up until the ninth grade," he recalled. "This is how I learned to appreciate the importance of bilingual education."

Despite the difficulties, Peña made it through high school and then won a college scholarship and grant.

In the midst of his studies, he was drafted for Vietnam. He fought at Pleiku and was in the Cambodia invasion.

In Vietnam Peña picked up enough of the

language to be able to talk with some of the prisoners. They intensified his opposition to the war, persuading him that the Vietnamese people had the right to determine their own destiny.

Back at the university, he quickly became involved in campus politics. In 1971 he joined in a demonstration demanding a Chicano president for Highlands, which has a majority-Chicano student body.

During this time Peña was greatly influenced by Pedro Rodríguez, then head of Chicano studies. Rodríguez had worked with the recently formed Texas Raza Unida party and he organized a campus meeting for José Angel Gutiérrez, who had just led the Crystal City *partido* to its first victory.

Peña recalls the meeting for Gutiérrez and the beer and discussion session that followed.

Soon, Peña and three others—including Manuel Archuleta, the present San Miguel County chairperson of the party—decided to start building a chapter of the RUP.

Ever since, Peña, Archuleta, and others have been active in political organizing throughout the state. They consider themselves very much part of the broader Raza Unida movement and regularly attend national gatherings.

At the first national RUP conference, held in El Paso in 1972, the New Mexico delegation tried to play the role of "peacemaker" between two contending factions there. One was led by Gutiérrez, the other by Corky Gonzales of Denver.

"We felt unity was a critical issue," Peña said. "If it got divided, we wouldn't be able to function as a national *partido*. And, as it turned out, we haven't."

"I think we've spent too much time fighting one another. This is why Raza Unida in New Mexico has stayed out of the internal squabbles. We felt it wasn't doing anyone any good. And it takes away time and energy from work you could be doing."

Political evolution

While Peña feels strongly about the need for unity, he's not one to sweep ideas under the rug.

He is deeply concerned with political ideas, and it was particularly interesting to discuss the evolution of his thinking.

"My thinking in relation to the *partido* was very nationalistic at first," he said. "I wanted the Chicano's language preserved because I was very proud of that language. I wanted our culture, our customs preserved. I wanted the children to learn the language."

"And," he continued, "I saw that the Republicans and Democrats weren't doing this. In fact, every



Militant/Lou Howort

JUAN JOSE PENNA

time we mentioned it, we came head on with them."

Since he got into the RUP, he said, his thinking has developed as the result of contact with new ideas.

"It's been mainly a matter of building on the basic structure of my ideas," he said.

"My political and philosophical outlook is now socialist—for several reasons.

"First of all," he said, "right now a majority of the people in the world go hungry. Yet I can see the United States producing so much food that it throws it away.

"I can see that the people have to be fed and that under this system that won't happen."

He added, "I've seen people die because they haven't had medical care, both here and in Mexico, where my wife is from.

"So," he said, "I'm in disagreement with what's called free enterprise. I feel it's not only wasteful, but it's degenerative to the development of human beings."

Talking socialism

Peña has given considerable thought on how best to talk to people about socialism.

"The first thing," he said, "is to open up people's minds to consider different ideas without just having a gut reaction to them.

"For example, when you mention the word socialist, they tie it in with Communist. Communist, they immediately begin thinking of Russia. They think of the repression in Czechoslovakia. That is what they equate with socialism.

"I don't think that's the equation at all. But people have to have enough information so they can analyze what socialism really is, what they would want it to be.

"It has to be a democratic society," he emphasized. "The human being, as far as I can see, has unlimited potential. If the individual is free intellectually—and we're not in this society—that potential can be realized."

To persuade people of socialism, Peña continued, you have to face squarely the absence of democracy in the countries where capitalism has been abolished.

"I've done some reading about conditions in the Soviet Union," he said. "The bureaucrats have certain privileges and certain controls they shouldn't have.

"The problem of artists and writers in these countries concerns me a great deal," Peña added.

"In the end, ideas will prove themselves. And if someone is writing who is reactionary—like Solzhenitsyn for example—then there are certain conditions that have created a Solzhenitsyn."

Focus on issues

Returning his thoughts to this country, Peña discussed the activity and program of the RUP and how he thought people could be moved in a socialist direction. What is needed, he said, is for the party to focus on issues that relate to people's basic needs.

"To win people to socialism," he said, "you have to win their confidence by participating in their daily struggles. People have important needs and problems. People get jailed for no reason at all. People go hungry because welfare won't give them their food stamps."

Camejo endorsement

Peña discussed the unanimously adopted resolution of the New Mexico Raza Unida party convention this spring to endorse Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party candidate for president.

"Several things influenced us to support Camejo," Peña said. "His platform, the 'Bill of Rights for Working People,' contains many points that coincide with ours.

"We are supporting Camejo on the basis of principle," Peña added, "but also on the basis that he is one of the *mestizo* people, or what is commonly called a Latino."

Peña said that in addition to campaigning for its own state ticket, the New Mexico RUP would also work actively for Camejo. (See story on facing page.)

Discussing the prospects for building La Raza Unida as a mass force, Peña indicated he had no illusions about the hard work ahead. At the same time, he seemed genuinely optimistic about the prospects.

"Some Chicano activists have become discouraged about the prospects for the movement, some have become dogmatic," he said. "But I think in the long run the cooler heads that have developed among Chicanos will probably bring our people to a Raza Unida party that will be a real, independent alternative to the two major parties.

"We can either move forward to an era of enlightenment, or back to the dark ages," Peña concluded. "We're at that point at the present time."

Socialist candidate in Miami

Reid speaks out for framed-up prisoners

By Barbara Mutnick

MIAMI—Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, arrived here September 27, the day Gerald Ford addressed a convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

The next day FBI chief Clarence Kelley addressed the congregation of cops, and Reid's campaign supporters threw up a picket line to greet him.

"Get the FBI out of the SWP" and "Open up the Files" read the signs. Reid's appearance at the picket line outside Miami's plush Fontainebleu Hotel was covered by radio and TV. She demanded full disclosure of the illegal acts by the FBI against the Socialist Workers party and the withdrawal of all informers.

Reid's major Miami meeting was at the Center for Dialogue in a rally centering on the defense of two framed-up Black prisoners, Antonio Smith and Delbert Tibbs.

Elizabeth Smith, the mother of the eighteen-year-old New Mexico prisoner, and Lisa Graves, cochairperson of the Florida Alliance Against Repres-

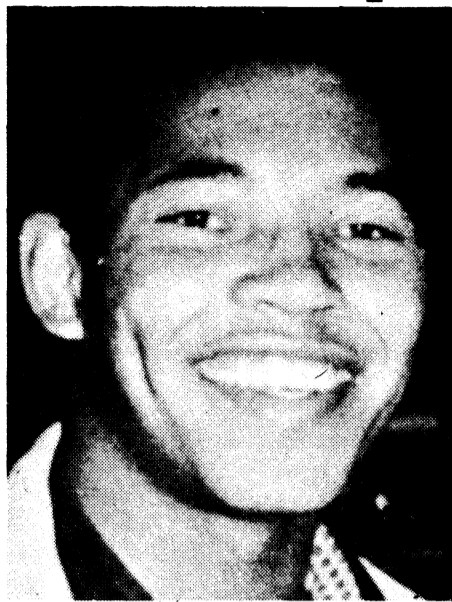
sion, spoke at the Reid campaign meeting.

"Delbert Tibbs in Florida," Reid said, "Gary Tyler in Louisiana, Stanton Story in Pittsburgh, J.B. Johnson in St. Louis, Antonio Smith in New Mexico, Joanne Little and the Wilmington Ten—it makes you angry to think about all the mothers, like Mrs. Smith, who are forced to spend so much of their lives trying to pressure the system that is supposed to be just."

Antonio Smith, who is from Miami, was framed up on a murder charge in New Mexico two years ago.

Tibbs is a Black, thirty-five-year-old poet and theology student from Chicago who was convicted of rape and murder in Fort Myers, Florida, in December 1974. He received a life sentence for rape and the death sentence for murder. They jury that convicted him was all-white.

The Florida Supreme Court has since ordered a new trial for Tibbs. "Our review of the record of this proceeding leaves us with considerable doubt that Delbert Tibbs is the man who committed the crime," the court said in a four-



DELBERT TIBBS

to-three decision. The judges said that the testimony of the only eyewitness, the sixteen-year-old woman who accused Tibbs of raping her and murdering her boyfriend, was so riddled with

conflicts as to be inherently unreliable. One judge went further, in a separate but concurring opinion, urging Tibbs's release without additional litigation.

Lisa Graves reported that despite the strong decision by the Florida Supreme Court, Tibbs is still sitting on death row, having been refused bail or bond. The Florida death penalty was not only upheld in the U.S. Supreme Court's decision approving capital punishment, but was pointed to as an exemplary law by the high court.

Reid's day-and-a-half Miami tour was a real boon to her supporters, who are in the process of establishing the Socialist Workers party in Florida. The Florida Socialist Workers Campaign Committee is suing for the right to place Peter Camejo and Reid on the November ballot as independent candidates. The Florida election code makes no provision for "independent" presidential candidates to get on the ballot. Eugene McCarthy has successfully sued on this ground, although Florida officials have delayed certifying him for the ballot.

Musa backs International Hotel struggle

By Bob Capistrano and Laura Dertz

SAN FRANCISCO—The International Hotel is on the border between San Francisco's financial district and Chinatown. It is home for elderly Chinese and Filipinos who live on fixed incomes.

The Chinese and Filipino residents have been fighting since 1968 to save their hotel from destruction.

Recently Omari Musa, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate, visited the International Hotel to lend support to the tenants' struggle. He spoke with Joe Diones, president of the International Hotel Tenants Association.

Diones pointed to the improvements the residents began to make in 1968, such as a fire escape and smoke

detection system.

"About that time," Diones explained to Musa, "the tenants association tried to buy the building. That's when the trouble began. The owners wanted to demolish it and put a parking lot in its place. Parking lots bring in more profits than rent from old people."

Instead of letting the tenants association buy the International Hotel, the owners sold it in 1972 to Four Seas Investment Corp., a Thai company, for \$850,000. In 1975 Four Seas got a demolition permit.

The tenants have fought the eviction notice in the courts. But this spring the tenants lost the eviction suit. In August the state supreme court turned down their appeal.

"But we're not giving up," Diones insisted.

Musa asked if the city government has offered any help. Diones answered that the housing authority and the mayor's office have made promises but have offered no suitable alternative housing. "After you retire you're forgotten," Diones said. "These people have no place to go."

The tenants association is demanding that the city's redevelopment agency exercise its power of eminent domain, take over the building, and sell it to the hotel's residents. The tenants are sure they can raise the money for the appraised value of the property. So far the agency has refused.

"The board of supervisors have proven by their actions that they work just for the big business interests,"

Diones told Musa. "Time is running out and some action must be taken soon, or else innocent people will get hurt."

Several demonstrations have taken place to back the right of the hotel's residents, including a recent protest of more than 300 people.

Musa added the Socialist Workers campaign's support to the tenants' efforts. "International Hotel is a good example of how the Democrats and Republicans put profit before people's needs," he said.

Persons interested in helping the International Hotel Tenants Association can contact Joe Diones, International Hotel, 848 Kearny Street, San Francisco, California 94108. Telephone: (415) 982-4249.

Endorse Camejo and Reid.



"The SWP campaign, the Camejo-Reid campaign has a very definite program to offer . . . that in particular Black and Third World people should be able to support because it speaks to the needs of Black and Third World communities. Camejo and Reid are trying to relate the program and their campaign to the day-to-day struggles of people out there on the streets trying to make a better society."—Robert Allen, editor, **Black Scholar** magazine.



"I think Camejo and Reid have a people's platform that all humanitarians should support. As far as things stand now, until such time as Ford or Carter can give me some evidence that they are running in the interests of poor people, I don't think I could support their efforts."—Robert F. Williams, civil rights leader, author.

Join Robert Allen, Robert F. Williams, and the many others—women's rights activists, students, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, trade unionists, civil libertarians—who are endorsing Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid as a positive alternative to the Democrats and the Republicans.

To add your name to the list of Camejo-Reid endorsers fill out the coupon. Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

- I endorse Camejo and Reid as a positive alternative in the 1976 elections, although I may not agree with all the planks of the SWP platform.
- Add my name to the endorsement statement that will appear in newspapers and magazines.
- Enclosed is a contribution of \$ _____ to help publicize the socialist campaign.
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A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson: Linda Jenness, treasurer: Arthur Hughes.

Chicano leaders condemn violence in movement

Crusade members assault socialists in Denver

By Harry Ring
and Miguel Pendás

DENVER, Colo., Oct. 5—Fred Halstead and Steve Chainey, members of the Socialist Workers party, were the victims of an unprovoked physical assault by members of the Denver Crusade for Justice.

Both refused to respond to the provocation by striking back. Chainey's face was bruised and cut. Halstead suffered a broken nose and face wounds requiring stitches. The attack

A "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" signed by several Chicano leaders and addressed to Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales appears on page 30.

occurred Friday, October 1, at the headquarters of the Crusade.

A member of the SWP National Committee, Halstead was a central figure in the movement against the Vietnam War. Chainey, a longtime movement activist, is the SWP's Denver organizer.

Halstead and Chainey had gone to the Crusade offices seeking a meeting with the organization's central leader, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. Earlier they had tried, unsuccessfully, to reach him by phone.

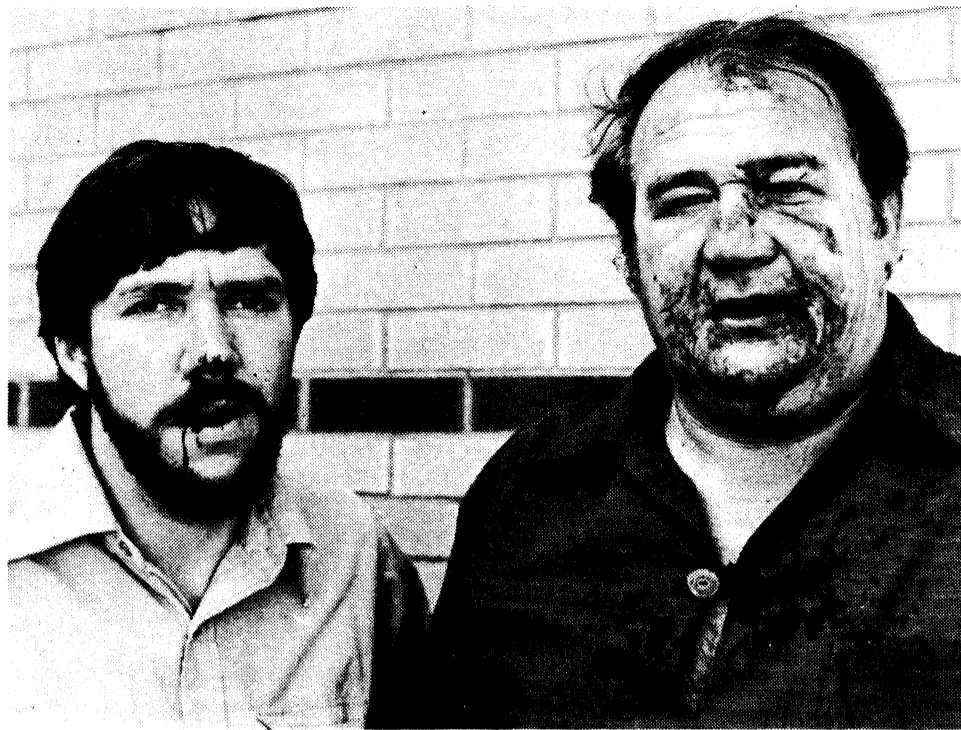
At the Crusade, they were told Gonzales was not in and they explained the purpose of their visit to Maria Serna, a Crusade leader.

They had come to discuss three things. The first was the antiharassment suit against the government that the Crusade recently announced. Since the SWP has a similar suit in the courts, they wanted to offer the party's cooperation and whatever benefit of experience in the matter it might be able to give.

Secondly, they wanted to invite the Crusade to participate in an October 23 Denver civil liberties rally initiated by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Finally, Halstead and Chainey explained, they had come to discuss the problem of a threat of physical violence against a member of the Young Socialist Alliance by Ernesto Vigil, the second leading figure in the Crusade.

The YSAer who was the target of



SWP leaders Steve Chainey (left) and Fred Halstead immediately after attack

Vigil's threat is Elfego Baca, a well-known Chicano activist. A one-time member of the Crusade, Baca is the elected chairperson of MEChA, a Chicano student organization at Metropolitan State College in Denver.

When Halstead and Chainey told Serna of their concern about this, she said that it would be best for them to talk with Vigil.

When they tried to discuss the matter with Vigil, he responded not by denying that he had threatened Baca but by asserting it was a "personal" matter and not the business of the SWP or YSA.

Halstead tried to explain that the SWP and YSA would have to consider a physical attack on Baca as a physical attack on the two organizations.

Vigil responded by ordering them out of the office.

Halstead and Chainey complied. In the hallway, as they were departing, Halstead made a final comment. He stated that if anything were to happen to Baca, the SWP and YSA would be compelled to make the matter public.

At that point Vigil, a trained boxer,

attacked Halstead. Another man began punching Chainey. Other Crusade people were standing by.

Halstead and Chainey refused to be provoked. They simply tried to get out of the building.

The incident is particularly deplorable in that the Crusade has been the target of an unrelenting campaign of government harassment and victimization clearly designed to destroy it.

The SWP and YSA, which have borne their share of government victimization, have consistently stood in full solidarity with the Crusade against reactionary attacks. They strongly favor a united response against them.

Since the 1960s, the Crusade has been widely regarded as a leading progressive force within the Chicano movement. It contributed much in terms of ideology and organizational efforts.

However, in recent years it has responded in an increasingly sectarian manner to political disputes within the movement.

Its sectarian and ultraleft course seemed to deepen with the government

attacks on it.

And, equally unfortunate, Crusade members have earned notoriety within the Chicano movement for threats of force and the use of force against movement people who disagreed with them.

Increasingly, Chicano activists in the Denver area have been alienated by Crusade members' use of bureaucratic means, coupled with intimidation, to impose their views on campus organizations and other Chicano groups.

In several cases, it has been reported, when elected officers of an organization have refused to accept Crusade dictates, large numbers of Crusade members have simply walked into a meeting, rammed through a motion to suspend the rules, and voted out the offending officers.

Such an effort was initiated at the September 22 meeting of the Metro College MEChA. A Crusade member made a motion to suspend the constitution and to impeach Baca. However, the turnout of members at the meeting was apparently greater than Crusade members expected, and the impeachment failed. Further consideration of the issue was postponed to a meeting slated for Wednesday, September 29.

The September 29 meeting adopted a resolution calling for an end to the use of intimidation and violence to settle disputes within the movement.

The only dissenting votes on the motion came from the Crusade members. When it became apparent that it would not pass, the Crusade people withdrew the impeachment motion, declaring they could reintroduce it at any future meeting.

It was in the context of these developments that the attack on Halstead and Chainey occurred. After the attack, Halstead wrote an open letter to Corky Gonzales, explaining the facts of the situation and urging him to repudiate and help put an end to such acts of violence within the movement. (See text on this page.)

Halstead also called upon movement individuals and organizations to contact Gonzales in an effort to persuade him that such tactics can only damage the movement as a whole, including

Continued on page 30

Open letter from Fred Halstead to Rodolfo 'Corky' Gonzales

[The following open letter was sent by Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers party to Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, leader of the Denver Crusade for Justice.]

Denver, Colorado
October 2, 1976

Dear Corky Gonzales,

Around 2:30 p.m. on October 1, Steve Chainey, the Denver Socialist Workers party organizer, and I went to the headquarters of the Crusade for Justice in Denver. We had been requested to do so by the national offices of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The purpose of our visit was threefold: to offer any assistance we could in the Crusade for Justice suit against government police agencies; to invite you to speak on your suit at a coming public rally in Denver; and to speak to you about a threat of physical violence made by a member of the Crusade for Justice against a member of the YSA.

We had been told that Ernesto Vigil, a leader of the Crusade, made a physical threat against Elfego Baca, the chairperson of the Metro State College MEChA who is also a member of the YSA. It is common knowledge that there are disagreements between members of the Crusade and the leadership of the Metro MEChA. In

itself, there is nothing unusual about disagreement, but we are concerned about rising tensions and the threat of physical violence.

We intended to ask you to join us in discouraging violence over disagreements in the movement.

When we entered the Crusade headquarters we were told you were not there but that we could speak to Maria Serna. When we told her of our concern about the threat, she said we should speak to Ernesto Vigil. She sent for him.

Vigil entered the office accompanied by another man whose name I do not know. When I told Vigil about my concern, he did not deny having threatened Elfego Baca. He simply said it was none of my business. Throughout the conversation both Steve Chainey and I were calm and used a friendly tone. At no time did we threaten violence or make any movements that could have been interpreted as threatening.

Vigil ordered us to leave the building. As we left the office on our way out of the building, I paused to say that if Elfego Baca was harmed we would be obliged to make public the previous threats.

Vigil's response was to punch me repeatedly in the face while the other man punched Steve Chainey. Neither Chainey nor I made any attempt to strike back. We simply attempted to leave the building. Nevertheless, they continued

punching. By the time we were able to get out of the building both of us were bleeding profusely. Chainey had a bloody nose and a cut lip. My nose was broken and I had cuts on my face that required several stitches.

As we were walking away from the building, people outside expressed concern about the blood on our faces and asked what had happened. I heard someone shout from behind me, "That's what you get for threatening people's lives." This was an obvious attempt to justify a completely unprovoked assault.

We made no physical threats while we were in the building and we make none now.

We are completely opposed to the idea that violence can be used to resolve any dispute among those fighting for the oppressed. Such violence simply provides an opening for the police and police agents to divide us and turn us against ourselves. FBI documents that have come out over the last year or so show that one of the first tactics they use is to try to get movement groups fighting among themselves.

If you allow physical intimidation to become a trademark of the Crusade, it will be a grave disservice to all those fighting for a better world.

I strongly urge you to take all the necessary steps to see that this kind of violence is not repeated.

I await your response with great concern.

...racist rulers

Continued from page 1
this government.

"I'll tell you what coloreds want," Butz said. "It's three things: first, a tight pussy; second, loose shoes; and third, a warm place to shit. That's all!"

Butz later explained to reporters that this was a "joke" he "often told."

To 24 million Blacks in this country, Butz's "joke" symbolizes the degradation and discrimination they face day in and day out. This racist—and sexist—remark was an insult to an entire race. It was the expression of a slaveholder mentality.

In accepting Butz's resignation Monday, Gerald Ford said, "This has been one of the saddest decisions of my presidency." He called this bigot a "decent and good man" and a "close personal friend."

Democrat Jimmy Carter hopes to make political hay out of the Butz affair. But Carter's defense of "ethnic purity" and his opposition to busing make clear the deepgoing racism at the highest levels in both big-business parties.

Carter complained last April about "Black intrusion" into white neighborhoods. The "natural inclination of people," Carter said, is "to live in ethnically homogenous neighborhoods." In other words, segregated neighborhoods.

Carter explained a few days later that his remarks were "ill-chosen" and "unfortunate." Butz—using the same excuse—labeled his own comment a "gross indiscretion" and an "unfortunate choice of language."

By resigning, Butz said, "I hope to remove even the appearance of racism as an issue in the Ford campaign."

But no half-hearted apologies, excuses, or evasions can conceal the centrality of racism in this election year.

The ruling rich have launched a concerted attack on the rights and living standards of working people, and right now the heaviest blows are aimed at Blacks.

Jobless levels in the Black community run twice as high as among whites. More than twenty years after the Supreme Court desegregation decision, busing is still under attack.

Social services in Black neighborhoods are being slashed.

And now the Supreme Court has given the go-ahead to capitalism's paid executioners.

America's rulers are not satisfied with merely degrading Black Americans. They are not satisfied with throwing Blacks out of work, forcing Blacks into dilapidated schools and segregated housing, and brutalizing Blacks on the street.

They are not satisfied at demagogically crying "law and order," while they perpetuate the very conditions of poverty and despair that drive people to violence and crime.

No, they want to hold the ultimate punishment in reserve at all times. They want to terrorize and intimidate all those among the oppressed who rebel against this society. That is the meaning of their cops, their courts, their prisons, and especially their electric chairs.

Right now nearly 200 prisoners face execution in Texas, Florida, and Georgia—states whose death penalty laws were specifically upheld by the court.

Ford and Carter both endorse this ruling. In fact, Carter, while governor of Georgia, signed one of the death penalty laws okayed by the court.

The Democrats and Republicans—and their all-male, all-white presidential tickets—are the parties of racism in this country.

Our campaign—the Socialist Workers party campaign—offers an alternative to these two big-business parties.

We support school desegregation and busing.

We demand an end to job discrimination both in hiring and firing.

We are against housing discrimination, even if it goes by the name of "ethnically homogenous neighborhoods."

We do not consider racist "jokes" the mark of a "decent and good" person. Nor do we count bigots among our "close personal friends" and supporters.

And we are 100 percent opposed to the death penalty.

Sometime soon—perhaps only a few weeks after the November election—the first execution in nearly a decade may take place in this country.

We urge our supporters to begin the work right now of organizing the broadest possible nationwide protest movement against the implementation of the death penalty. We urge NAACP chapters, civil liberties groups, trade unions, women's organizations, student groups, and everyone who believes in human rights and dignity to join in.

We should schedule picket lines, rallies, and demonstrations to demand:

No to legalized murder!
Not one more execution!

Texas prisons keep 'order'

My campaign committee recently sent a letter to the Texas Department of Corrections stating my intention to visit inmates on death row at the state prison in Huntsville. A few days later we received the following communication:

"After careful consideration, it is our decision that we cannot honor your request to visit inmates confined on Death Row. This decision was based on our prevailing interest in the maintenance of institutional order."

The prison officials must consider a socialist candidate's visit a dire threat to "institutional order."

Gene Lantz
SWP candidate for U.S. Congress,
8th C.D.
Houston, Texas

Omaha Marxism conference

Congratulations on the good job you have been doing—I for one am deeply grateful for the political knowledge you give me each week.

Here is information on a Marxism seminar scheduled for later this year, organized and partially run by a philosophy professor of mine. He is also planning one at Ohio University for the 1977-1978 year.

The conference will be held at the University of Nebraska at Omaha November 11 through 13. The title of the conference is the "Current State of Marxism." Each day there will be several lectures by professors from universities all over the United States.

For more information on the conference contact Algis Mickunas, Philosophy Department, Gordy Hall, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio 45701; or call (614) 594-4167.

K.S.
Athens, Ohio

Parties of big religion

The Democratic and Republican parties seem not only to be the parties of big business but also of big religion. Both parties began their sessions with prayer during the Democratic and Republican conventions.

It has been said that both Ford and Carter are too religious for the good of the country. Besides reactionary planks supporting constitutional amendments against abortion and busing, the Republican party platform also has an equally reactionary plank supporting a constitutional amendment that would reinstate so-called voluntary prayer in public schools.

Though the Democratic party has no such plank in its platform, it does support state aid to religious schools. Here in Indiana a bill sponsored by a Democratic state legislator, endorsing a constitutional amendment for so-called voluntary public-school prayer, was supported by both Democrats and Republicans.

Karen Moskewitz
Indianapolis, Indiana

From Sri Lanka

I had the good fortune of reading your paper.

To tell you a lot of things in short, I am fed up with the whole imperialist setup. There's a lot of frustration among Sri Lanka youth, unemployment being the major cause, lack of universities is another.

The present government is no better than its predecessors. It has spent lavishly to improve the lot of the soldiers and police. We are governed under an emergency law—under a pretext of providing security to the people from leftist extremists—when there's no such threat. By depriving the needs of the young generation, the government is heading toward its own destruction.

Once in 1971 a minority party without the active support of the workers staged an armed struggle which was soon defeated with the help of the United States, USSR, and China. This was expected by the rest of the revolutionary parties because this particular party wanted the glory to themselves.

What I am trying to say is that those people who struggled demanded the same things. It seems to me as if the capitalist parties think that they can go on like this forever. They are wrong and are pretending they don't know it.
A.N.U.
Kandy, Sri Lanka

Assault on Mario Cantú

On page 27 of your September 24 issue, David Salner reports, "Three days before the newspaper story Mexican President Luis Echeverría personally assaulted Cantú in San Antonio."

Was this a physical assault as the article implies? If so, it should be made more specific since most readers will regard President Echeverría's act as rather unusual.

The article leaves open the possibility that the assault was figurative, merely verbal. The political atmosphere of capitalist society is so saturated with violence, particularly in the semicolonial and neocolonial countries, that the spectacle of a visiting head of state physically attacking an American citizen on the streets of a Texas city does not jar me into disbelief.

But such an event is certainly unusual enough to be described in some detail, at least enough to eliminate the possibility of the figurative use of the term "assault."
Bob Bresnahan
New York, New York

[Editor's note—As reported in the September 17 *Militant*, President Luis Echeverría physically attacked Chicano activist Mario Cantú, while Cantú was peacefully picketing.

[Correspondent David Salner quoted eyewitness Ellard Yow: "Cantú approached the group (Echeverría and his entourage). All of a sudden members of the entourage roughed up Cantú. . . . Cantú tried to walk away, but they beat him up while San Antonio cops just watched."

[Salner also noted, "A local television station reported that Echeverría himself kicked Cantú, tore up his picket sign, and called him a 'young fascist.'"]

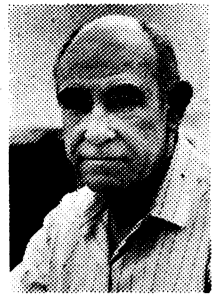
Too pat and predictable?

I realize that you are involved in many different struggles, but it seems to me that you are getting stuck in aggressive posturing. Your attack on Mao was too pat and predictable.

Dictator that he was, Mao was a serious and dedicated revolutionary who did great things for China. By spending all your energy attacking rival factions you are just splintering

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Union women's history

[The following guest column is by Jean Tussey, chairperson of the Cleveland Typographical Union organizing committee and past president of the Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.]

If there was one area of basic agreement among the 3,200 union women at the founding convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women in 1974, it was this:

The most effective way to win equal rights on the job is through our unions. But the traditionally more privileged male officers and members of the unions will not act to eliminate sex discrimination on the job—or in the union—unless women assert our rights as dues-paying, voting members to participate on all levels of union responsibility and leadership.

CLUW's development and future prospects are matters for serious analysis right now.

Some useful lessons can be learned from the history of the struggles of working women in this country. Especially the experiences of the Women's Trade Union League in the early part of this century.

An interesting example of the courage of the WTUL was the principled political position it took, "swimming against the stream," at the 1909 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The labor movement had been under tremendous attack by the courts and Congress. AFL President Samuel Gompers reported that antilabor injunctions were being issued "in constantly more aggravated form," that "free speech and free press were denied," and finally that the Supreme Court, in the infamous Danbury Hatters' case, had classified unions as "conspiracies in illegal restraint of trade."

Gompers said the federation had received demands for action "from our fellow workers all over the country." A number of central labor bodies had even "adopted resolutions demanding that the Executive Council call a mass convention to take political action in some form or other, and declaring that in the event

that this was not done by a specific date, they would themselves inaugurate such a movement."

But Gompers and the Executive Council chose to dissipate the militancy and class-consciousness of the workers through lobbying and rhetoric. They recommended that the convention continue the AFL policy of rewarding their "friends" and punishing their enemies within the Democratic and Republican parties.

There was hardly any discussion of Gompers's report on political action. "The only voice raised in behalf of a labor party at the convention was by the delegation from the Women's Trade Union League which presented a resolution adopted by its convention on Oct. 1," according to Philip Foner in his *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, Volume Three.

This resolution "declared that 'the time is now ripe for the Working Classes of the United States to forward their legitimate interests by political action'; that this end could 'best be served by the formation of a political party independent of all other political parties,' and, therefore, urged the A.F. of L. 'to take action toward the formation of a Labor Party, which party shall be pledged to forward the higher interest of the toiling millions as against the selfish interests of a privileged minority.'"

Foner adds: "But the A.F. of L. told the women to concern themselves with problems other than political action and tabled the resolution."

With the formation of CLUW in the 1970s, based on a larger female work force and a new concept of the role and rights of women, there is a new potential for changing traditional patterns of sex discrimination.

But support by union women today of the same old ineffective "political action" policies of the same old male labor hierarchy won't change anything.

We have to start thinking and acting on the social questions facing the labor movement—thinking and acting like leaders, not ward-healers. That's the only way to win support for policies that can strengthen our unions and change society.

the movement against capitalism.

Rivalry based on competing heroes—Mao vs. Trotsky—is infantile. Accepting any one man's ideas as doctrine betrays an unthinking authoritarian frame of mind—no matter what ideas are expressed.

By constantly attacking others, many Young Socialist Alliance members justify the adoption of an arrogant, "macho" attitude toward the world, an "I don't care what you think" attitude that just turns people off. A clear-headed understanding of one's cause cannot be replaced by attacks on other people's ideas and actions.

Steve Eardley
Winooski, Vermont

Unite to fight cutbacks

Some two dozen activists, primarily from Black Economic Survival—an organization fighting for minority hiring in the all-white construction trades—recently occupied the City College of New York gymnasium, bringing the first day of registration to a halt. They were protesting the imposition of tuition.

This showed the depth of anger and frustration at the racist offensive launched against the right of students to an education.

There was, however, little support among students for the action. And to make matters worse, the activists were persuaded to endorse U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo's campaign for reelection.

Badillo was on campus at the time to use the occupation for his own ends. He is infamous for playing the needs of the Puerto Rican community against those of the city's unions, thus fostering divisions within the working class. As a Democrat, Badillo is part of the same party as Mayor Abe Beame and Gov. Hugh Carey, who have endorsed the budget cuts. He serves as a cover for his party's role as a weapon of the rich against the people of New York.

The "militant action" of an isolated handful combined with their support to a capitalist politician is no substitute for uniting large numbers of students from all City University campuses with their allies in the unions and community groups in common actions independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The only candidates who offer an effective program for fighting the cuts are those of the Socialist Workers party.

Norman Ressnick
New York, New York

Abortion rights

I would like to point out a slight discrepancy in your article on the rally for abortion rights in San Jose (in the October 1 issue). The article implies that the San Jose City Council declared a week in September as "Right to Life Week."

Actually, that declaration was made by the neighboring city council of Santa Clara, which is a much smaller city than San Jose.

Sharon Cabaniss
San Jose, California

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

Capitalism in Crisis

Andy Rose



Better than a mood ring

It's better than a mood ring. Tell me how you feel about the economy, and I bet I can peg your income bracket.

Are you tickled pink about the recovery? Then being in the wealthy minority of Americans probably helps you see the statistics through rose-tinted spectacles.

Or have you still got those deep-depression blues? Then chances are you also turn green with envy when you compare your below-\$12,500-a-year pay stubs to the booming profits on Wall Street.

That guess is bolstered by scientific evidence from the pollsters at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research. The institute is renowned by economists for its surveys of what the American consumer is thinking. Between February and May, it found, the "consumer sentiment index" gained 4.4 points among those with incomes above \$15,000. In contrast, the index dropped 6.9 points for families with incomes below \$12,500.

Dr. Thomas Juster, director of the institute, sums it up: "The higher earners see the recession as over. They report their own income is up substantially. They show the buoyant attitudes of a strong economic recovery."

"The lower-earning half think the recession is still there. They don't report big income changes and don't expect them. They take a pessimistic view of the present and future."

Juster says this big divergence is unusual. He views it with alarm, fearing it "could create social tensions over who is benefiting from the recovery." He warns: "It is potentially disruptive in the social sense."

The pollsters profess ignorance as to why the poor take such a dim view of the recovery. But Juster speculates that low-wage earners may have a "false perception" of whether their income is keeping pace with prices.

Well, let's see who has the "false perception."

Consider:

- Unemployment has been rising steadily since May and is now officially listed as 7.9 percent.

- The latest figures, for August, show real wages of the average worker down 0.6 percent from a year earlier. Real wages today are lower than they were in 1965.

- Meanwhile, pretax corporate profits for the second quarter of 1976 hit a near-record annual rate of \$150 billion—30 percent ahead of the same period a year ago.

It seems that the different attitudes among working people and the better-off reflect different conditions in real life. This was dramatically confirmed recently when the Census Bureau released its survey of incomes for 1975.

The number of people with incomes below the officially defined poverty level—and that means poor—increased by 2.5 million. It was the largest rise in any year since the government began keeping poverty statistics in 1959. Average family purchasing power fell by 2.6 percent during the year.

One of the biggest factors in the spread of poverty was long-term unemployment. The Census Bureau reported that 4.3 million individuals were jobless for so long last year that they exhausted all their unemployment benefits.

The perception of a growing number of working people is entirely correct: the recovery in profits has come about at the expense of their jobs and wages. Their "consumer pessimism" is a step forward in consciousness—a step toward understanding that the economic "solutions" of the corporations and capitalist politicians mean only increasing hardship and poverty for the majority.

When that understanding matures into class-consciousness and finds expression on a political level, the implications are not "potentially disruptive" as Dr. Juster fears. They are revolutionary.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



A moderate view—Amnesty for draft resisters, but not for deserters, is favored by former Lt. William Calley of My Lai slaughter fame.

Correction—Recently we reported California was enacting legislation requiring that no one graduate high school without being able to read, write, and do simple arithmetic. The bill did pass the legislature, but was vetoed by the good Gov. Edmund Brown. He said it would be too costly to apply such high standards.

Sounds like last night's dinner—Colonel Sanders celebrated his eighty-

ninth birthday with a trip in a hot-air balloon shaped like a chicken.

A real winner—Dorothy Benham, the new Miss America, doesn't believe in smoking, gambling, drugs, women's liberation, abortion, or premarital sex. She "isn't sure" about the ERA. Asked if her politics were conservative or liberal, she responded, "Probably both."

Just don't miss—Country singer Bobby Bare had a new single ready for the opening of the football season: "Drop-kick Me, Jesus (Through the Goalposts of Life)."

What so proudly we hailed—Commuters who drop their daily toll into the coffer at New York's Verrazano Narrows Bridge may be interested to know that it cost \$25,000 to hoist the world's largest flag there last spring. It lasted an hour and a half before being shredded by the wind. Or maybe it was just the acid in the air.

Sounds reasonable—We were ticked that taxpayers spent \$1 million last year to subsidize low-cost lunches for the top brass. But a Pentagon spokesman explained: "The executive dining rooms are operated to permit

executives to have lunch in a secure environment, where they can discuss classified information."

Inflationary toll—The five executive dining rooms at the Pentagon have been ordered to hike their prices. A nickel or dime will be added to each item. Generals and admirals will now have to pay, for example, \$2.50 for a Delmonico steak.

Thought for the week—"Smoking is just another symptom of our complex, urban, confused, devastating society."—Marguerite Hodge of the California Lung Association.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



Badillo: the original 'povertician'

[Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in New York's Eighteenth District.]

The outcome of the Democratic congressional primary battle in New York's South Bronx surprised many observers. Not only because incumbent Herman Badillo obliterated his opponent, Ramón Vélez, by a three-to-one margin, but because of the turnout.

The South Bronx—which in 1972 and 1974 had the lowest voter turnout in the whole country—in 1976 had the highest turnout in the state.

Many Puerto Ricans thought there was a big difference between the two candidates. Vélez is head of a huge poverty program empire and has been accused of everything from embezzlement to murder.

Badillo styled himself as an "independent" taking on the Democratic machine.

The election shows Puerto Ricans will come out to vote when they feel they have something at stake. Unfortunately, these feelings are misplaced on Herman Badillo.

I first heard of Herman Badillo almost thirteen years ago through unfortunate personal circumstances.

I was working as a waiter and living in a fifth-floor walk-up on the West Side of Manhattan. The

area was scheduled for demolition to make way for cooperatives and projects.

To make moving more palatable for Puerto Ricans, Herman Badillo was chosen commissioner of relocation. Tenants were offered moving costs plus \$100 for each room they vacated. But most tenants fought to stay because the relocations meant they would get worse housing.

My wife and I decided to take advantage of the offer. Our apartment was too small for our family, and my wife was expecting another baby. We rented another apartment. But before we could take possession, we had to "purchase" some things left by the previous tenant.

My wife went to Badillo's agency to report our progress and get the money. But the officials said we would first have to move. So we borrowed money from a friend and moved.

Then we went to the agency and again asked for the relocation money. But every time we asked, there was some new delay.

Months later, my friend explained he needed the money back to continue his studies. My wife and I raced around to other friends and relatives in order to repay the original loan.

Finally I assured the people at the agency that if the money didn't show up, I would pay them a personal visit.

Someone from the agency called back and said

my checks had arrived.

As I entered the agency's main office, I passed an impressive glass door with the name "Herman Badillo" painted on it. A well-dressed administrator arrived with a woman taking notes, maybe a reporter. I heard her ask how the program was working. Before the administrator could answer, I cut in.

I explained how I'd been waiting for four months, how I'd been given the runaround from one office to another, and how I still hadn't been paid.

Both my wife and I speak English well, I told her, and were fortunate to have friends from whom we could borrow. "But most of the people involved don't speak English," I said. "Most have lost all hope of collecting their money."

Finally someone came with my checks. I signed for them and left, passing the door with the name of Herman Badillo.

So Badillo should know when he accuses Vélez of being a "povertician." Badillo was one of the first.

But now he's the number one Puerto Rican Democrat in the United States. He's been Bronx Borough president and a member of Congress, and the word is he'll be running for mayor in the spring.

He proved his loyalty to the landlords and real estate sharks as head of relocation. But he doesn't represent us.

Women in Revolt

Tips for top execs

Think of yourself as a male business executive. Your company has recently been forced to let a handful of women into management because of sex discrimination laws. These women are hard to get along with—uppity, overbearing, and ruthless—and it's causing all kinds of problems for the morale of the male executives.

The Research Institute of America, Inc., has just what you need: *Working With Women: A Handbook for Men*. This little booklet contains the answer to just about every problem beleaguered male executives encounter from women on the job. Its contents range from a chapter titled "Women's Lib Rhetoric (or, don't be cowed by a lot of bull)" to "How To Put A Woman Down (nicely)."

The Research Institute of America, Inc., is a think tank for big business. In fact, it bills itself as "the CIA of the business world." What does the institute do? It figures out for big corporations how to deal with nuisances like the feminist movement, civil rights, affirmative-action laws, and trade unions.

"It's a rare male who feels completely comfortable with the increased presence—and status—of women on the job," the handbook starts out. Some men have gotten so uncomfortable they have allowed themselves to be kicked around by these women, it observes. They "become so self-conscious that they no longer trust their own instincts." (What those instincts are is left up to the reader's interpretation.)

The book suggests that male executives need not drop every sexist practice they're accustomed to. Moderation is advisable, says the chapter on "Women's Lib Rhetoric." "... Most women are not revolutionaries," it reports, "and, despite all the noise, they do not maintain a constant guard against being treated like 'sex objects.'" What a relief!

Male execs shouldn't get too uptight about sexist language either. "Correct English usage is still 'manhours,'" the book says.

Another danger of taking this women's liberation stuff too far is that companies may (heaven forbid!)

promote "unqualified" women. The institute strongly advises against this. "Don't be afraid NOT to promote a woman into a role for which she is certainly unfit," it counsels. The best way to deal with these "unfit" women is to "applaud and encourage" them at the work they do best. (Tell them how neatly they type and how nice their voice sounds over the phone, perhaps?)

Other tips are scattered throughout the handbook, including hints on when and when not to send flowers to a woman, how to handle sexual affairs on out-of-town business trips, and whether telling dirty jokes at business meetings is advisable.

And, if the poor exec is still stuck for what to do, he should simply ask himself: "Am I making a sound business decision, or one based on her emotional appeal?"

That pretty much sums it up. "Sound business" for the Research Institute and the bankers and businessmen it serves is the same as it's always been: keep the women in their place.

Cindy Jaquith



Sadlowski campaigns in steel centers

'Back to the basic principles of unionism'

CLEVELAND

By Andy Rose

CLEVELAND—More than 100 steelworkers turned out here on Sunday afternoon, October 3, to meet and hear Ed Sadlowski, insurgent candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America.

The crowd ranged from veterans of many years in the mills to young union activists, including some women. They came from about twenty different locals in the Cleveland area, USWA District 28.

Sadlowski, who is director of District 31 in Chicago, said he was running because neither incumbent President I.W. Abel nor his handpicked successor Lloyd McBride is "responsive to the membership."

"We have to get back to the basic concepts of what the trade-union movement is all about," Sadlowski said. "Not concerning itself with the profits of management, but addressing itself to the problems that confront the members, solving those problems, and creating new goals and new ideals to benefit the membership."

After making a brief introductory statement, Sadlowski answered questions for nearly two hours. One of the first questions was about the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement," the no-strike pact Abel signed in 1973 covering the basic steel industry.

Sadlowski condemned the ENA as a throwback to company union policies. "ENA strips the labor movement of what it should be all about," he said, "that is, being capable of negotiating the finest things for its membership."

Deriding the ENA plan that submits disputes to an "impartial arbitrator," Sadlowski declared, "I've never met an arbitrator that was impartial."

He added that he did not see any way to prevent the 1977 basic steel contract from being negotiated under the ENA, since Abel had already signed agreements extending the no-strike agreement to 1980.

"In a legal sense it's there," he said, "and there's not a hell of a lot you can do through collective bargaining to get it out in 1977."

On other issues, Sadlowski said he had been fighting for fifteen years for the right of all steelworkers to vote on their contracts.

"That's a basic principle, a right that should have been in the steelworkers' constitution since its very inception."

Sadlowski was interrupted by applause when he said that a six-hour workday was "long overdue" in order to "create employment and create more leisure time for workers."

The life-and-death issue of safety, he said, "is not a bargainable question.

I've seen safety issues projected across the bargaining table and then withdrawn in order to get another penny, another two pennies."

Instead, he stated, the union should insist on "the safest standards humanly and technologically possible, and then police those standards."

If a job is unsafe, he declared, "you've got to say it's not going to be worked until it's corrected, and the employee isn't going to lose any money. You shut the job down. You'd be amazed how readily the employer will correct the unsafe condition when you're capable of doing that."

In response to other questions, Sadlowski said that both racism and red-baiting are incompatible with trade unionism. "That's the bosses' game," he said. "That's the divide-and-conquer game."

The steelworkers' anticommunist clause "doesn't belong in a labor union constitution," Sadlowski said, "no more than in the Constitution of the United States. And you won't find it there."

Sadlowski again drew applause when he said that pensions should be raised to the level of regular wages. His own father, after working thirty-eight years at Inland Steel, draws a pension of about \$200 a month, he said.

"He can't make it. I don't know of anybody that can make it out of that meager pension."

The high point of the meeting came when Ed Buxton, president of Local 1098, got up to pledge his support to Sadlowski.

"I didn't commit myself to you at the convention," Buxton said. "But I see in Mr. McBride more of the same old stuff. All we've got is a puppet on a string. That's what Mr. McBride is."

"I don't know what Ed can do for us yet," he went on. "And I never came up here until this moment to commit myself, until he answered some of the questions asked here."

"I'm telling him, as I told Emil Narick [who ran against Abel in 1969]—and I took Emil Narick around to the gates and I'll be proud to take you around—I told him, if he don't do the job I'll work equally as hard against him to dump him out of there!"

Those present contributed nearly \$200 to further the Sadlowski campaign in Cleveland. Campaign organizers hope to open a storefront headquarters here soon.

Already some 20,000 leaflets have been distributed at Cleveland steel plants.

Many more steelworkers saw Sadlowski on the news that evening. All three local television stations sent camera crews to the meeting.

An interesting sidelight to the meeting was the brief appearance put in by District 28 Director Joseph Kender.

Kender has apparently been dumped



Militant/Glenn Campbell

Ed Sadlowski at Cleveland rally: 'Abel's no-strike deal strips the labor movement of what it should be all about.'

by the Abel machine. Two members of the McBride slate campaigned in Cleveland recently together with Kender's opponent Frank Valenta, former president of the Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor.

Sadlowski reportedly rejected any joint campaign effort with Kender, citing Kender's record of undemocratic practices in District 28. Kender then left the meeting.

Over the weekend Sadlowski also addressed meetings in two other Ohio steel centers, Youngstown (District 26) and Canton (District 27).

Works, Sadlowski's home local, pledged his support to Sadlowski's campaign.

Patterson, a picket captain during the 1937 strike and an eyewitness to the Memorial Day Massacre, recalled the days of the Little Steel strike and the spirit of the union during its organizing drives.

Sadlowski, who had flown into Chicago that afternoon after successful meetings in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, said it was necessary to bring back "the traditions in which this union was born."

"We must make this union responsible to the members, not to the bosses," Sadlowski said, adding that a rank-and-file victory in steel could be "beneficial for the entire labor movement."

Also speaking at the rally were Dorothy Gaines and Ola Kennedy, two Black women union members. Gaines was Sadlowski's first appointment for union staff representative after he won the district directorship in 1974.

Gaines would have been one of the few Black women staff representatives, but USWA President I.W. Abel vetoed her appointment.

Sadlowski supporters came from throughout the Chicago-Gary region for the picnic and rally. A large contingent came from Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana.

Also steelworkers from Gary, South Chicago, and smaller fabricating and can locals from the suburbs and west side of Chicago were there to show their support.

CHICAGO

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—A picnic and rally on Sunday afternoon, September 26, kicked off the Sadlowski campaign in the Chicago area.

Four hundred steelworkers and their families attended the event, held at USWA Local 1033's hall just across from the gates of Republic Steel.

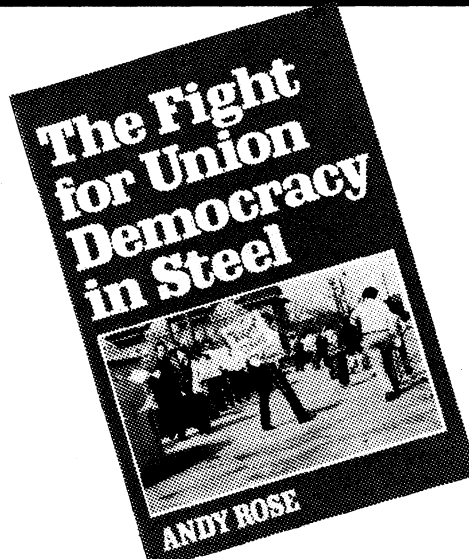
The union's building is named "Memorial Hall" in honor of the ten steelworkers who were gunned down by police while peacefully picketing the Republic plant during the 1937 "Little Steel" strike.

Joe Romano, president of Local 15271 at Danley Machine Company, chaired the brief rally and introduced the speakers.

George Patterson, the founding president of Local 65 at U.S. Steel's South

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Miners' convention: union democracy under attack



Militant/Nancy Cole

UMWA delegates. Came to have a say about how their union is run.

By Nancy Cole

CINCINNATI—The international convention of the United Mine Workers of America ended here October 2 with no decisive victory or defeat for the reform leadership of President Arnold Miller.

The offensive by right-wing forces in the union, supporters of former President W.A. "Tony" Boyle, failed in its attempt to discredit and weaken the Miller administration.

If there was one thing clear after the ten-day convention, it was this: those who would return the UMW to its former days of dictatorial rule and cozy relations with the mineowners will have no easy time putting it over on this membership.

This gathering was a striking contrast to any other union convention for many years. Most of the 2,000 delegates came directly from the mines; 60 percent of them were attending their

This is the first of several articles on the United Mine Workers of America convention.

first UMW convention. They came not to be entertained but to have a say on every aspect of the union's functioning.

They like running their own union for a change.

Whether Miller can retain the confidence and respect of this growing, outspoken membership will be tested in the next election of international officers, moved up from November 1977 to June 1977 by the convention.

Miners for Democracy

Miller has served as president since 1972 when he defeated Boyle in a government-supervised election. A former leader of the movement for black-lung compensation, Miller ran on the Miners for Democracy (MFD) slate with two other miners, Mike Trbovich for vice-president and Harry Patrick for secretary-treasurer.

Trbovich switched loyalties soon after his election, allying with the right wing. In addition, Miller contends with Boyle holdovers on the International Executive Board, who outnumber his supporters sixteen-to-five.

The IEB has done its best to frustrate Miller in carrying out the mandates of the 1973 UMW convention, the first one democratically run in decades.

Miller's only announced presidential opponent is District 23 IEB member Lee Roy Patterson. A former Boyle crony, Patterson now says, "I hope we can look to the future and forget about the Boyle faction and the Miller faction."

Patterson and other Boyle supporters would like the rank and file to forget about the past when union officials served the coal companies at great expense to the miners. These right-wingers are now trying to roll

back the reforms won since the MFD slate was elected.

They are, of course, forced to disguise their reactionary aims. They did so at the convention with a variety of techniques, ranging from red-baiting tirades to demagogic appeals for democracy.

While these pro-Boyle forces consistently voted against anything supported by Miller, most delegates voted their minds on the issues, whether Miller was on their side or not.

One example was the convention decision, opposed by Miller, to change the election date. The majority of delegates were convinced that holding the election earlier was necessary to strengthen the union position in the 1977 contract negotiations.

Open meetings

According to Miller, one of his most important victories at this year's convention was passage of a constitutional provision to hold IEB meetings in the coalfields and open them to rank-and-file observers. This way the miners will see for themselves what the IEB majority represents.

"I whipped 'em [the IEB majority] here, and I'm going to whip 'em some more down in the coalfields," Miller said after the convention ended. "It will be a pleasure to hold board meetings now."

Miller won a number of other constitutional amendments that strengthen his supervision over staff and organizing activities.

His enemies lost on a proposal to take the appointment of organizers, safety inspectors, and other staff out of Miller's hands. They proposed instead that the staff be elected. Their real aim was not to expand union democracy but to hobble the Miller administration.

Miller was defeated on a similar question, however, when the convention voted to return the dues collection system from the international to the district level. This is a step to strengthen the hand of anti-Miller district leaders, opening the door to corruption and even blackmail of the international by withholding dues.

The right-wing forces have sought to take advantage of legitimate discontent with the Miller leadership. Under pressure of the government and coal companies, Miller has tried to get miners to rely on a three-stage grievance procedure, rather than defending their rights through job actions.

In July of this year a nationwide wildcat strike erupted to protest company-inspired court injunctions and fines against striking UMW locals. Miller was indecisive, finally ordering the miners back to work. They refused, and the strike went on without national leadership for four weeks. In response to this and other wildcats, the Miller leadership proposed that the convention enact a constitutional amendment to prosecute

wildcat leaders. The sentiment against such an outrageous provision was so strong that the resolution died for lack of the 200 delegates needed to second it.

Roll-call vote

On the only roll-call vote taken by the convention, Miller's position lost. The vote was on the Arbitration Review Board established in the last contract and supported by Miller.

Many miners were fed up with the ineffective procedure and voted against it. "I don't think a coal company should appeal and appeal and wait until we die until a decision is made," argued one delegate.

Miller's right-wing opponents didn't use the convention to talk about their former support of Boyle, who now sits in prison for ordering the murder of Jock Yablonski, one of the founders of the reform movement.

Nor did they reminisce about the good old days when any delegate who dared to speak out against Boyle at a national convention would more than likely be rewarded on-the-spot with a bust in the mouth.

Instead, they tried to use the democratic procedures of the convention to disrupt it. It began with the very first point on the agenda. A motion by Patrick to save time by not reading the convention call already printed in the *UMW Journal* was opposed by the disrupters. When the vote was called in favor of Patrick, the minority unsuccessfully called for a roll-call vote, a procedure that would have taken up to three hours.

By the end of the ten-day proceedings, a steady chorus of boos greeted nearly every speaker construed as a Miller supporter. Voice votes were almost automatically contested.

Miller insisted from the beginning that there be no "politicking" during the convention. Thus, the politics of the IEB split were never explained. The tyrannical rule of Boyle was never mentioned. Resolutions supported by Miller were frequently not explained on the convention floor by his backers.

The only "politicking" was left to Miller's opponents. Near the end of the convention, a delegate finally rose to complain: "There's a lot of people running around from delegation to delegation disrupting the convention. Why can't the IEB sit up there [on the platform] where they belong?"

Patterson's record

The real character of the anti-Miller opposition is exemplified by its leader, Lee Roy Patterson.

For years Patterson fought against giving miners the right to vote on contract ratification. Now he attacks Miller for having "failed to get a contract miners were entitled to in 1974."

Patterson's Kentucky district had four times as many fatal accidents in 1975 as the year before.

But earlier this year he told reporters, "As long as we have mining, we're going to have deaths."

Patterson did not take the floor to speak at all during the convention.

Trbovich played his cards on the second day of the convention in his vice-presidential report. He abandoned prepared remarks distributed to the press that warned of a "creeping cancer" in the union, an "internal infiltration of the Socialistic, Revolutionary and Communistic elements." He did charge, nevertheless, that radicals on the UMW staff have "practically destroyed the union."

This attack on the union incensed many delegates who hooted and heckled him. One miner even moved to delete his speech from the official convention record.

But the red-baiting smear had its effect. By the next morning motions to "clean house" of communist delegates, and to expel a "communist" reporter from the Maoist *Call*, received frenzied support.

Miller, chairing the session, apolo-

gized for the presence of a "communist" in the press section, explaining that they had received so many requests for press credentials that it had been impossible to "check" all of them.

One delegate appealed to Miller: "People in here to disrupt are getting their way, and you're letting them do it. Let's move on with the business."

That was most likely the majority sentiment. But because the red-baiting was not answered, it cropped up several more times to disrupt the convention.

Younger miners

The power struggle will ultimately be decided by a union membership radically different in composition from a few years ago. Expansion of the industry has brought an influx of new miners. One-third of UMW members are now in their twenties.

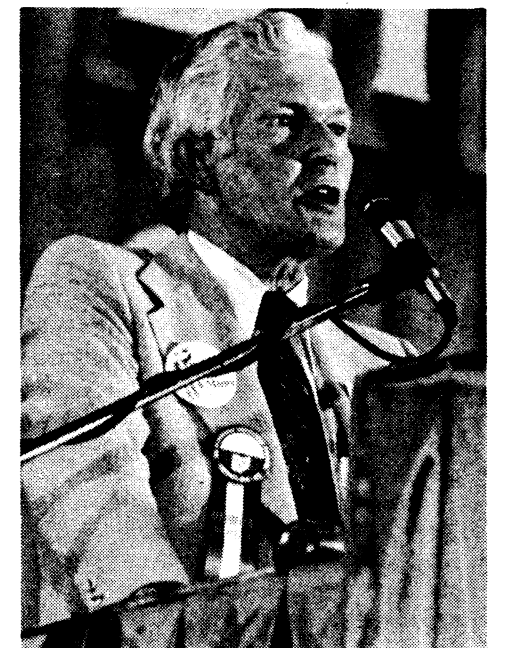
It's a work force increasingly unwilling to jump when told or to accept that there "must" be deaths in the mines.

"I did two years in Vietnam," said one of the union's many armed service veterans, "and I didn't come home to get wasted under a piece of slate, just because somebody told me to work under unsupported top."

The delegates studied the resolutions carefully, especially those on safety. Without hesitation, they demanded *more* if they thought it necessary. They were unawed by printed proposals from official committees.

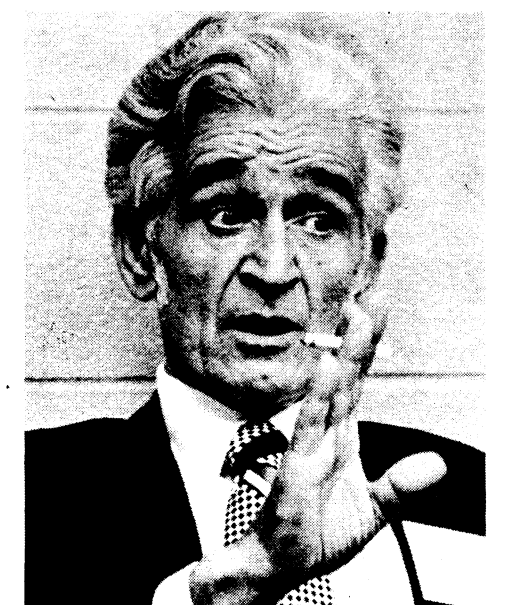
The convention's collective bargaining committee considered nearly 6,000 resolutions submitted by union locals proposing demands for the next contract. Those adopted by the delegates included:

- the right to strike;
- full-time safety committeemen with the power to shut down unsafe mines;
- a six-hour day;
- no compulsory overtime; and
- reduction of the gap between pay grades, with an across-the-board substantial wage increase.



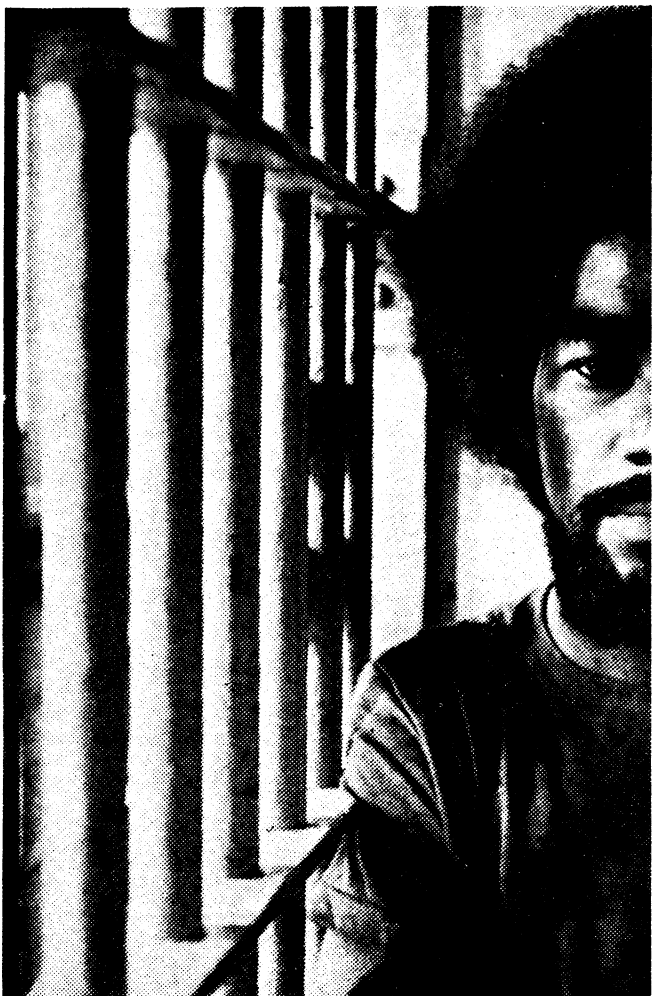
Militant/Nancy Cole

MILLER: "It'll be a pleasure to hold board meetings in the coalfields."

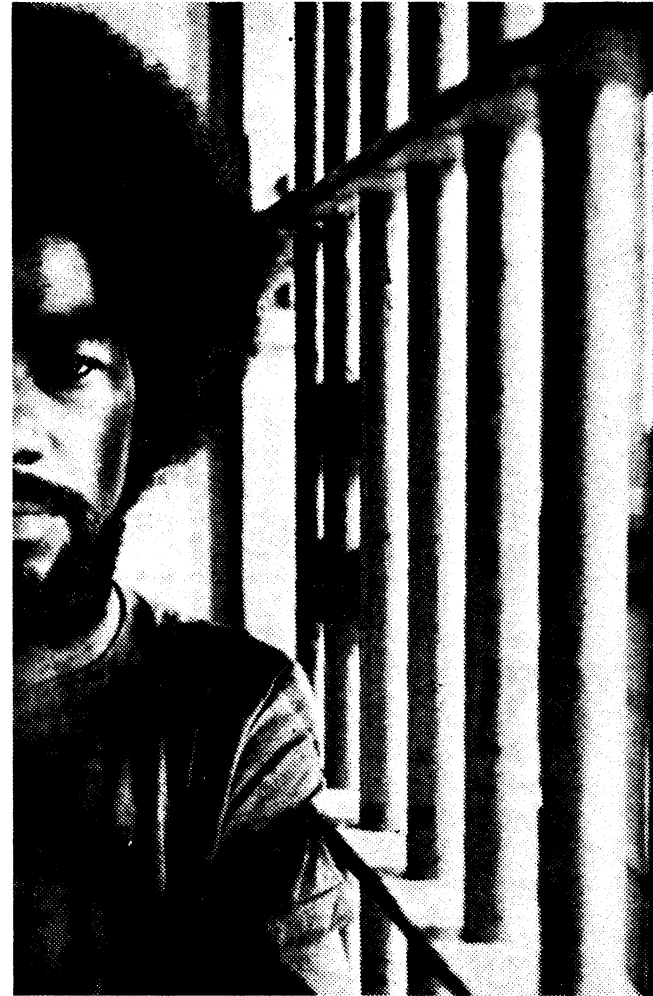


Militant/Nancy Cole

TRBOVICH: Radicals 'have practically destroyed the union.'



Why there will be no prisons under socialism



By Willie Mae Reid

The fifth anniversary of the Attica massacre brought with it new headlines of prison conditions and rebellions by inmates.

When the Attica rebellion ended five years ago with government troops killing forty-three people, all kinds of studies were done and changes in prison conditions recommended. Yet nothing changed, forcing inmates once again to protest.

At the end of August, prisoners of Attica organized a strike. Their demands included the right to shower daily instead of twice a week; an end to overcrowding; more telephone privileges; an end to strip and rectal searches; the right to kiss, hug, and touch visiting relatives and friends; and an end to brutal and racist treatment.

The Socialist Workers party wholeheartedly supports their struggles and demands. But the ultimate aim of socialists is not to have some prettified version of these dehumanizing institutions. As Eugene Victor Debs, that great pioneer of American socialism, put it fifty years ago, "Social-

Willie Mae Reid is the Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president.

ism and prison are antagonistic terms."

At first the idea that there will be no prisons in the socialist future sounds wild and utopian. But not all human societies in the past have had them, and under socialism there will be no need for them either.

It is not only a matter of prisons, but of the whole "law enforcement" machine. The function of this machine—to oppress, brutalize, and terrorize—is best symbolized by the recent legalization of the death penalty in the United States. The whole machine will be swept away.

Product of class society

Prisons and the rest of the machine are products of a specific kind of society—a society that is internally divided into different classes.

As long as there has been master and slave, lord and serf, capitalist and worker, there have been cops, courts, and prisons. But before class society—in the communities of American Indians before the Europeans came, for example—there were no repressive institutions of this kind.

Class society needs prisons, cops, and courts to keep the oppressed majority of the population from overthrowing the rule of the exploiting minority.

The kind of class society that has brought repression to its highest pitch is modern capitalism, especially American capitalism. But it is not crime in general that is punished in the United States. It is the poor who get victimized. Especially if they happen to be young Blacks, Puerto Ricans, or Chicanos.

If the major function of law enforcement in this country were to combat crime, by now even the capitalists would have admitted its failure and sought new approaches.

Virtually every time the government releases crime statistics, previous records are broken.

Capitalism breeds crime.

At one end of the social spectrum we have the tiny clique of organized and legalized criminals. That's the bankers and big businessmen who own our factories, farms, mines, and government.

They make all their decisions on the basis of one factor: profit. They poison our environment, kill millions in their wars, and make life miserable for working people—all in search of a buck.

At the other end of the social spectrum are the outcasts, the drug addicts, the unemployed. There are thousands who have been spit out of the social system as if it were a testing machine rejecting defective parts.

Racism and sexism

There are other ways capitalism breeds crime. The continual depiction of women as sex objects and submissive servants encourages crimes against women, such as rape.

The racist structure and ideology of this society—including the law-and-order and antibusing campaigns of capitalist politicians—leads to vigilante attacks on Blacks and other minorities.



EUGENE DEBS: 'Socialism and prison are antagonistic terms.' Debs was sentenced to ten years in federal prison because of his opposition to World War I.

The frustrations, uncertainties, and pressures of day-to-day life under capitalism are often too much for people to bear. The results are the crimes of passion, the parents who beat their children, the mentally deranged who shoot passersby at random.

And finally the dog-eat-dog principle under which this society operates, coupled with the fact that money—and only money—buys power and comfort, sets the stage for all kinds of crime. This goes from the bribed politician to the landlord who burns his building to collect the insurance.

And what do prisons and the criminal justice system do to end crime?

Nothing. Absolutely nothing.

First, they do nothing to attack the source of crime—the poverty, unemployment, racism, sexism, and irrationality of capitalism.

Second, the idea that a prison is somehow going to "rehabilitate" someone is nonsense. Prisons are

designed not to reform human beings, but to break them. Every single hour of every day of every week for months or years is totally controlled by brutal guards. Prisoners are caged like beasts, driven like beasts, beaten like beasts.

Prisons are designed to torture and terrorize. Dungeons like Attica are American capitalism's answer to the torture racks of the Spanish inquisition.

How to end crime

A socialist America will have no need for that kind of barbarism. Crime will be eliminated by eliminating its root causes.

Under socialism, no one will want for food, clothes, shelter, or any other necessity. That will be the absolute right of every single person—something to be taken for granted as we take for granted the air we breathe.

With an end to the systematic propagation and practice of racism and sexism by the government and the ruling class, such sentiments will begin to fade away. This will be aided by the impact of massive affirmative-action programs to eradicate the second-class status of oppressed minorities and women, and by systematic education against racist and sexist ideas.

Ending frustrations and uncertainties of daily life under capitalism will lay the basis for eliminating crimes of passion, alcoholism, drug addiction, and similar social evils.

What then to do with the prisons?

Raze the prisons

I would raze them to the ground. Except for one or maybe a couple to be kept as museums.

There will, of course, still be antisocial behavior in the years immediately following a socialist revolution.

But torturing people in prisons will not solve that problem—if nothing else, the experience of capitalist societies has taught us that. We will have to devise more effective and humane methods for overcoming this problem.

Finally, we will have to decide what to do with the small minority of unrepentant capitalists and their hangers-on. Some aren't likely to accept the new social order.

What do we do about them? Lock them into Attica and let them rot? No. That's not the answer.

A socialist revolution will be made, in part, to do away with such sadistic revenge, not to change the name or class of its victims.

Trotsky's view

Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky wrote about this in a popular American magazine in 1935. "If America Should Go Communist" was the name of the article in which Trotsky wrote:

"As to the comparatively few opponents of the [socialist] revolution, one can trust to American inventive genius. It may well be that you will take your unconvinced millionaires and send them to some picturesque island, rent-free for life, where they can do as they please."

[The following article is based on a report given by Malik Miah at the Socialist Workers party national convention in August. Miah, a member of the SWP National Committee, is the party's Black liberation director. He has been an active participant in the fight to defend school desegregation in Boston.]

Over the past two years, the struggle to win school desegregation in Boston and other cities has been a central issue in American politics.

Every major capitalist presidential contender this spring spoke out against busing, although it is the only viable means to end school segregation in this racist society.

The importance of the busing fight is also pointed up by continuing federal court desegregation orders. For example, desegregation plans are expected to be in operation this fall in Milwaukee; Dayton, Ohio; Omaha, Nebraska; Dallas; Wilmington, Delaware; and Indianapolis.

Busing has become a focus of the struggle between those who want to advance the struggle for Black equality and those who want to roll it back.

That is why we in the Socialist Workers party have spent so much of our time and efforts over the past two years defending busing.

At stake in the struggle for school desegregation is the democratic right of Blacks to get the best education possible—an equal education now denied them. But much more is also at stake.

The outcome of this battle will affect the struggles of women, youth, and other working people attempting to defend and improve their living standards.

Government offensive

The government's offensive against busing is part of its general assault against the working class as a whole.

This is one reason why AFL-CIO President George Meany has continued to publicly support busing. Even Meany—who has taken reactionary stands on the Vietnam War and other important social issues—recognizes that the aim of the employers and their government is not solely to roll back gains of the civil rights and Black liberation movements. They also intend to slash the wages, living standards, and democratic rights of all workers.

It is no surprise, then, that the government, politicians, media, and police have tolerated and even encouraged racist violence against Blacks—the most militant section of the working class.

Encouraged by this government complicity, right-wing organizations of all sorts have grown recently. The government offensive has paved the way for expanding support to racist groups such as Boston's ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights).

It has also made it easier for anti-Black, antilabor outfits like the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi party to operate around the country.

Boston: center of battle

Since September 1974, Boston has been the center of the busing fight. This is where the battle lines were first drawn between racist forces and supporters of school desegregation.

The antibusing movement in Boston is highly organized. It has wide backing both at city hall and inside the police department.

As a result, ROAR and other right-wing organizations have been able to function quite freely as terror squads against Boston's Black community.

Blacks have been chased out of all-white East Boston. They can't live in South Boston. They can't use certain beaches in the city. The democratic right of Blacks to move freely within Boston has been curtailed.

Antibusing violence has also erupted in Louis-



MALIK MIAH

Militant/Henry Snipper

Where the struggle school desegregation



ville, Pasadena, and other cities. But the racist movement in Boston has posed the greatest danger. It has conducted a sustained and organized drive against Black rights for more than two years.

Lessons

The fight for busing in this country is just beginning. As in all major social struggles, setbacks and defeats will occur along the way. But the overall fight will go on.

This is true because the capitalist class is incapable of granting educational equality to Blacks—either through the right to control their own schools with adequate funding, or through full school desegregation. Total Black equality is only possible after the victory of the socialist revolution.

The Black community must continue, however, to press for the complete implementation of its democratic rights.

Otherwise, not only will the desegregation fight be lost, but the capitalists will attempt to worsen the already rotten education received by Blacks.

Key to advancing the fight for Black equality today is to draw the lessons from past experiences.

Government inaction

The main lesson to be drawn from the Boston events is the government's direct responsibility for racist violence.

The government's refusal to enforce its own desegregation laws has given a green light to racist organizations such as ROAR in Boston, "United Labor Against Busing" in Louisville, and the American Nazis in several other cities. These groups have carried out attacks on the Black community with virtual impunity.

Government inaction has also resulted in a deep racial polarization in Boston. This polarization camouflages deep class divisions in the city. As a result, it has been harder to win over working-class whites to support the democratic rights of the Black community. Many moderate or probusing whites in Boston have remained silent, fearing vigilante retaliation.

The role of the government has been crucial in all this. Its acts have helped the racists in Boston and nationally.

1950s

Washington played a similar role in the 1950s. Within a year after the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision, the justices had decided that their own ruling need not be enforced immediately—just with "all deliberate speed."

The court's back-peddling gave the go-ahead to Jim Crow supporters in the South. It was a signal that if they "resisted" long enough, Jim Crow could be maintained.

The racists began to mobilize their gangs to attack Blacks. Organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils gathered steam.

Washington collaborated with local and state governments in the South in resisting desegrega-

tion. It refused to send federal troops to protect the Black community against violent attacks.

When the government *did* act against city and state officials and right-wing mobs, it did so only in response to mass social pressure. This was true in Little Rock in 1957 and Selma in 1965.

The defeat of Jim Crow came about through the actions of the independent civil rights movement based on Black communities across the country. Beginning with the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955-56, through the freedom rides and sit-ins of the 1960s, Jim Crow was finally defeated.

The civil rights movement showed not only the power of an independent Black movement in this country. It also exposed the complicity of the federal government with the racists.

No enforcement

Things are much the same today. Instead of enforcing desegregation, the government has encouraged and cooperated with antibusing forces.

Instead of sending federal troops into South Boston to arrest and lock up racist hooligans, the government—through statements by President Ford and other officials—egged on the drive to disrupt busing and terrorize Black citizens.

In the 1950s the government had the power to stop the bigots, but refused to do so. In the 1970s the government has the power to stop the racists, but again refuses to do so.

Why? Because it is not in the government's class interests to defend Black rights.

We must educate the masses to have no illusions that the government and the Democratic and Republican parties will protect Black rights.

Only the power of an independent mass movement will force the government to use its military might to enforce Black civil rights.

Rulers' dilemma

Despite the government's complicity with racist forces, it is not able today to publicly attack the idea that Blacks should have equal rights. Aside from outright fascist elements, almost no one anymore openly says that Blacks should be kept segregated. Almost no one openly says that Blacks should be denied social, economic, and political equality with whites.

This was not true thirty years ago. This new situation poses a dilemma for the capitalists in carrying out their offensive against working people.

The militant struggles of Blacks and their supporters over past decades won respect from millions of whites. The racist attitudes of many whites were challenged by these struggles, and attitudes began to change on a massive scale.

Despite the government's offensive, this general respect for the potential of Black power remains.

The struggles of the past twenty years have also given Blacks more self-confidence and self-pride. Black nationalist consciousness deepened throughout that entire period.

Any attempt to drastically reverse gains from

gle for on stands



past struggles will result in big resistance.

The U.S. ruling class also faces international pressures that influence how it carries out its anti-Black and anti-working-class offensive.

The 1954 Supreme Court decision was in part an attempt by Washington to enhance its image among newly emerging independent nations in Asia and Africa.

Today the rise of the revolution in southern Africa, coming after the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, has a similar impact on U.S. imperialism. If America's rulers did not claim to back Black equality at home, their overtures to African and Asian governments would lose all credibility.

Given the current upsurge in southern Africa, Washington feels this pressure quite acutely. With Kissinger paying lip service to Black majority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia, he and Ford cannot turn around and say that Blacks in this country have no rights.

Malcolm X used to talk about this ruling-class hypocrisy.

"South Africa is like a vicious wolf," Malcolm said, "openly hostile toward Black humanity. But America is cunning like a fox, friendly and smiling, but even more vicious and deadly than the wolf."

"The wolf and the fox are both enemies of humanity; both are canine; both humiliate and mutilate their victims. Both have the same objectives, but differ only in methods."

The opposition of Black Americans to U.S. intervention in Angola helped tie Washington's hands this year. Blacks in this country are also taking the lead in mobilizing solidarity with freedom struggles in Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa.

We can predict that the African revolution will continue to have a profound impact on the struggle for Black liberation here in the United States.

Attacks on busing

Given these international and domestic factors, the ruling class has to camouflage its attacks on busing behind demagogic statements supporting school desegregation and Black rights.

The government has released several trial balloons of a legislative and legal nature to gauge how fast and far it can go in limiting busing.

President Gerald Ford has taken the offensive on this issue during the past year. Although his reelection bid is certainly involved in this, Ford's attack is part of the general rollback of Black rights.

Ford's first trial balloon went up in May. Attorney General Edward Levi announced plans to intervene on behalf of antibusing forces in the Boston desegregation appeal that was before the U.S. Supreme Court at that time.

Public opinion, however, moved quickly—led by the NAACP and other Black groups. Ford and Levi were forced to retreat. And the Supreme Court refused to hear the racists' appeal.

Then, on June 24 Ford submitted legislation to

Congress that would limit the power of federal courts to order busing. It would also limit the number of years a court could actively enforce a busing plan once it was ordered.

This bill is misnamed the School Desegregation Standards and Assistance Act of 1976. Its real aim, however, is to maintain white privilege.

The Supreme Court has also dealt blows to desegregation. On June 28 it ruled in favor of racist opponents of busing in Pasadena, California. The court said the Pasadena Board of Education should not be required to reassign Black and white students yearly in order to maintain desegregation levels ordered in 1970. This decision will lead to the resegregation of Pasadena schools.

The court's decision in this case marked a big setback to the busing fight. It helped undercut the significance of the court's decision not to review the Boston desegregation order.

The Pasadena decision should warn Blacks that the Supreme Court will not necessarily continue to enforce its own 1954 ruling. The Supreme Court will respond primarily to the relationship of forces between those struggling for Black rights and those struggling against those rights.

Divisions in ruling class

Although the ruling class as a whole sees the need to roll back Black gains, there are disagreements on whether such sharp attacks on busing should be carried out at the present time.

Some of the nation's rulers fear the reaction of Blacks to an all-out attack. They fear that such an assault may spur Blacks to organize and fight back on a massive scale.

This, for example, is the opinion of the editors of the *New York Times*. After the announcement of the Ford-Levi plans to intervene in the Boston case, the *Times* editorialized:

"The first message—even worse than that issued by President Ford in 1974 when he 'respectfully disagreed' with Judge Garrity's original [Boston desegregation] order—would be to encourage resistance to the orders of the Federal courts. The signal would simply read that if one disagrees loudly enough, throws enough bricks, breaks enough windows and injures enough people, the Justice Department ultimately will back down and ask the courts to bend the law to accommodate violent resistance to it. . . .

"Black Americans will be put on notice that the Department of Justice . . . has concluded that there are no remedies for their rights and that the last 22 years have been nothing more than a cruel hoax."

What the *Times* editors actually fear is another Soweto in Boston, Detroit, or Pasadena.

Where things stand

On the whole, the relationship of forces today is unfavorable for supporters of busing. Federal courts have recently issued weaker and weaker desegregation orders. The Detroit decision, for example, is among the weakest. Blacks in that city are being bused from all-Black schools to other predominantly Black schools. The Detroit NAACP is now appealing the ruling.

But the mere fact of continuing court desegregation orders—no matter how weak—shows that the racists have not won. In fact, the legal setbacks the Boston racists suffered over the summer have demoralized many of their supporters.

Unfortunately, no Black leadership currently exists that shapes up to the task of organizing a countermovement against the racists.

Because such leadership does not exist, the racists' lies about busing have gone largely unanswered in any mass sense. In addition, none of the Black community's current leaders have effectively exposed the government's role in the assault on Black rights.

Lessons from April 24

This vacuum of leadership was among the main political reasons why the planned national probusing march on Boston scheduled for April 24 had to be canceled. This cancellation represented the biggest setback for the antiracist movement over the past year.

This setback has led to a certain demoralization and weakening of the antiracist forces, particularly in Boston. This can only be reversed by a major educational campaign culminating in a successful mass action for busing sometime in the future.

April 24 was called in response to an increase in anti-Black violence in Boston over the winter. No other national probusing march or rally had been held anywhere in the country since the NAACP-called demonstration in Boston on May 17, 1975.

On the other hand, the racists had held numerous demonstrations and were planning a national march for Washington, D.C., also on April 24. (This action turned out to be quite small.)

The potential for the April 24 probusing march was shown by the large number of local and national endorsers gathered by march organizers. Leading up to April 24, more people in Boston knew about the planned demonstration than about any previous one. This march—unlike prior demonstrations—was scheduled to step off in the Black community.

Difficult decision

This potential made it very difficult for march organizers to make the decision canceling the action.

April 24 had to be canceled because of a combination of factors: 1) events in Boston in the days just before the march and 2) the default in leadership by major Black organizations such as the NAACP, Urban League, Nation of Islam, Operation PUSH, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and those unions that support busing.

None of these organizations threw their forces and energies behind this march, although a mass response was badly needed to counter the racist mobilizations and violence.

This default in leadership flowed from a conscious policy of class collaboration—that is, these organizations look to and rely on the capitalist parties and government to defend Black rights. They counterpose this policy to a strategy of relying on our own power mobilized in the streets.

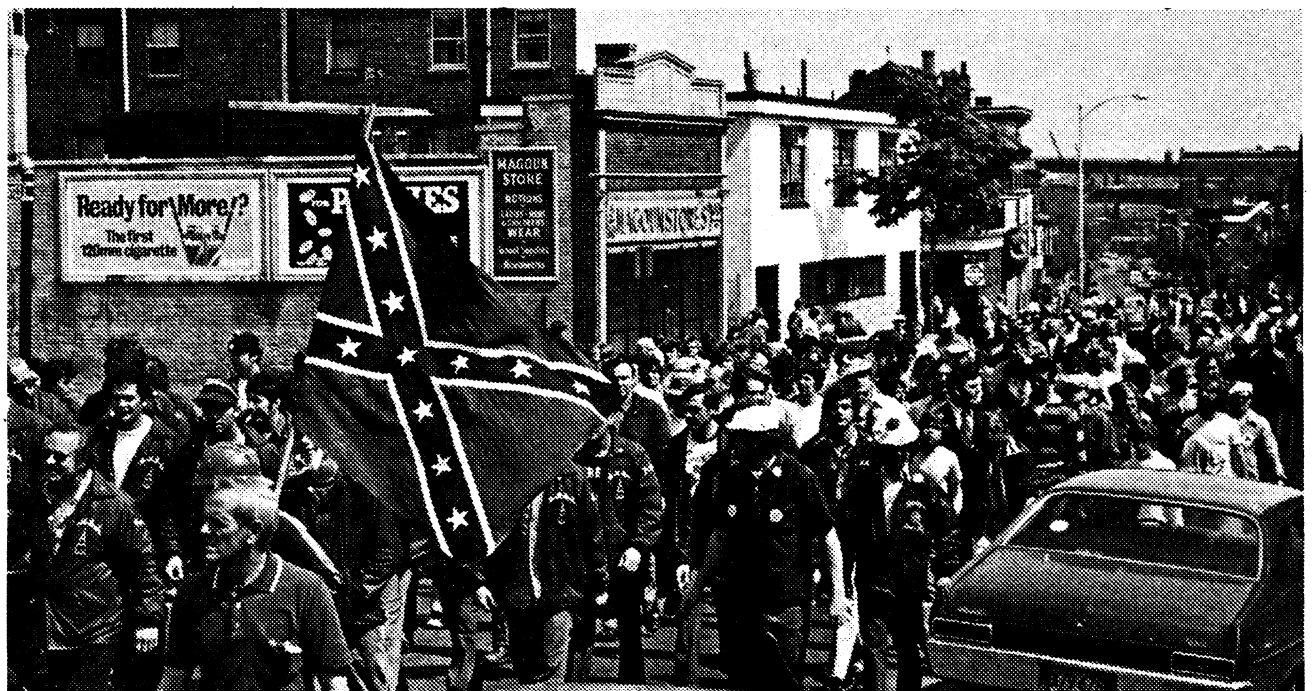
This factor, however, was not the *decisive* one in the cancellation of the march. April 24 was not the first time—and it won't be the last—that potentially powerful organizations have refused to act in defense of their own followers and their own interests.

When that occurs, it may be necessary for revolutionists to take the initiative in calling an action.

That was the course the Socialist Workers party followed in Boston.

As momentum for the April 24 march developed, we hoped that pressure would build up on the NAACP and other groups to join in. But even if

Continued on next page



Militant/Anne Teesdale

'The government's refusal to enforce its own desegregation laws has given a green light to racist organizations.'

...the struggle for desegregation

Continued from preceding page

they didn't, we intended to urge the April 24 coalition to hold the march.

It was our opinion then—and it still is—that even a demonstration of only 1,000 people would be a big step forward in Boston. It would have dealt a blow to the racists and set the stage for even bigger demonstrations.

A march as broadly endorsed as April 24 would have mobilized the most conscious antiracist forces. It would have given renewed confidence to the young Blacks riding the buses. It would have shown those students that they had brothers and sisters standing behind them.

For that reason alone, such a march would have been worthwhile.

The decisive factor in canceling the march, however, was the situation that developed in Boston just days before the march. The default in leadership only made it more difficult to overcome these new problems.

Those days before April 24 were hell!

Not only did the racists step up their violence, the cops worked with them hand-in-glove.

This situation led to a rapid polarization in the city between Blacks and whites. It wasn't safe for Blacks to go into white areas.

In response to the racist violence, many young Blacks responded in kind to whites traveling in the Black community.

This tense atmosphere whipped up by the white racists—and city hall's refusal to stop the bigots—led many key Black leaders in Boston to withdraw their support from the march.

These Black leaders were the strongest backers of April 24 up to that time. Some even threatened to publicly denounce the march if plans for it continued. They intended to tell Blacks that the march was a dangerous trap.

This turn of events significantly narrowed the political forces in the April 24 coalition.

This, in turn, made it impossible to mount an effective political campaign to pressure city hall to protect Black and white marchers on April 24. Demonstration marshals would have been physically unable to stop a highly organized attack by the racists under such circumstances.

It was this situation that made the cancellation of the march necessary.

Not inevitable

Of course, if the national Black leadership had decided to back the march, pressure could have been exerted on the government to provide protection and keep the racists at bay.

But this didn't happen.

March preparations in those last days were led and organized mainly by the National Student Coalition Against Racism—the embryonic left wing of the small probusing movement.

To march under such circumstances would have been suicidal. The marchers would not have had the support of the Black community or its present leadership. The demonstrators would have been completely isolated.

The march could easily have been broken up by the racists or by government agents provocateurs. In our opinion, such an occurrence would have marked a much more serious defeat for the Black community than calling off the march.

To have held the march would have been irresponsible. It would have exposed scores of probusing activists to racist violence under conditions where they could not defend themselves. Not only that, it would have made it much more difficult to organize demonstrations in the future. The leaders of the march would have been totally discredited in the eyes of the Black community.

Under such conditions, the only correct decision for march leaders was to admit that a setback had occurred and cancel the march.

At the same time, demonstration leaders stressed the need for a probusing demonstration as soon as possible. And they launched an educational campaign on the issues that could lay the basis for such a demonstration.

This continues to be our goal. This is what we did and are now doing.

Explain things squarely

We must always remember the real state of affairs in this country today.

Key figures in the Black and labor movements right now are not providing leadership in the struggles to defend working people. Many are outright standing in the way.



Militant/Mary Hendrickson

'We must be prepared to respond to any serious attacks on Boston's Black community with a nationwide response.'

At this time, however, we revolutionists are still too small to replace these leaders, who are still looked to by the masses.

Our job is to explain things squarely and honestly to the masses of American working people. Our aim is to raise their political consciousness by involving them in mass political activity.

With our currently small forces, we can do this best by participating in united fronts with these large reformist organizations around important political issues. That's how we worked with the NAACP around the May 17, 1975, probusing march. And that's what we'll do in the future.

Through this approach, we can build a new leadership for the working class and the oppressed nationalities.

The U.S. left

Our approach to the busing struggle stands in sharp contrast to almost every other left-wing group. With the exception of the *Guardian* newspaper, almost every left group that said anything about April 24 opposed its cancellation.

The Communist party didn't comment on April 24 at all—either before the action or after its postponement. This was another indication of its rotten role in the Boston school desegregation battle.

The CP has not proposed any course of action to the Black community in Boston other than backing liberal capitalist candidates and sending telegrams to Attorney General Levi.

The Maoist October League and the Workers World party both participated in the April 24 coalition and condemned the cancellation. The Workers League, International Socialists, and Spartacist League—sectarian groups that didn't support the march—nonetheless joined in the chorus of condemnation.

Their arguments reflect two things.

First, these groups have no understanding of the real relationship of forces in Boston. Total disregard for such matters is characteristic of these groups in almost every situation. They all live in their own small, isolated dream worlds. They have no strategy to reach out and involve masses of people.

Second, these groups have no concept of what it means to be part of the leadership team of a mass movement—what it means to have responsibilities not only to your own organization, but to masses of working people.

The Socialist Workers party, in contrast, sized up the situation in Boston by assessing the real social forces. That's how we decided our tactics in that situation.

Our main concern was always the interests of the Black community—not just on April 24, but afterwards.

How could we advance the overall fight for Black rights? That was always our guideline.

We recognized that this will be a long-term fight with both victories and setbacks. Our role as revolutionary leaders is to lead the masses forward to victory. But sometimes along the way retreats must be made—like April 24—in order to regroup and move forward tomorrow.

In such situations, any other course of action would be wrong and irresponsible.

We would have betrayed the trust of Boston's Black community if we had followed the course proposed by other left groups on April 24. Their proposals would have ended in a bloodbath and a major defeat for the Black community.

We would have lost the trust and confidence of masses of Blacks not only in Boston but across the country—trust and confidence built up because we have shown in action that we can lead struggles forward and win victories.

Strategy to move forward

As we enter the fall, numerous cities are beginning desegregation plans. Boston, however, remains the center of the busing struggle.

The third year of busing begins in Boston this fall. And the racists have pledged to continue their campaign against desegregation.

We must be prepared to respond to any serious attacks on Boston's Black community with a nationwide response.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism is planning a third national conference in Boston after the November elections [November 19-21 at Boston University].

We want to help make this conference as large as possible. We want to involve not only students, but important union and community leaders as well. We want these people to speak at the conference rally and participate in the workshops.

This conference will be the only place this fall where antiracist activists can meet together to discuss, *What next?* It will be the only place to map out a defense of busing and desegregation and plan perspectives for the overall fight against racism in the United States.

Our main job in the coming months is to continue to educate on the importance of the busing issue in the struggle for Black rights. This means stepping up our efforts to explain why busing is the only road to desegregated education today.

It also means explaining again and again how the busing fight can be won: mass mobilizations of the Black community and its allies both in Boston and across the country.

Issues in Boston

THE RACIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST BUSING: The Lessons of Boston; How to Fight Back, by Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. 50 cents.

WHO KILLED JIM CROW? The Story of the Civil Rights Movement and Its Lessons for Today, by Peter Camejo. 60 cents.

FROM MISSISSIPPI TO BOSTON: The Demand for Troops to Enforce Civil Rights. An Education for Socialists publication, 8½ x 11 format, 75 cents.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 15, 1976

Under gov't, TUC pressure

British Seamen's union calls off strike

By Jim Atkinson and John Blackburn

LONDON—The executive committee of the National Union of Seamen (NUS) voted by a narrow margin September 22 to call off a planned strike for a pay raise barred under the Labour government's wage controls. Under heavy pressure from top leaders of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Labour government, the leadership of the 38,000-member union agreed to accept improved fringe benefits in lieu of the pay increase.

The seamen wanted a £6 weekly wage rise starting last July—a demand which NUS leaders argued was in accord with the £6 limit operative under Phase One of Labour's pay policy, which was in force until August. But the TUC and the government disagreed. On July 14, and again on August 11, the TUC Economic Committee, which has acted as a sort of examining body for wage claims under the "social contract," ruled that the seamen could not have a wage rise until next January.

Two days after the TUC's final adverse ruling, the NUS National Executive Committee, facing mounting pressure from militant seamen, decided to ballot the union's membership on the advisability of taking some kind of industrial action to secure their pay claim.

On September 6, the results of the ballot were announced: by a slight majority the seamen had voted for industrial action. Immediately, 300 seamen at Felixstowe port jumped the gun on the union leadership and staged a twenty-four-hour wildcat walkout to pressure their leaders into calling a national strike. The following morning (September 8), the NUS executive voted unanimously for an all-out strike from three days thence.

The NUS leaders, however, had been cornered into a confrontation for which they had no stomach. On September 9, the *Guardian* reported that "Mr Slater, who is a member of the TUC General Council, went out of his way to deny that the strike was a challenge to the social contract."

But Slater's pleas of loyalty to the social contract cut little ice with either the TUC or the government. The impending strike threatened to undermine the social contract by pointing the way to other sectors of workers to challenge the wage controls.

On the other hand, if the government had tried to hold out against a prolonged seamen's strike the economic dangers for the ruling class and the

government could have been immense.

But the government, in an unprecedented move on the eve of such a crucial strike, decided to take a back seat, leaving the TUC to meet with the seamen's leaders and force a surrender—a mark of the government's high confidence in the TUC leaders and a striking example of the prominent role now played by the trade-union bureaucracy under the social contract as a direct agent of government policy.

In a September 12 article entitled "Seamen: How the TUC put the boot in," the *Observer's* labour correspondent Robert Taylor gave a picture of how the TUC leaders went to work on the seamen's leaders. "There was no doubting the TUC's determination to drive home to Jim Slater, the volatile NUS general secretary, and his executive just what their surprise call for an all-out industrial action would mean.

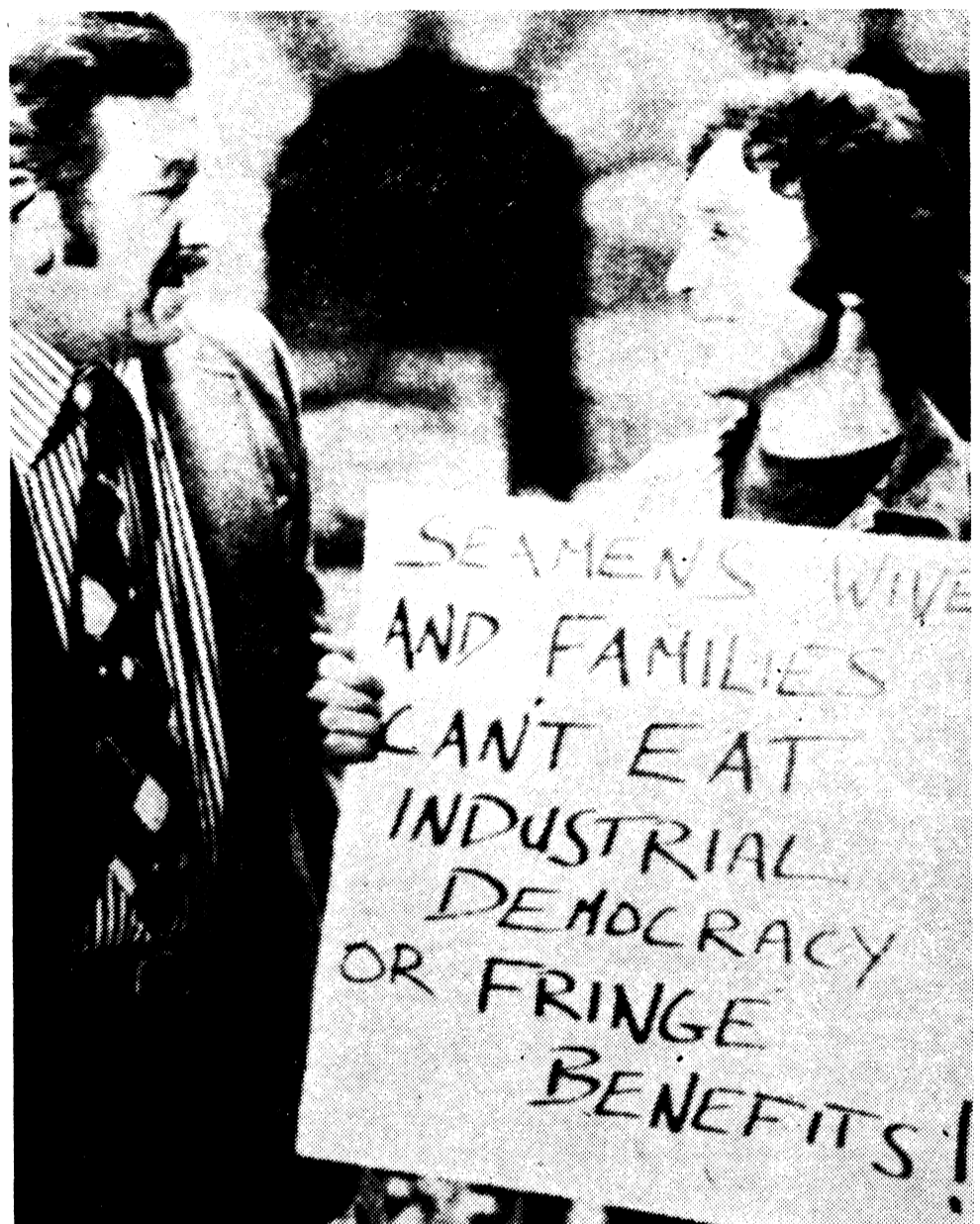
"'By God, we'll make sure no union supports you,' is what TUC General Secretary Len Murray told them. . . ."

Under this pressure, the NUS executive voted by 8-7 September 11 to postpone the strike for 15 days. After eleven more days of intensive talks, first with the TUC and then with the shipowners, the strike was called off and a settlement reached providing fringe gains allowable under the government's wage controls.

The crisis had proved especially acute for the TUC since, embarrassingly, the original strike decision had been announced right in the middle of the TUC's annual week-long congress where a reaffirmation of support for the social contract was the main point on the agenda.

Meeting in the seaside resort of Brighton, the delegates (who represented Britain's eleven million organised workers) voted overwhelmingly to renew the social contract for another three years. The main resolution adopted called for a return to "free collective bargaining" after Phase Two expires next August, but said that this should be "planned" and "orderly" to avoid a "wages free-for-all." As the TUC general secretary, Len Murray, put it in his keynote speech to the congress on September 8: "The move next year towards a more flexible system must not lurch into instability but be an orderly process: otherwise we shall cast away all that we have gained."

Singing the praises of the social contract, Murray claimed that "all in all, trade unionists have gained more from this government in the last two and a half years than from any other government"—at a time when there



Red Weekly

are 1.5 million jobless, social facilities are being stripped back by public spending cuts, and prices in August were up 13.8 percent over a year ago.

With this record, the seamen are unlikely to be the only group of workers to threaten to puncture the social contract. "The barter price of wage restraint," *Times* labour editor Paul Routledge reminded the paper's readers on September 6, "was supposed to be price control and more jobs. Prices are bound to rise with the phasing out of food subsidies, and registered unemployment has reached 1,500,000 and is still rising. The reckoning cannot be postponed for ever. . . ."

Unemployment is hitting especially hard at public sector workers, and it is from the public sector unions that the first signs of action on the jobs front are coming. The National Union of Public Employees (NUPE), the country's fifth largest union with over 600,000 members, has called a demonstration and lobby of Parliament for November 17. NUPE's London Divisional Council has called on its members to strike on November 17. And Britain's largest civil service union, the Civil and Public Service Association (CPSA), has thrown its support behind the demonstration and called a one-day strike for November 17.

'A steady descent into hell'

The settlement reached by the NUS set off a selling spree by holders of the British pound that sent that currency plummeting to a record low of \$1.64 on September 28.

The capitalist governments, banks, and giant corporations that trade on the world money market feared that the benefits agreed to opened the way for more challenges to the government's wage control policy.

One financial dealer told the *Wall Street Journal* that "the government and the unions say the wage-restraint policy hasn't been breached by the seamen's pact, but to the rest of us it looks like a coach

and horses have been driven through it."

Seeking to counteract this opinion and shore up the pound, Prime Minister James Callaghan told the Labour party conference September 28 that the Labour government would continue with its policies of cuts in social spending and tight wage controls.

But the militancy of British workers leaves the international financiers skeptical as to how long the Labour government's policies can be maintained without provoking big social struggles.

One London money dealer called the sterling's weakness "a steady, unstoppable descent into hell."

Revolutionists still held as political prisoners

Demand Mao's heirs free Chinese Trotskyists!

By Michael Baumann

Following the death of the Great Helmsman, his successors have embarked on a campaign of speedup under the slogan, "Turn grief into strength."

Workers are being encouraged to lift output some 20 to 30 percent, with special praise reserved for such model efforts as a Shanghai steel plant that "stayed on the job around the clock."

There is nothing to indicate that Mao would have disapproved. But would it not be more fitting to follow the example set by even some of the most repressive capitalist governments upon the death of an autocratic ruler—namely, the release of political prisoners?

The fate of revolutionary militants who have rotted for years in the cells of Mao's political prisons demands immediate attention. Their persecution was one of Mao's worst crimes.

In the case of the Chinese Trotskyists, many were seasoned veterans of the resistance war against Japanese imperialism and the fight against the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. They were jailed solely for their political views. They became victims of the Mao regime because of their outspoken advocacy of socialist democracy.

The arrest and incarceration of the Trotskyist militants began almost as soon as Mao came to power. In the fall of 1949 several dozen Trotskyists were arrested in Shanghai and Wenchow, and two were executed. In 1950, a similar group was arrested in Kwangsi and Kwangtung provinces. Some were

shot on false charges of being "Kuomintang agents."

A number of the Trotskyists' local headquarters were raided by the new regime.

Trotskyist organizations not raided in these years were constantly persecuted in various other ways. Their activities and correspondence were kept under permanent surveillance.

The biggest raids were carried out three years after Mao rose to power. In sweeping actions across China December 22, 1952, and January 8, 1953, Mao's political police arrested virtually every known Trotskyist. In many cases their friends and relatives were arrested, too.

In all, about 200 persons are estimated to have been seized in the final raids. In the twenty-three years that have since passed, the wall of silence imposed by Maoist censorship has prevented any definite word of their fate from reaching the outside world.

What are the charges against them? It is impossible to say. No indictments or trials were ever made public, if indeed they ever took place. No mention of the arrests was made in the official press.

What did they really do to earn Mao's enmity?

Li Fu-jen, a former Shanghai journalist who knew some of them personally, answered this question in the June 29, 1970, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Following Mao's takeover, "they continued to maintain, as far as possible, a group activity. They met together. They propagated their politi-

cal ideas by word of mouth and the printed word. They committed no acts that could reasonably be construed as counterrevolutionary."

Each of these activities, it should be noted, is guaranteed as a right of all citizens under both the constitution of 1954 and the constitution of 1975.

If no public trials were held for the Chinese Trotskyists, it was in large part because their records as fighters for the revolution made this extremely difficult. They fought for twenty-five years for the national independence of China, for the liberation of the proletariat and peasant masses, and for a socialist perspective.

Because of their activity, they suffered brutal repression from reactionary forces. Many of their comrades were put to death by Chiang Kai-shek's political police or suffered in his prison cells. Many died in the resistance war against Japanese imperialism, or were buried alive with Communist party militants on the eve of the liberation. Others spent long terms in Chiang's concentration camps, alongside CP cadres.

After the revolution, the Trotskyists participated in some of the campaigns instituted by the Mao regime. This is a matter of public record, for their revolutionary activity was at times praised in the Maoist press.

The unwavering support given to the Chinese revolution by their cothinkers abroad is a further indication of the mettle and views of the Chinese Trotskyists.

In the United States, the Trotskyist

newspaper the *Militant* continually opposed Washington's support to Chiang and the aggression in Korea launched by Truman. The *Militant* demanded that the White House grant diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China, and opposed all the preparations for war against the new regime.

Silenced by political repression and strict censorship, the Chinese masses cannot demand redress for these and other revolutionists held behind bars. Accordingly, it is the duty of the entire international workers movement, of all civil-liberties organizations, to demand their freedom.

In a statement issued April 16, 1972, the Fourth International called on the international labor and socialist movement to speak out for the release of the imprisoned Chinese Trotskyists. The statement said, in part:

"We ask all the organizations that have defended the People's Republic of China against its foes, that have supported the Chinese Revolution, to take a stand on this issue to help break the wall of silence."

A little more than a year before his death, Mao began releasing convicted war criminals, nearly all of whom had served as lieutenants or police agents of Chiang Kai-shek. It is a monstrous violation of proletarian democracy to leave veteran revolutionists behind bars while these butchers walk free. Mao's successors should be pressed to alter their late master's policy and release the Trotskyist revolutionists at once.

Dublin tribunal condemns Noel and Marie Murray

Before every major step in escalating repression, the imperialist authorities in Northern Ireland and the neocolonialists in the formally independent part of the country have tried to test the reaction of public opinion.

The case of a young couple sentenced to hang in the Twenty-Six County "Free State" seems to be another such test.

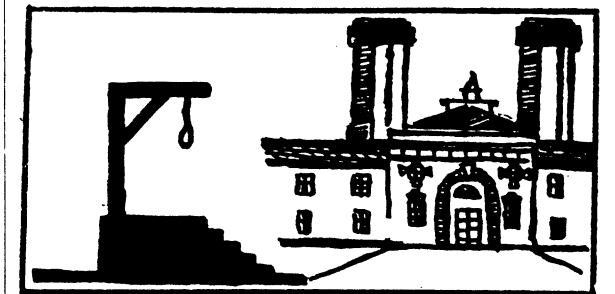
On June 9, in the Special Criminal Court in Dublin, Justice Pringle passed judgment on Marie Murray (twenty-seven years old) and Noel Murray (twenty-five): "It was the duty of the court, therefore, to order that you be removed to the prison in which you were last confined and there to suffer death by execution in the manner prescribed by law [hanging] on July 9, 1976, and to be buried within the precincts of the said prison."

Police officials claimed that Marie Murray had admitted shooting an off-duty policeman, Michael Reynolds, during an attempted bank robbery September 11, 1975, when he tried to capture her and her husband. After she was arrested, she allegedly told a policeman: "It was panic and carelessness; I did not know it was a guard [policeman] until I heard it on the news. I only intended to hit him. He crumpled up."

On technical grounds, court experts claimed the gun could not have been fired accidentally.

The Murrays refused to participate in the hearings on the grounds that they were not getting a fair trial. However, before sentence was pronounced, they denied involvement in the shooting and the robbery. Noel Murray argued that the only evidence against him and his wife were statements that they had not made volun-

MUST THEY HANG?



MARIE AND NOEL MURRAY, SENTENCED TO DIE BY HANGING, ON THE 9th JULY, IN THE SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURT, BY JUDGES PRINGLE, MARTIN AND CARROLL.

THEY WERE SENTENCED TO DEATH WITHOUT A JURY — THE ONLY EVIDENCE WAS STATEMENTS, EXTRACTED UNDER TORTURE BY THE POLICE.

THE ACCUSED WERE NEITHER PRESENT NOR LEGALLY REPRESENTED DURING TWO THIRDS OF THEIR TRIAL.

POLICE PERJURY HAS CONDEMNED THEM TO DEATH

Leaflet circulated by Murray Defence Committee. Irish Supreme Court is to hear their appeal November 1.

tarily and had repudiated.

The court that tried the couple was a special tribunal of the type originally instituted in 1939 and revived by government decree in 1972. In such courts there are no juries, and the established rules of evidence do not apply.

The argument used by the authorities to justify these procedures is that in political cases, juries can be subjected to unusual pressures. The tribunals were first set up under the pretext of the wartime emergency to crush the

republican movement. They were revived for the purpose of suppressing republicanism after the upsurge in Northern Ireland.

When questions were raised whether the sentence against the Murrays was politically motivated, the authorities denied that the case was political in nature.

Nonetheless, the Murrays were tried in a court set up to deal with "terrorism," in which they were denied the rights of the accused established in common law.

Moreover, the death penalty has not been applied in the Twenty-Six Counties since 1954. The Criminal Justice Act of 1964 abolished capital punishment for all but three types of crimes: treason, and certain offenses committed by persons subject to military law; the murder of the head of a foreign state, or a diplomatic officer or member of the government of a foreign state; and "capital murder," that is, murder of a policeman or prison guard acting in the course of duty. However, whoever killed Reynolds had no way of knowing he was a policeman. The Murray sentence was the first time a special tribunal has handed down the death penalty.

Although the Murrays were sentenced to death as common criminals, they are being denied even the basic rights of death-row prisoners. They cannot receive letters, even from personal friends. No visitors are allowed, except for Noel Murray's parents, both over seventy. They are not permitted to see each other.

Execution of the Murrays has been stayed until after Supreme Court hearings on the case, scheduled for November 1.

The actions of the Irish authorities have already revealed that more is involved in this case than ordinary criminal law. Apparently the government has chosen an exceptionally isolated couple as its first victims in a move to reestablish the death penalty in political cases, precisely because they have no ties to any political organization that could defend them.

Messages of support for the campaign to overturn the Murray sentence can be sent to the Murray Defence Committee, 155 Church Road, Celbridge, Co. Kildare, Ireland.

World news notes

Arabs call protest strike in Galilee

A two-hour general strike in the Galilee region has been called for September 28 by the majority of the Arab village and town officials in Israel.

The strike call, which was adopted at a September 22 meeting, was prompted by the publication of a report by Israel Koenig, the Interior Ministry's chief official in Galilee. Koenig's report warned that Arabs would soon comprise a majority in Galilee, and urged:

1. Harsh penalties against Arabs who "show any sort of hostility to the country and to Zionism."
2. Measures to curb the growth of the Arab population.
3. Measures to make it more difficult for Arabs to gain admission to Israeli universities, and a policy of encouraging Arab students to study abroad but making it difficult for them to return to Israel.
4. Reduction of the number of Arab workers in Israeli factories.

Koenig also criticized Israeli officials for not being sufficiently aware of "the superficial and Levantine Arab character."

The strike call demands Koenig's removal from his post and from any activity having to do with Israel's Arab population. It condemns the "evasive stand" of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who has refused to take any action against Koenig.

The Palestinian leaders voiced their "outrage and condemnation" against the "racist and chauvinistic spirit, full of hate and racial superiority which the [Koenig] document breathes."

Egyptian bus drivers strike

A two-day strike by Cairo bus drivers ended September 20, but only after a confrontation in which at least one policeman was killed and a number of other persons injured.

The walkout was prompted by the refusal of the publicly owned transit company to discuss with officials of the drivers' union the payment of traditional bonuses for the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. The strike also reflected the anger of Egyptian workers over rising prices, shortages of consumer goods, and low pay.

"Many analysts believe that the patience of the Egyptian masses is wearing thin as the country's economic gloom deepens, and incidents like this weekend's illegal bus strike are watched closely for clues to the popular mood," *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas A. Lippman reported in a September 20 dispatch from Cairo.

The government moved quickly to settle the grievances of the bus drivers.

However, the shortages and inflation in Egypt are the fruit of Sadat's basic policy of opening up the country to foreign capital. This policy is not about to be changed by Sadat, and his real answer to the protests of the Egyptian workers was indicated by a September 22 *Christian Science Monitor* report that "official sources said the public prosecutor's office was investigating the strike."

In an interview published the day after the strikers returned to work, Prime Minister Mamdouh Salem charged that "a minority of Marxist extremists attempted to exploit the suffering of the people and to incite resentment." He added that eleven persons had been arrested and were being interrogated.

India: more repressive legislation

On September 1, the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi formally introduced amendments to the preamble and fifty-nine articles of the Indian constitution. Gandhi's latest move to consolidate her personal dictatorship was taken in the name of a "socio-economic revolution which would end poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality of opportunity."

The amendments would empower the government to outlaw "antinational activities and associations," a category defined as anything that "disclaims, questions, threatens, disrupts or is intended to disrupt the sovereignty and integrity of India or the security of the state or the unity of the nation."

Other amendments bar the Indian courts from issuing writs of habeas corpus or other orders that might delay "a matter of public importance"; take away the power of all courts below the Supreme Court to review the constitutionality of federal laws; and bar the Supreme Court from reviewing the constitutionality of amendments to the constitution.

Moreover, the new legislation would give the president, acting at the prime minister's behest, virtually unlimited power to further amend the constitution by decree.

Since Gandhi's Congress party has a two-thirds majority in both houses of Parliament, passage of the constitutional amendments appears assured.

Chile protests in Britain

LONDON—More than 7,000 persons took part in a demonstration in Trafalgar Square here September 12, marking the third anniversary of military dictatorship in Chile.

Supported by some of the largest trade unions in the country, the protest demanded that the Labour government end its material support to the Pinochet regime and that all political prisoners in Chile be released.

The day before, a spirited and successful rally in Glasgow brought 2,000 persons out into the streets in support of the same demands.

The widespread concern in the British labour movement about political repression in Chile was testified to by the high proportion of banners from trade-union branches and Labour party constituency associations in the march preceding the London rally.

How Kissinger's visit boosted S. Africa regime

By Ernest Harsch

Henry Kissinger's recent flurry of "shuttle diplomacy" in southern Africa marks another step in Washington's escalating intervention against the African freedom struggle.

Arm in arm with the white racists in Pretoria, the Ford administration is maneuvering to dampen or sidetrack the mounting Black ferment. A key concern is to establish neocolonial regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Whatever the final outcome of these maneuvers, Kissinger's visit to Pretoria was an immediate diplomatic boost for the Vorster regime. *New York Times* correspondent John F. Burns reported in a September 19 dispatch from Pretoria: "For his part, Mr. Vorster has made no secret of the pleasure he takes at dealing with Mr. Kissinger. A few days ago he told a political rally that the talks had ended the period in which the West 'ignored us totally,' and ushered in an era in which Mr. Kissinger felt it necessary to report personally to the leaders of Western Europe on the discussions."

These diplomatic contacts with Washington and the Western European powers bolster the white minority regime's position within South Africa by showing the Black masses that Pretoria is backed by powerful allies. The aim is to foster an image of white strength and invincibility.

Since the first Black rebellions erupted in Soweto in mid-June, Pretoria has made a few minor concessions within an overall policy of brutal repression. At least several hundred Blacks have been gunned down by police and white vigilantes. It is estimated that thousands of Blacks have been arrested, including about 250 leaders and supporters of groups identified with the Black Consciousness movement.

When about 1,500 Blacks demonstrated in downtown Johannesburg September 23, demanding the release of these political prisoners, the police attacked them with clubs, arresting another 400 persons.

A report released by the anti-apartheid Christian Institute of Southern Africa September 20 noted that allegations of torture of political prisoners were becoming more and more common. According to Amnesty International, Pretoria uses torture against prisoners "on a disturbing scale."

Kissinger's willingness to greet the world's most hated racist within South Africa itself is consistent with Washington's overall foreign policy. In early June Kissinger posed for photographers while shaking hands with Chilean dictator Pinochet in Santiago, and two months later he signed an agreement in Tehran pledging the sale of another \$10 billion worth of American arms to the shah of Iran.

Because of the international condemnation of Pretoria and the rising rebellion against its racist and repressive rule, however, Washington has been forced to publicly criticize the system of apartheid. Kissinger himself



Tachydromos/Bas

repeated these criticisms while he was in South Africa.

Kissinger, however, took care not to embarrass Vorster too much. *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman reported from Pretoria September 18 that when Kissinger addressed a gathering of American embassy employees, he "repeated his criticism of South Africa's apartheid policy, but less harshly than he has done in the United States. Mr. Kissinger clearly wanted to avoid a public rift with his host, Prime Minister John Vorster, during delicate negotiations."

By pressing for concessions in Zimbabwe and Namibia, Washington is seeking to create a political cover for its economic and paramilitary aid to the Vorster regime. About 360 American companies have nearly \$1.5 billion invested in South African mines and industries, thus playing a major role in propping up the apartheid economy. Since the 1960s, Washington has approved the sale of millions of dollars worth of aircraft to Pretoria, including troop transport planes, Bell helicopters capable of being used in police and military operations, and twin-engine Lear jets suitable for reconnaissance and certain combat missions.

The U.S.-sponsored negotiations over Namibia and Zimbabwe are, in the last analysis, aimed at protecting Pretoria, the most powerful bastion of colonial rule on the African continent.

Colin Legum, a long-time commentator on African affairs, pointed to this aspect of Washington's southern Africa strategy in the September 19 issue of the *London Observer*. He said that "powerful forces in the West are willing to support Kissinger in his efforts to achieve majority rule in Namibia and Rhodesia only if they are assured that their rich cake in South Africa will be preserved."

Like Kissinger, their only real aim is to preserve capitalist rule in face of the massive Black ferment.

Social Democrats defeated at the polls in Sweden

By Gerry Foley

For the first time in forty-four years, a coalition of bourgeois parties won a large enough percentage in the September 19 Swedish elections to form an openly procapitalist government.

The defeat of "Swedish socialism" brought cheers from capitalist circles both in Sweden and around the world. A September 20 Associated Press dispatch reported:

"Some United States officials expressed quiet satisfaction today over the defeat of Prime Minister Palme. Although relations have improved steadily over the last two years, Mr. Palme was never popular with some American officials."

Palme's "progressive" international policy enabled Swedish capitalists to make profitable deals with some more nationalist governments in colonial countries at the expense of the bigger imperialist powers. However, Washington was undoubtedly most irritated by the political concessions the Swedish government had to make to follow this line.

For example, the Palme government's opposition to the Vietnam war weakened U.S. imperialism's position. Stockholm's defense of Chilean political refugees also saved a number of political activists, such as the Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco, whom Washington would have preferred to have seen silenced.

In Sweden itself, even those capital-

ists who have reconciled themselves for decades to giving major concessions to the workers are beginning to foresee the need for cuts and for driving the workers movement back both on the economic and political levels.

The defeat of the Social Democrats was greeted by a burst of enthusiasm on the Stockholm stock market, with the biggest jump in prices in the history of Swedish trading.

The prospect of cutbacks in Swedish social welfare benefits was obviously good news for capitalists in other imperialist countries.

The European and American press is speculating that the Swedish results may give momentum to the bourgeois Christian Democrats in the October 3 elections in West Germany, where the Social Democrats' small lead has been slipping.

Despite the fanfare over the Social Democratic defeat in Sweden, its actual vote loss on September 19 was small. However, the electoral following of the party had been eroding for several years and even a small loss was enough to tip the scales for the bourgeois parties. The Social Democrats lost 0.8% compared to 1973 and the Communist party, which backed the cabinet from the outside, lost 0.6%.

On the other hand, the largest party in the bourgeois coalition, the Center party of the new premier, Thorbjorn Falldin, in fact, lost slightly. However, the Folkeparti (liberals) increased their

vote from 9.4% to 11%, and the Moderates (conservatives) from 14.3% to 15.6%.

The Maoist SKP (Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti—Communist party of Sweden), which has the support of a few thousand young activists, concentrated its fire on the CP (called the Venstreparti Kommunisterna, VPK, Left party of Communists). Its own small vote seems to have declined.

The Swedish section of the Fourth International, the Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (KAF—Communist Workers League), ran candidates in most areas. It centered its campaign on calling for a democratic militant workers movement to oppose the bourgeois offensive.

The KAF opposed the sectarianism of the Maoists among the radicalized youth, as in a debate in Stockholm reported September 17 in *Dagens Nyheter*, the country's leading daily.

"The KAF holds that it is important to see that Sweden doesn't get a government of the bourgeois parties and thinks it will be good if the VPK gets enough votes to stay in parliament. The SKP holds that the Social Democrats are a bourgeois party and that the VPK is only their auxiliary."

After the defeat of the workers parties, the KAF commented in the September 21 issue of its weekly paper *Internationalen*:

"By pretending classes were abolished, by refusing to take up the most

burning questions before the workers movement, the Social Democracy succeeded in driving a section of the youth into the arms of the bourgeois parties."

The government's program for building atomic power plants was reportedly the most discussed issue in the elections. Palme maintained the plants were necessary to assure independent Swedish development because of the country's lack of energy resources. Falldin argued radioactivity from the plants could endanger future generations.

Some leaders of Sweden's large anti-pollution movement threw their support to the Center party because of this issue. However, the other bourgeois parties openly backed building the plants, and the Swedish employers association issued a statement just before the elections defending the need for them. Obviously the vote will not alter the Swedish capitalists' determination to continue this program.

On the nuclear issue, as a defender of Swedish capitalism, Palme was trapped. It is not clear how many votes went to the bourgeois parties on this issue. But it probably discouraged many young people from voting for the workers parties. In this, the nuclear issue was symptomatic. The reformism of the Social Democrats has led to increasing alienation of the youth from the workers movement, whose vitality depends on them.

500 jailed by Torrijos

Panamanian students protest price increases

By Judy White

National Guardsmen using tear gas, rubber truncheons, and antiriot pellets fired from shotguns attacked demonstrators in Panama City in mid-September. As many as 500 persons were arrested as troops sought to crush an eleven-day wave of protests that began September 10. Scores more were injured.

The September 10 demonstration had originally been called to mark the anniversary of the 1973 military coup in Chile. However, it developed into an anti-government protest when the authorities announced price increases for rice and milk September 9.

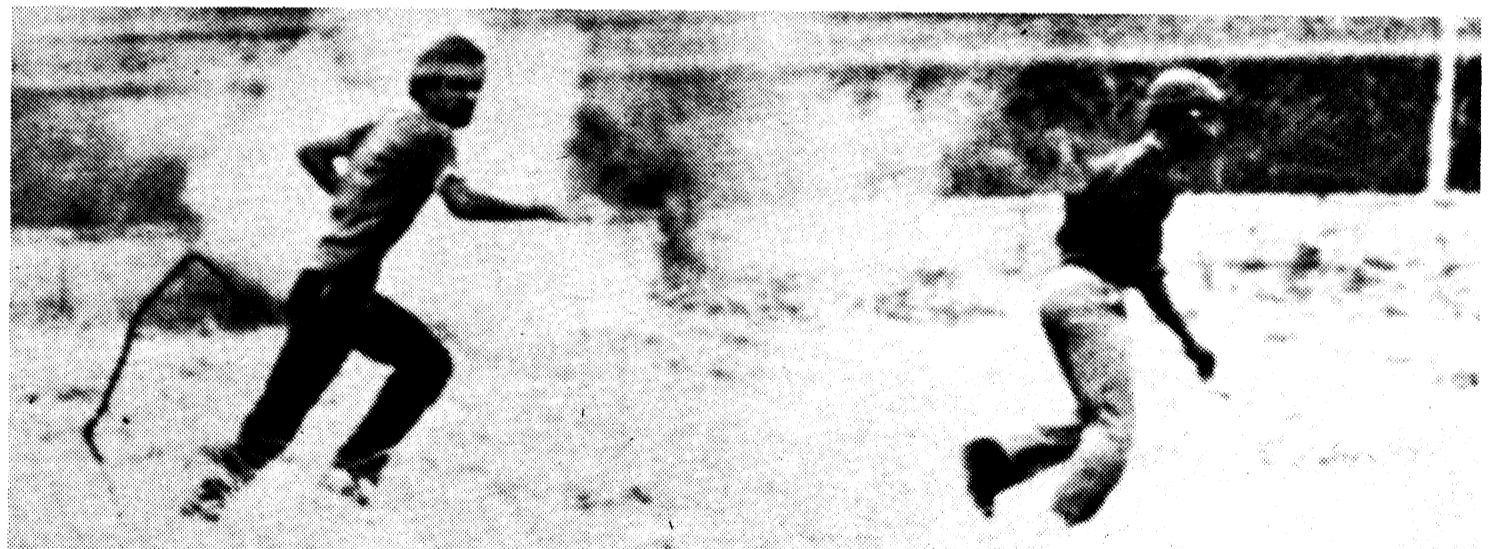
Several thousand persons, mainly high-school and university students, participated in what press reports described as Gen. Omar Torrijos's first open clash with the student movement.

Subsequent demonstrations took on a more clearly antigovernment tone. Protesters carried signs saying, "End repression by the bourgeois government" and "Reduce the cost of living."

In addition to bringing in the National Guard and police, Torrijos banned all public demonstrations, ordered all primary and secondary schools shut down for five days, and suspended classes indefinitely at the National University.

At the same time, the Panamanian government arrested three persons they claimed were U.S. intelligence agents. Radio Libertador, the official radio station, announced that "the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States has carefully organized a plot to destabilize our country and our revolutionary process."

Groups involved in the protests dismissed Torrijos's charges as "a government campaign to confuse the masses," a dispatch in the September 21 *New York Times* reported.



Students flee tear gas during protests in Panama City

Other actions by the regime confirmed this estimate.

A rash of complaints were made about Washington stalling on the canal negotiations. Torrijos had agreed to suspend the talks last May in the interests of Ford's election campaign. Suddenly, however, in view of the opposition to his economic policies, it was to his advantage to revive the canal issue as quickly as possible in an attempt to shift the attention of the Panamanian masses away from the repressive steps he was taking to crush the student protests.

Alan Riding, writing in the September 23 *New York Times*, described the ferment as the "most serious crisis" Torrijos has faced in his eight-year rule. He commented:

"A wave of student unrest has left him with little popular support outside the national guard, which controls the country. And even in the guard, the country's only armed force, with a strength of 10,000, the continued supre-

macy of the 47-year-old general seems less than assured. . . ."

Riding pointed to the blow the student protests had delivered to Torrijos's prestige. Up until very recently, the Federación de Estudiantes de Panamá has functioned as a semiofficial government body. Now, according to Riding, it has lost the support of the student movement to "an assortment of Trotskyite and other ultra-leftist groups that ignore the Government's radical rhetoric and dismiss it as oligarchic and bourgeois."

The Trotskyists of the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria (LSR—Revolutionary Socialist League) have been active in Panama for more than a year. An article by Gerardo Solorzano published in the May 3 issue of *Intercontinental Press* stated:

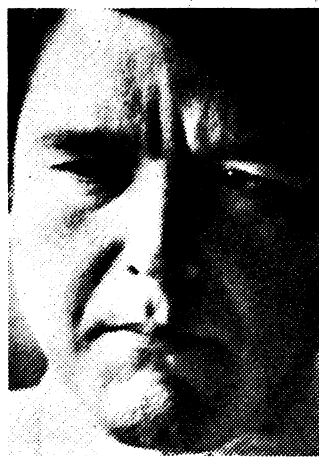
"The analysis made by the comrades of the LSR during their congress [of February 1976] singled out the rightist turn being made by the bonapartist regime under the guise of 'left national-

ism,' and pointed to the repression that threatens Panamanian revolutionists during coming months."

Among the victims of this repression is Miguel Antonio Bernal. A prominent opponent of the Torrijos regime and professor of law and political science at the University of Panama, Bernal was deported to Ecuador February 19, 1976. No reason has ever been given for his deportation, but it came at the same time that eleven other left- and right-wing critics of the Panamanian government were also forced into exile.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners is waging a campaign against this blatant case of political persecution. The committee asks that messages demanding that Bernal be allowed to return to his country be sent to Panamanian embassies throughout the world, with copies to USLA, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, New York 10003.

Who's behind Rep. Larry McDonald & his right-wing spies?



REP. LARRY McDONALD

By Diane Rupp

With everybody watching them these days, it's harder for the FBI to carry out its attacks on democratic rights.

But when the FBI's hands are tied, it has other weapons and mouthpieces.

There are, for example, Larry McDonald and his right-wing spy ring.

McDonald is the Democratic congressman from Marietta, Georgia—home of Lockheed-Georgia Company. He is on the national council of the right-wing John Birch Society and a member of the anti-abortion Georgia Right to Life Committee.

McDonald wages a fierce crusade against everyone involved in a movement for social change. His attacks are printed—at our expense—in the *Congressional Record*. During an average two-week period McDonald submits fifteen "remarks," four articles reprinted from other publications, and two membership lists of political organizations.

In his attacks, McDonald charges a wide variety of individuals and groups with being communist fronts, terrorists, and subversives. His targets range from newspaper columnist Jack Anderson to Puerto Rican nationalists to civil liberties groups.

The Socialist Workers party, of course, is a favorite target. Currently, McDonald is doing a series—twelve articles so far—attacking the SWP.

Faced with a lawsuit by the SWP and overwhelming public pressure, the U.S. attorney general has admitted that there is no legal basis for an FBI "investigation" of the SWP. During four decades of spying, harassment, and work by agents provocateurs, the FBI has never come up with evidence of criminal activity by the socialists.

But McDonald is not tied down to the truth. He can say whatever he wants and never be cross-examined or forced to reveal his "sources." He can't even be sued for slander because his scurrilous diatribes are protected by congressional immunity.

So he can and does use any lies or slanders he likes.

McDonald denies that the FBI gives him material for his smear campaigns. "I am not privy to the secrets of the Federal Bureau of Investigation," he insists. But the quantities of detailed information McDonald puts into the *Congressional Record* weaken his claim.

And is it just coincidence that McDonald is always mouthing the current FBI campaigns?

McDonald boasts that his

information comes from a private spy ring. He claims to have "reports obtained from a number of patriotic Americans in various parts of the country who have penetrated these violent Marxist-Leninist organizations."

But a close look at what McDonald calls his "patriotic Americans" and their secret newsletter shows that these are not private individuals acting on their own.

McDonald's nest of agents obviously includes many people who are paid FBI informers and provocateurs.

All the links between McDonald's far-right operation and the government's official secret police have not yet come to light. But there is convincing evidence that the two are closely connected.

Louise and John Rees are good examples of how the government makes use of McDonald's "patriotic Americans."

During those years when Congress staged witch-hunt hearings more often than it does now, Louise Rees did research on "subversives" for the House Internal Security Committee. Now she is on the governmental payroll as a staff member for Larry McDonald.

Like his wife, John Rees provided material for the congressional red-baiting committees. He also worked with police departments in Houston, on the West Coast, and in Maryland, New Jersey, and New York.

In the early 1970s the Reeses posed as Sheila O'Connor and John Seely in Washington, D.C. The police paid

rent for a radical bookstore where the two could operate as spies in the antiwar movement.

Before the 1971 Mayday antiwar demonstrations, the D.C. police wired John Rees's house and office with bugs. Then Rees lured antiwar protesters to come and talk there.

In 1972 and 1973 Louise Rees worked as a spy inside the National Lawyers Guild's Washington office. One guild member recalled, "She maintained and updated our donors' list, things like that."

By far the most valuable work the Reeses do for the government, however, is their secret newsletter, *Information Digest*.

'Underground link'

Local red squads, the FBI, CIA, and congressional witch-hunters use *Information Digest* to pass around lists of names and gossip about political individuals and groups.

The New York State Assembly Office of Legislative Oversight and Analysis has investigated *Information Digest* and produced an extensive report on it. The report documented how the New York State Police used the right-wing newsletter to set up political files.

The report said *Information Digest* was "serving as a clearing-house of information on the left for police departments, and forming an underground link among them."

The FBI and CIA have admitted they receive the newsletter, but claim they don't use it. These federal

police agencies are lying. For example, files turned over from the Internal Revenue Service and Military Intelligence for the SWP lawsuit against government harassment include copies of *Information Digest*.

Where does the material for the newsletter come from? Some of it comes from reports by people like the Reeses. Other information comes from the files of the police agencies the newsletter serves.

At least one list that appeared in the newsletter was stolen, by the *Digest's* own admission:

"To protect sources, this material should not be used in this format. It is also noted that every attempt was made to restore the list to its owner, without success, as it is realized that under certain circumstances the publishing of stolen lists is illegal."

Just quotes?

McDonald claims that even though Louise Rees works in his office he has no ties with *Information Digest*. "Neither I nor my office is a 'source'—let alone the 'chief one'—for *Information Digest*," McDonald says. "I have inserted comments into the *Congressional Record* which may have been quoted in the *Digest* and many other organizations."

To say that *Information Digest* picks up McDonald's comments from the *Congressional Record* simply does not jibe with the facts, however. The April 18, 1975, *Information Digest* printed Larry McDonald's remarks from the

same day's (April 18) issue of the *Congressional Record*.

McDonald claims that "since I have been in Washington I have not seen a copy of *Information Digest*." But compare one of McDonald's recent attacks on the SWP with an earlier edition of *Information Digest*:

"The Socialist Workers Party, the oldest and largest Trotskyist communist party in the United States, evolved in 1938 from earlier Trotskyist organizations," McDonald wrote in the August 30, 1976, *Congressional Record*.

"The Socialist Workers Party, the oldest and largest Trotskyist communist party in the U.S., evolved in 1938 from the Communist League of America. . .," wrote *Information Digest* twenty-two months earlier.

Does McDonald prepare *Information Digest*? Or does the right-wing spy newsletter prepare McDonald? We can add another question. Does someone else—the FBI, perhaps—prepare *Information Digest* and McDonald?

Whose document?

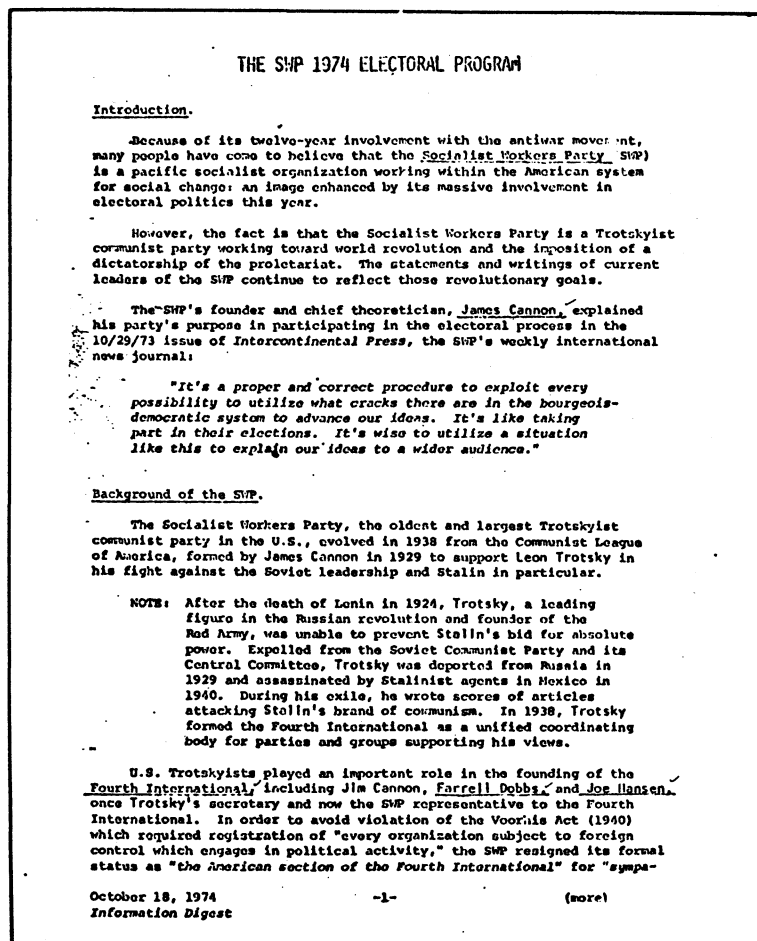
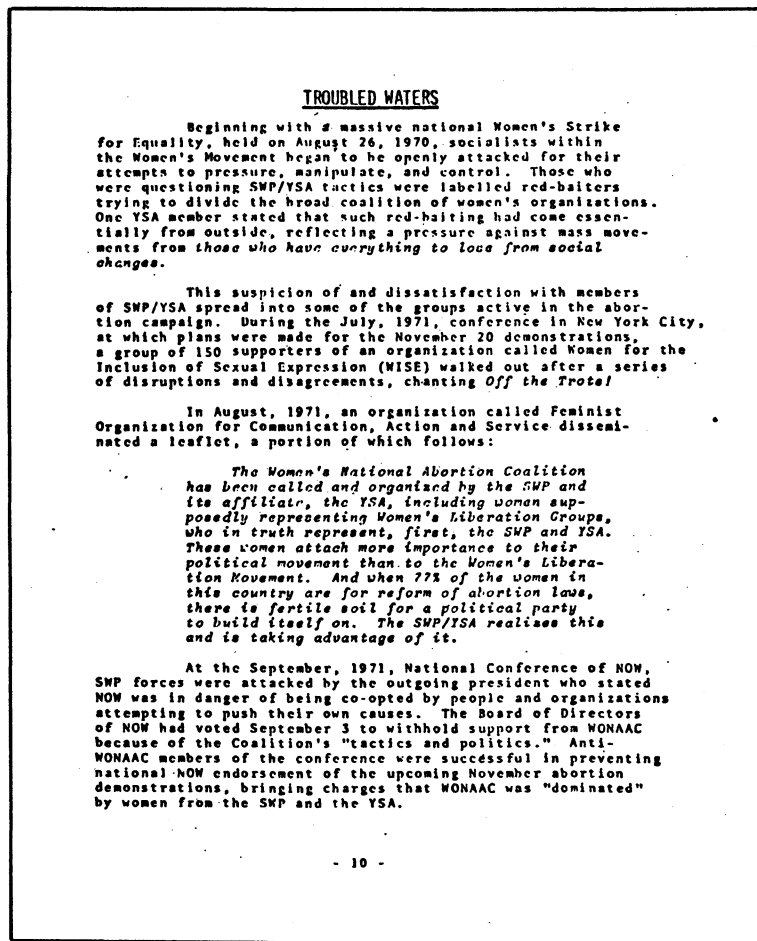
Among the files obtained from the FBI through the socialists' lawsuit is a peculiar document, "Exploitation of Women's Movement by Socialist Workers Party."

This document is very different from other materials turned over by the FBI. It is not an internal report, but a political tract prepared to be distributed widely, in a semi-public way.

Except for the cover, which says "Federal Bureau of Investigation," the document looks like an issue of *Information Digest*. The format, the bold headlines and italicized quotations, and the writing style are all those of the right-wing newsletter. (See illustration.)

The obvious similarity of the FBI report and *Information Digest* points out that the government does not just receive and file the newsletter. The FBI sends out this material and may help prepare it.

The government's use of this private army of spies is a major danger to the civil liberties of all Americans.



WHO PUTS THIS OUT? Page on left is from FBI document, while page on right is from 'Information Digest.'

Sylvia Weinstein campaign

Unionists endorse San Francisco socialist

By Valerie Libby

SAN FRANCISCO—The Democratic party's antilabor offensive here is causing some unionists to take a closer look at the campaign of Socialist Workers party candidate Sylvia Weinstein. Weinstein is running for San Francisco Board of Education.

Local 400 of the Civil Service Association, Service Employees International Union, the largest union of city workers in San Francisco, and Painters Local 4 have endorsed the Weinstein campaign.

Throughout the year the Democratic party administration of Mayor George Moscone and the Democratic party-controlled board of supervisors have been stripping away wages, jobs, and workers' rights.

Now an array of antilabor propositions have been placed on the city ballot. They would eliminate the right to strike; open the door to discrimination based on sex, nationality, union activity, or political beliefs; slash retirement benefits; and allow increased patronage in job appointments.

Weinstein is campaigning against all of these propositions.

She also demands:

- Full funding for quality education.
- Expansion of quality child-care centers, to be made available for all who need them.
- Implementation of the Bilingual-Bicultural Master Plan.
- Teachers' rights. . . no layoffs, no cutbacks, and the hiring freeze.
- The right of public employees, including teachers, to strike.

In a letter to Weinstein, Vince Courtney, executive secretary of Local

400, wrote:

"CSA Local 400, SEIU, representing more School District Employees than any other employee organization, endorsed your candidacy at our membership meeting of September 13, 1976.

"Our members were particularly impressed by the positions you expressed concerning employer-employee relations, i.e., both favoring collective bargaining and binding arbitration of grievances. Our School District Employees were also encouraged by your statement that they should remain under the provisions and protections of the San Francisco City Charter and the Civil Service Merit System.

"We urged the San Francisco Labor Council to endorse you and wish you the best in November. The School District Employees, as well as the students and children attending San Francisco public schools and children centers need and deserve better school board members.

"Our membership is convinced you would be able to provide the kind of leadership needed if elected.

"Good luck in November!"

Weinstein's campaign has also been endorsed by Vincent Hallinan; Yvonne Golden, leader of the Black Teachers Caucus; Linda Festa, vice-president of the San Francisco National Organization for Women; Pat Crawford, cochairperson of Child and Parent Action (CAPA); and Howard Wallace, Bay Area Gay Liberation.

Weinstein is well known in San Francisco as a fighter for the rights of parents, students, and teachers. For the past three years she has been a central leader of the fight to defend,

maintain, and expand child-care centers in the San Francisco public schools.

In 1973 Weinstein became a co-chairperson of Child and Parent Action. CAPA was formed by parents fighting against the 1973 federal cutbacks in child-care centers. It campaigned successfully for a ballot proposition mandating that child-care centers be made available to all who need them.

This past spring Weinstein led a second fight for the same proposition, which the board of supervisors had replaced on the ballot in order to defeat it.

In a letter urging endorsement for her campaign, Weinstein says, "Dear Brothers and Sisters. . . Just as we worked together on the Proposition I campaign (the childcare proposition), we can work together to begin to reverse the attack on education which is taking place in our schools. Our children are the victims of these cutbacks which have removed over 250 teachers from the classroom."

Weinstein explains that "the cutbacks in the schools are racist. They have been implemented as the school population has reached 75 percent non-white.

"The Board of Education has attempted to pit minority communities against each other, to fight for pieces of an ever shrinking pie."

She says that "the Democratic and Republican politicians in this city have proven to be the obstacle. . . It is self-defeating to mobilize against the rich and their politicians one day and vote for their two parties the next. . . Working people must put their own



SYLVIA WEINSTEIN Militant/Lou Howort

representatives on the Board of Education and in all levels of government."

There are three headquarters for Sylvia Weinstein's campaign in the San Francisco area: 3284 Twenty-third Street, (415) 824-1992; 1441 Ocean Avenue, 333-6261; and 2762A Pine Street, 931-0621.

Will Council, Teamster

By Roberta Scherr

NEWARK—Will Council has sold more subscriptions to the *Militant* than any other member of the Socialist Workers party in Newark, during the current subscription drive. He is also the SWP's newest member here.

Council, a thirty-one-year-old Vietnam veteran, is a truck driver for Nu-

Council liked what he read. He decided to attend the SWP campaign rallies and forums in Newark. Doing so was difficult, because much of Council's time is spent on long over-the-road trips.

But he took every opportunity he could to discuss the SWP's views with Stewart and to attend socialist activities.

In June, Council joined the SWP as a provisional member. This three-month provisional period gives prospective members a chance to become better acquainted with the SWP before formally joining. In September, Council decided to become a member of the Weequahic branch in Newark.

Council is introducing other Teamsters to the Socialist Workers party. Among the new *Militant* subscribers at Nu-Car, there are several drivers who are also interested in joining the SWP. One became a provisional member this month.

If you are interested in finding out more about the SWP, write: SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



WILL COUNCIL Militant/Joanne Murphy



Car Carrier, Inc., and a member of Teamsters Local 560. Some of Council's subscriptions were sold to fellow drivers who are involved in a class-action suit against Nu-Car. The suit charges the company with discrimination against Black drivers.

Council has worked for Nu-Car for nearly seven years and has been a victim of the company's racist practices. He has had his paycheck purposely shorted and truck runs taken from him.

Two years ago, he and several other drivers decided to fight back.

One of the drivers who has fought the hardest is Larry Stewart. Stewart, now the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in New Jersey's Tenth District, has worked for Nu-Car for more than ten years.

Last January Stewart began discussing his plans to run for office with his coworkers. He explained that he was running as a socialist to offer Blacks and other working men and women an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, who represent the bosses.

As a result of Stewart's campaign, Council began thinking about socialism. He and nine other drivers bought subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Young socialists tour

By Betsy Farley

NEW YORK—Osborne Hart has spoken to more than 600 students on the East Coast.

Jo Carol Stallworth's tour of the South included a meeting with Gary Tyler, the young Black frame-up victim on death row in New Orleans.

Leslie Dork debated Marlene Barrett, Eugene McCarthy's Missouri vice-presidential candidate on that state's ballot. (McCarthy has several running mates in different states.)

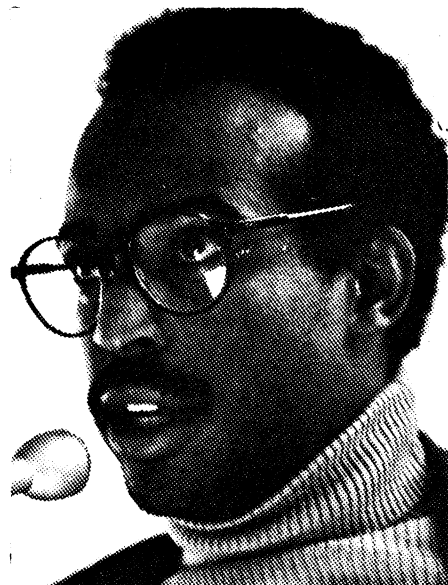
They are three of the nine national youth coordinators of the Socialist Workers party 1976 presidential campaign who are touring campuses and high schools across the country.

Students in New York, New Jersey, and Eastern Pennsylvania have attended meetings for Osborne Hart. At a debate at Queens College in New York, more than 100 students crowded into the room to hear Hart confront N.Y. State Assemblyman Pete Grannis (supporting Jimmy Carter) and Paul Seidman (the New York statewide coordinator of Eugene McCarthy's campaign).

Later in the week, Hart spoke to 100 students in the Black studies department at City College of New York.

"I find no evidence of active support groups for either Ford or Carter on any of the campuses I visit," Hart said. "There are Camejo-Reid supporters everywhere I go."

Jo Carol Stallworth's tour of the South helped break new ground for the socialist campaign. In Boca Raton, Florida, a city north of Miami, nine students asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance after Stallworth spoke there. Many more signed up to work on the Camejo-Reid campaign.



OSBORNE HART Militant/Lou Howort

At Southern University of New Orleans Stallworth was denied a room in the student center at the last minute. Campaign supporters decided to move the meeting outdoors. Even though it was raining, 200 students turned out. Several signed up to become active SWP supporters.

In New Orleans, Stallworth visited Gary Tyler at St. James Parish prison. She talked with Tyler about his fight to get the charges against him dropped. Tyler asked her to convey a message for him to all people fighting for their rights.

"I would like everyone out there to know that my struggle is connected with the oppressed peoples. We've been deprived of our rights, we've been treated as subhumans. I would like all supporters to know we've got to get out there and struggle. By every means. We've got to show them that we can fight."

By Dick Roberts

Jimmy Carter's latest campaign gimmick is attacking President Ford for playing golf on U.S. Steel's budget. To me it seems better for U.S. Steel to pay for the golf game than our tax money; and Ford could return the attack with Carter's domestic and foreign junkets on tabs paid for by Coca-Cola and Lockheed. But the issue is suited to Carter's campaign.

"Republicans have always been close to the special interests," Carter says.

"We've seen walls built around Washington and we feel we can't get through," the Georgia governor claims in an oft-repeated TV advertisement.

That Carter wasn't in Washington during the Vietnam War, Watergate, and the depths of the economic crisis of the past two years is his best selling point. And he is capitalizing on it.

Add to this the Democratic party mainstay that it is the party of the people—while the Republicans are the party of big business—and you have the Carter image: an honest man on his way to Washington to straighten out the government.

It happens in Frank Capra's popular movie "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." Jimmy Stewart, as Mr. Smith, takes on the rotten moneyed interests epitomized by a villainous Claude Rains—and Mr. Smith wins.

What about when Jimmy Carter goes to Washington? In its August issue *Fortune* magazine asks this question in an article entitled "... And Now to Carterize the White House." A more accurate title might be "And Now to Ruling Classize Jimmy Carter," or maybe "The Brookings Institutionalization of Jimmy Carter." Let's take a closer look.

Office jobs

Fortune presents the situation as primarily a staff problem. The Republicans have left the White House empty. "Carter would need some 2,500 people to fill the jobs at the President's disposal."

One person interviewed by *Fortune* was former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, "who as a professor at the University of Georgia has advised the candidate on many matters, including personnel."

"Carter's immediate job," *Fortune* says, "is to pick fifty to seventy-five people for the very top positions. The candidate has already touched base with such party icons as Averell Harriman and Clark Clifford, who have served or advised every Democratic President since Truman. (Carter is touchy, however, about press reports suggesting that Clifford rather than Carter's staff is planning the transition.)"

In particular policy areas, *Fortune* found that three people "who seem to fit the specifications" for top economic posts are: Felix Rohatyn, who heads New York City's Municipal Assistance Corporation—the banking syndicate nicknamed "Big Mac"; Alice Rivlin, director of the new Congressional Budget Office; and Lawrence Klein of the Wharton school of economics.

In foreign affairs, Carter "has gotten to know some of the nation's foreign-policy experts through his membership on the Trilateral Commission, an organization dedicated to fostering close relations between North America, Japan and Western Europe."

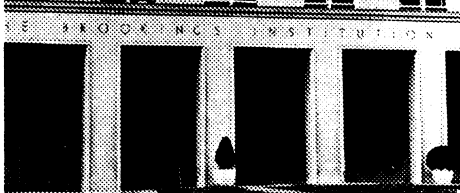
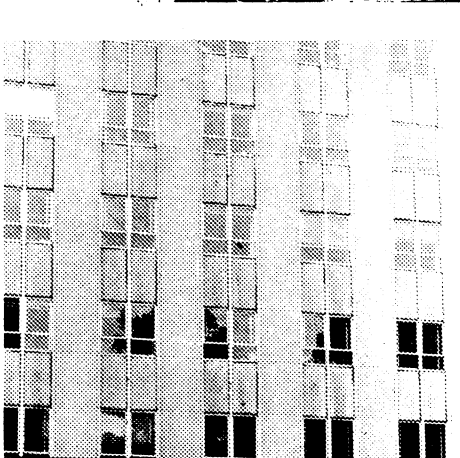
"One influential adviser," says *Fortune*, "Paul Nitze, a former deputy secretary of defense, has urged that preference be accorded the nation's nuclear strike capability. . . ."

"Others like Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Columbia University professor who coordinates Carter's foreign-policy task force, advocate an emphasis on conventional forces. . . ."

"Carter's view of the world has been mostly shaped by this Polish émigré, as well as by Brzezinski's Columbia colleague, Richard Gardner, and Henry Owen of Brookings."

A few other names can be added to

The ruling class & Carter's campaign



Militant/Nancy Cole
Washington, D.C.'s Brookings Institution.

Fortune's list. *Business Week* stated July 19 that the latest to "volunteer advice" to Carter are: "Nancy Teeters, chief staff economist of the House Budget Committee; Arnold Packer, her counterpart on the Senate Budget Committee; and former Budget Director Charles L. Schultze, now a top economist at the Brookings Institution."

Business Week speculated September 27 that Federal Reserve Board chief Arthur Burns would be replaced by either Paul Volcker, New York Federal Reserve Bank president, or Arthur Okun, "a Brookings Institution economist."

Who they are

These people are described by the financial press as "university professors," "former officials," and "experts" at such think tanks as the Trilateral Commission and the Brookings Institution. What is omitted is that all these people are the small coterie of trusted representatives of the American ruling class who will actually make the key governmental decisions.

Three of the people mentioned by *Fortune*, for example, served on the secret "Clifford Group" during the Vietnam War. This group made the decisive U.S. policy shift in 1968 toward withdrawing U.S. troops and attempting through intensified bombing and diplomatic pressure to force Hanoi into accepting the South Vietnamese dictatorship of Nguyen van Thieu.

The three are:

- Clark Clifford, who headed the group and who is undoubtedly playing a greater role in the "transition" of posts than Carter admits. Clifford is the Du Pont family's chief lawyer and a member of the board of directors of the Du Pont family's Phillips Petroleum.

- Paul Nitze, whose career began with the powerful investment banking firm of Dillon, Read in 1929. Nitze served as: coordinator of inter-American affairs, chief of the metals and minerals bureau of the Board of Economic Warfare, special consultant to the War Department, vice-chairman of the U.S. strategic bombing survey, secretary of the navy, and deputy secretary of defense.

- And Dean Rusk, secretary of state under Democratic presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Before that, Rusk was president of the Rockefeller Foundation from 1952 to 1961.

These men told Johnson and Nixon what to do in Vietnam, not vice-versa. Their relations with Jimmy Carter will be no different.

Averell Harriman

Averell Harriman is a bit exceptional in that he is a member of the ruling class in his own right. The Harriman family inherited one of the great nineteenth-century railroad fortunes.

This architect of the cold war, now eighty-four years old, has filled the toughest foreign policy posts for decades. Harriman was the U.S. representative to the Paris "peace talks." He was charged with persuading the Vietnamese to accept the Thieu dictatorship, as the escalated bombing raids poured death across their land.

Recently Harriman was in Moscow. Harriman, said the *New York Times*, "who is serving as a foreign policy adviser to Jimmy Carter, met . . . with Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, in an effort to assuage anxieties about the impact of election-year speech-making on détente."

Harriman told the *Times*, "It's awfully hard to understand the workings of an American campaign. . . . I'm not sure I was able to persuade him that everything that was said was of no importance."

Harriman's remark is cynical, but it is also true. The main job of politicians like Carter is to gull people into voting for them. This keeps the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties in office. But the capitalists themselves

and their most trusted agents make the central policy decisions.

Harriman had to persuade Brezhnev that détente remains the main axis of U.S. foreign policy no matter what Carter—and more especially, Ford—might say in the election campaign.

Rohatyn, Brzezinski

Fortune also mentioned Felix Rohatyn and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Rohatyn is a general partner in the investment banking house of Lazard Frères. He is also on the board of directors of ITT (Rohatyn was a go-between in the ITT-Nixon scandal of 1972), Pfizer, Owens-Illinois, and Engelhard Minerals Chemicals (the notorious South African mining company).

It was Rohatyn who brought New York's "Big Mac" into existence. This banking syndicate has fired thousands of New York teachers and government workers and cut the city's school, day-care, hospital, library, and other social services to the bone.

Rohatyn is mentioned as a possible secretary of the treasury. In that post he could act in relation to the U.S. government as the New York banks acted in relation to city hall. That is, in the event of a U.S. financial crisis, a "super Big Mac" would be created on the federal level to wipe out government jobs and slash social services.

Brzezinski is a Soviet foreign policy expert who is the front-running candidate for Carter's secretary of state. Brzezinski's posts have included the Russian Research Center at Harvard University; the Center for International Affairs, also at Harvard; and the Russian Institute at Columbia. He is the director of the Trilateral Commission and has served as consultant to the State Department, Rand Corporation, and Brookings Institution.

There is an ironic comparison here to Henry Kissinger, who also emerged as a chief U.S. foreign policy maker through these Harvard, Brookings Institution, etc., channels. Kissinger is a protégé of Nelson Rockefeller. Brzezinski's Trilateral Commission is funded by David Rockefeller.

Brookings Institution

The Brookings Institution, on Washington's Massachusetts Avenue, stands in the center of the process of filling up Carter's staff and molding his potential policy.

Five of the fifteen people I have mentioned are in, have been in, or have worked for the Brookings Institution. They include Brzezinski; Okun, a Brookings "economist" who was previously chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Johnson; Schultze, previously a U.S. budget director; Rivlin, previously a Brookings "senior fellow" and assistant secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare under Johnson; and Henry Owen, previous chairman of the State Department's policy planning council and currently Brookings director of foreign policy studies.

Britain's influential financial weekly the *Economist* recently described Brookings as "to some extent the parent body" of American think tanks. It is privately funded, especially by the Ford Foundation.

Its staffers act as consultants to all the main governmental departments, as top government officials, and as advisers to politicians, corporate management, and municipal government leaders.

Brookings's "channels are . . . well-guarded from public scrutiny," an article on Brookings observed in 1967.

Behind closed doors, the Brookings experts work in concert with the industrialists who pay them to mold the domestic and foreign policies of the U.S. government. Sometimes the Brookings role is admitted, though more often it is not. The notorious antilabor Taft-Hartley law, for example, was a Brookings product.

Continued on page 30

Auto strike: profit drive vs. jobs & wages

By Frank Lovell

When auto negotiations formally opened last July, the corporations were complaining publicly that they could not afford to raise wages or grant any other concessions.

By the end of the month, when second-quarter profits were reported, there was no room for doubt about the financial condition of the auto manufacturers. Their profits were the highest in history.

Ken Bannon, United Auto Workers vice-president in charge of the union's Ford department, said for the record that Ford's surge in profits was "shocking, almost unbelievable." He was "aghast at the amount."

"It's about time," he said, "that the Ford Motor Company began to share its wealth with the consumers and workers, as the company does with its stockholders and executives."

This is a distorted expression of what prompted the UAW to strike Ford on September 14.

Against Bannon's bombast is the cold calculation of the auto

OCT. 6.—United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock announced last night that a tentative settlement had been reached with Ford Motor Company. No details were given.

corporations—not only Ford—to hoard their exorbitant profits and to reject union overtures for "socially responsible" labor-management relations.

In the September 1-15 issue of *Solidarity*, official UAW publication, editor Don Stillman exposes corporate profits, executive salaries, and stockholder dividends. He contrasts the lion's share taken by investors and management with the meager portion distributed to the workers.

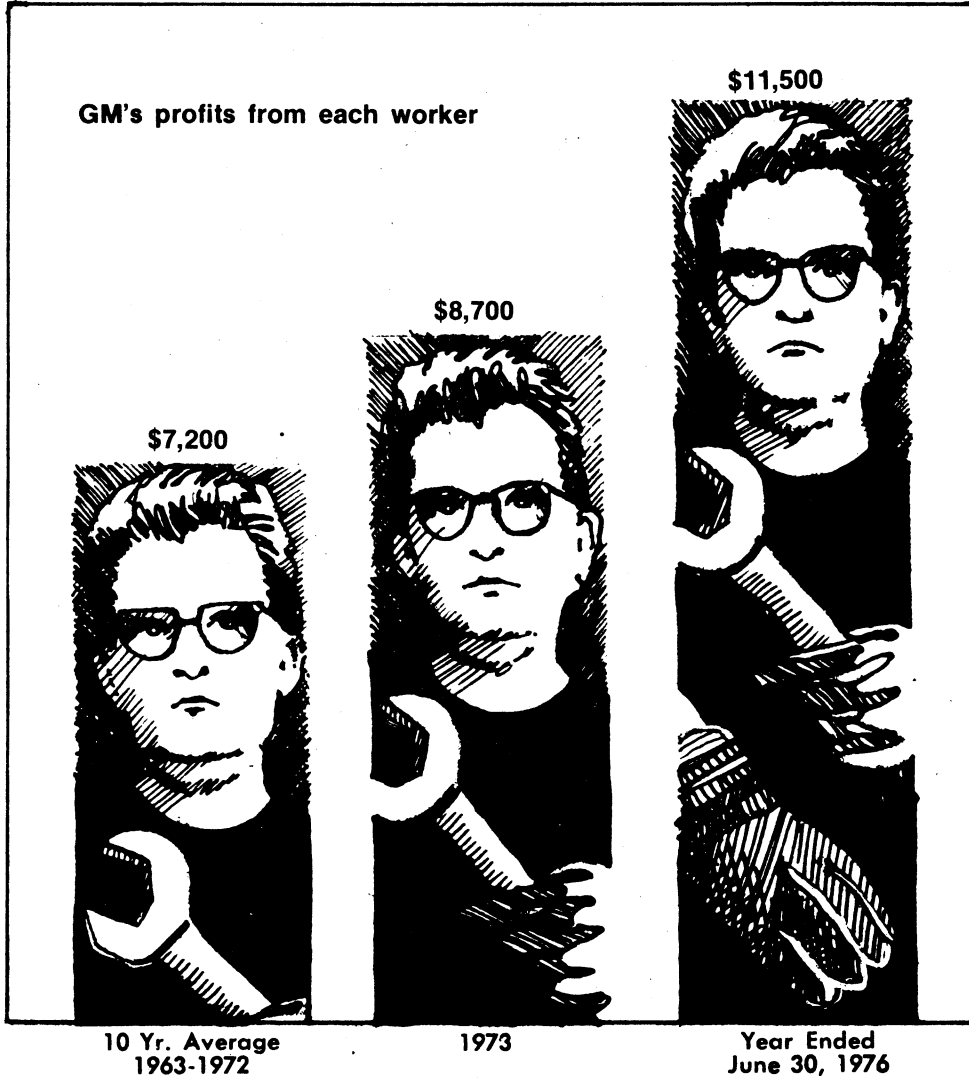
Record profits

In the first half of 1976 each of the three major auto corporations posted the highest profits ever. Ford Motor Company made \$770 million.

This was \$15 million more than the boom year of 1973 when Ford got after-tax profits of \$755 million in the first six months. But this year it made the excess profit while selling 315,000 fewer units (cars, trucks, etc.) than in 1973, and with 20,000 fewer workers.

General Motors made profits that dwarfed all the others. It raked in \$1.7 billion in the first half of this year, almost \$100 million more than its 1973 record. Like Ford, GM boosted its profits while selling fewer units than in 1973 (308,000 fewer), and with 56,000 fewer workers.

Chrysler Corporation also did well,



Union journal reports: 'General Motors' pretax profits per worker have risen steadily over the years. Today, each worker, even after drawing his or her full wages and fringes, earns a whopping \$11,500 in profits for GM.'

boosting profits to a record \$227.2 million while selling 200,000 fewer units and employing 12,000 fewer workers.

What happens to the big money from high profits?

Some profit is taken by corporate executives. This is skimmed off the top and recorded as cost, not profit. At Ford Motor, President Lee Iacocca and Chairman Henry Ford II each got an annual salary of \$291,667 in 1974. In 1975 they gave themselves a \$42,083 raise, while the bottom was falling out of the auto industry and hundreds of thousands of auto workers were being furloughed.

It is not known what raises Iacocca and Ford will give themselves in 1976, but it is certain to be more than the highest-paid auto worker will get.

The story is the same at other companies. GM Board Chairman Thomas Murphy got a flat salary of \$300,000 in 1975. But he also got a \$275,000 "bonus," bringing his pay to

\$575,000. This does not include additional income from stock options, which the top executives in all the auto corporations take advantage of.

Coupon clippers do well, too

The UAW research department gives the following graphic illustration of the disparity between workers' wages and stockholders' dividends:

"An owner of 6,800 shares of Ford common stock at the beginning of 1949 would have received a dividend income of \$3,546 during that year—the same sum the average hourly Ford worker would have earned assuming he or she worked for 52 weeks without layoff," says the UAW report.

"Over the 27 years from 1949 through 1975," the UAW reports, "the Ford worker would earn at most a total of \$207,000. The Ford stockholder, without ever lifting a finger, would have earned three times that—\$632,000—in dividends alone."

"In addition to cash dividends, the book value of the stockholder's stock

would have increased \$799,272 by the end of 1975.

"Thus," says UAW, "while the Ford worker toiled each work day in the shop, the stockholder winds up receiving almost seven times as much—\$1,431,000—as the worker earned during the 27 years."

Stock dividends were raised in August this year by all of the "Big Three" auto corporations.

Car prices also up . . .

With auto corporations making record profits, top executives paying themselves more than half a million dollars a year, and investors getting high returns on their capital, the auto monopoly continues to push up prices.

General Motors, as usual, set the pattern in late August when it announced an average raise of almost 6 percent for 1977 model cars. Ford and Chrysler followed suit at the end of September, quoting slight variations in prices to create the false impression of competition among the three of them.

There are rumors in Detroit that if auto workers gain higher wages or win other substantial gains, the corporations will raise prices again this year.

The available statistics show that these giant corporations are financially able to raise wages, reduce the hours of work, and at the same time lower the price of cars.

As the strike of 165,000 Ford production workers drags on toward its first month, there are reports of an agreement "in principle," meaning that the corporations are preparing to sign an agreement for a few more paid days off. Such an agreement will change very little for the vast majority of auto workers, those who are back in the plants as well as the 88,000 who have been displaced.

These agreements are always hailed by the UAW leadership as "the greatest ever won." But with each leap forward "in principle," the living standard of the working class now slides a little lower and the profits of the employing class climb higher.

What the auto workers are looking for in these negotiations is a settlement *in practice* that will give them higher wages, shorter working hours, and some relief from the inhuman assembly line speedup. That's what some of them have been trying to tell their union officials.

They can be expected in the near future—regardless of what is written in a new labor-management agreement—to ask again why they cannot bring about these necessary changes.

They probably won't worry much about whether the companies can afford to pay. A lot is owed in unpaid wages already.

500 march to defend 'Post' press operators

WASHINGTON—"These indictments represent a vendetta, not justice," William Simons told a crowd of 500 demonstrators here October 2.

Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union, was one of many union and community leaders who joined in demanding that charges against fifteen *Washington Post* press

operators be dropped.

The press operators are members of Local 6, International Printing and Graphic Communications Union. They were indicted by a federal grand jury last July on various charges stemming from alleged "violence" during Local 6's strike against the *Post*.

The fifteen men face a total of 268

years in jail. The first trials are scheduled to begin next month.

The demonstration marked the opening of the second year of Local 6's strike. The *Post* hired permanent scab replacements for the press operators early this year. The vast majority of *Post* workers in the International Typographical Union and the Newspaper Guild are no longer honoring the picket lines.

Demonstrators braved a heavy downpour that started just as the rally began at McPherson Square, a few blocks from the *Post*.

"The struggle, no matter how long, will continue," Simons told the rally. "We will let people know that there will be no peace in the labor movement until there is justice."

Sara Nelson, labor task force coordinator for the National Organization for Women, added her support to the defense of the press operators.

Nelson said that feminists do not support the actions of Katharine Gra-

ham, publisher of the *Post*. Feminists, Nelson said, are for working women, who are the overwhelming majority of women in the country.

David Cohen of the United Electrical Workers (UE) also spoke in solidarity with the press operators. He reported that a UE leader, Tony Suarez, was recently framed up in Holyoke, Massachusetts, after a UE strike there.

Cohen charged that the frame-up was concocted with the help of the federal government—the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms.

"What happened to the UE in Massachusetts could have very easily happened here," said Fred Soloway of the Local 6 Legal Defense Committee. "Here they used the grand jury instead."

After the rally, the 500 demonstrators marched around the *Washington Post* building shouting, "Drop the charges!" "Stop union busting!" and "Boycott the *Post*!"



Signs, banners, T-shirts demand: 'Defend the pressmen!'

Militant/Lee Oleson



Cindy Jaquith addresses women's liberation workshop at SWP convention

Militant/Susan Ellis

SWP national convention

Socialists discuss fight for ERA, abortion rights, child care

By Ginny Hildebrand

The blow struck against abortion rights by Congress on September 30 poses a challenge to all political organizations fighting for women's liberation. A wide range of discussions on the feminist movement at the

August Socialist Workers party convention helped prepare the party to countermobilize against these and other attacks on women.

The convention sessions and workshops reflected both the rise of feminist struggles and the party's increased participation in them. Separate workshops examined the fight to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, women's liberation work in the trade unions, Black feminist activities, and women's liberation struggles in other countries.

Militant Editor Mary-Alice Waters presented a special educational talk to the entire convention on "The Role of Women's Liberation in the Socialist Revolution."

Cindy Jaquith, SWP women's liberation work director, gave a report to the women's liberation workshop on perspectives for advancing women's struggles.

Jaquith explained that the women's movement is entering a new stage. "First of all, there is the upsurge in activity that we see around the ERA," she said. "There are more struggles around child care and abortion, and there is an increase in discussion of socialism as the solution to women's oppression."

"Secondly, this upsurge has for the first time brought working women into action—not in large numbers yet, but in numbers sufficient for us to know that there are important new opportunities to do women's liberation work in the unions, at workplaces, and in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities."

In the ERA workshop, activists discussed their experiences in getting unions to back ERA actions, winning support from Black and Chicano groups, building campus ERA committees, and organizing local coalitions for the ERA.

At the convention, Eileen Foley, a member of the National Organization for Women in New York, told the *Militant*: "In building for the May 16 ERA march on Springfield, Illinois, I saw that the SWP always wanted to involve more and more people. Other groups didn't want to do this or didn't know how. The SWP knew how."

Foley joined the SWP during the convention. "Being a member of the SWP will help my work in the women's movement," she declared.

Convention delegates voted to continue making ERA ratification a priority.

The women's liberation workshop discussed other vital issues: defense of abortion rights, child care, and affirmative action, and opposition to forced sterilization.

Jaquith pointed out that recently the organization most often in the forefront of women's struggles has been the National Organization for Women (NOW). "NOW is attracting many young militant women," she said. "Many of them are radical and more are working women. They are looking

for action and expect NOW to provide it."

Women steelworkers, public employees, auto workers, and others met in a workshop to discuss building the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Efforts to mobilize the unions behind the ERA, abortion rights, affirmative action, and other issues "is what we mean by trying to get working people to think socially and act politically," said Jaquith.

"This helps to raise the consciousness of trade unionists that the job of the unions is to defend the rights of the most exploited workers—women and Blacks and other oppressed nationalities."

Convention discussions showed that socialists are active in many women's groups: NOW chapters, campus feminist groups, women's centers, Black and Chicana feminist groups, women's rights committees in the unions, and socialist-feminist groups.

Many at the convention spoke about the openness of activists to socialist ideas. Jaquith emphasized that the best vehicle for encouraging feminists

to join the party this fall would be the presidential campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. She also pointed to the importance of winning women's groups and feminist leaders to support the SWP's suit challenging secret-police attacks on movements for social change.

Several areas reported on plans to combine campaigning for socialist candidates with classes and conferences on women's liberation and Marxism.

Bernie Kuhn, a new party member in Minneapolis, summed up a feeling shared by all the women who spoke to the *Militant* during the convention. "I've been really impressed by seeing women in the leadership of this party," she said. "Women in this movement play a decisive role in working out the goals of the SWP, what the party will be doing in every area of activity—not just the women's movement."

"Seeing this," Kuhn continued, "helped me decide that this is the place I want to be—to learn more about socialism while being active in the women's and other movements for social change."

Black feminism



Black women's workshop

"The basis certainly exists for a powerful Black women's movement in this country," said Cathy Sedwick opening up a workshop on Black feminism at the Socialist Workers party convention. Sedwick, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, described the multiple ways Black women are oppressed.

During the discussion, Trudy Hawkins explained that in her discussions with Black women at Detroit-area community colleges, she found that "women are not looking at the women's liberation movement in the same light as they were in the past." Black women, she said, are rejecting the media-created image of the movement as a "white thing." Several speakers pointed to child care, equal job opportunities, and abortion as "survival" issues for Black women.

"Gains we make as Black women are gains for our entire race," said Rashida Abdul-Ahad, a socialist and Equal Rights Amendment activist from Philadelphia. Mary Pritchard from St. Louis added, "We must throw off the dual shackles of racism and sexism. If we just fight racism, we're only dealing with half the struggle."

Reba Williams, who is active in the campaign to pass a referendum for a state ERA in Massachusetts, pointed out that antibusing forces there are also attacking women's rights. "They busted up a pro-ERA rally last year."

Cathy Sedwick and other speakers discussed two complementary approaches for involving Black women in the women's rights struggle: through already existing feminist organizations, such as the National Organization for Women; and through all-Black organizations, such as the National Alliance of Black Feminists and all-Black ERA task forces. —G.H.

These women support the Political Rights Defense Fund

The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance have sued the government for an end to spying and disruption. This lawsuit has exposed FBI and CIA attacks against democratic rights. More than 400 people—including these women—are sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the lawsuit.

How about you?

If you would like to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund, return this coupon to PRDF, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Please add my name as a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Enclosed is a contribution of \$_____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Organization (for identification only) _____

Signature _____



GLORIA STEINEM, editor, Ms. magazine



AUDREY COLOM, chairperson, National Women's Political Caucus



FLORENCE LUSCOMB, veteran of the suffrage movement



KATE MILLETT, feminist author and spokeswoman



OLGA MADAR, president, Coalition of Labor Union Women



REV. WILLIE BARROW, vice-president, Operation PUSH

George Sand: a biography

George Sand: A Biography by Curtis Cate. New York: Avon Books, 1976. 818 pp. \$2.75 paper.

My only previous encounter with author George Sand—I think it was a typical one—was as a student. I read a brief biographical description of her that was included in a general introduction to the works of early nineteenth century French writers.

Though we carefully studied her contemporaries—Honoré de Balzac, Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas—we learned only about George Sand's defiance of social convention: she smoked, wore trousers, and adopted a man's name (her given name was Aurore Dupin). Her writings were never

Books

included in the literary anthologies—nothing but those snide jokes about her "eccentricities."

Today, inspired by the women's liberation movement, there is new interest in her extraordinary life. In an era when women were almost totally shut out from participation in literary life, she wrote close to sixty novels, twenty-five plays, a long autobiography, and essays enough to fill a dozen volumes.

Though talented, she was not a great writer. Few people today would rank Sand along with contemporaries like Balzac and Stendhal, for her novels are dominated by overflowing emotion and sentimentalism that today make them difficult to read. But in her own lifetime (1804-1876) she was dubbed the "queen of the new literary generation," and held in high esteem by many European literary and artistic figures. This was no small achievement in those years—she had to take a male pseudonym just to guarantee publication of her first works.

Paragon & paradox

In her personal and political lives, George Sand was both a paragon and paradox, and it is this that is of greater interest today than her literary contributions.

She grew up and was married during the period after Napoleon's coronation and downfall and the monarchist restoration—years during which the most reactionary legislation, customs, and sentiments against women reigned. The Code Napoleon (France's civil and criminal statutes) prescribed a status for women that was even more backward in some respects than before the French Revolution of 1789.

Husbands and fathers were given complete control of women's and children's property and persons. Wives and daughters suspected of adultery, premarital "misbehavior," or other offenses could be arbitrarily imprisoned or sent to convents. Divorce, a reform that had been won during the French Revolution, was again illegal.

George Sand defied the stifling conventions and customs of personal life when she set herself up in a Paris apartment, started writing, and took lovers as she wished.

Scandalizes Paris

In winning a divorce despite the law from Casimir Dudevant (who never risked the same public condemnation or legal harassment as she did, though he also broke with monogamy in marriage) and waging a furious fight for custody of her children, Sand scandalized Paris—and foreshadowed the modern women's liberation movement.

Yet, despite this courageous stand in her personal life, she steadfastly refused to work with those who were beginning to demand full political rights for women. Though she sympathized with many of the ideas developed by the followers of the utopian socialist Henri de Saint-Simon, she specifically rejected their calls for "free love" and an end to monogamy in marriage.

Instead this woman, who was to have about twenty lovers, continued to uphold the romantic ideal of "the love of one man for one woman" as the "holiest element of human greatness." And she called on women to take "the purest for examples... suffer and pray, while they wait for marriage to cease being a degrading tyranny... What will women achieve through revolt?"

Her closest encounter with the feminist movement



Portrait of George Sand by Delacroix

came later in her life through her friendship with Juliette Lamber, a young French feminist who defended both George Sand and Marie d'Agoult (who also had to use a man's pen name for her literary work) against Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Proudhon was a founder of anarchism and the most prominent figure in the French working-class movement, but a staunch antifeminist.

Infuriated by Proudhon's misogyny and his personal attacks against the two women, Lamber responded by publishing a defense of the two women that was at the same time a powerful argument for women's rights. As a result, Lamber became a widely known publicist for the growing women's liberation movement that developed in the years preceding the Paris Commune of 1871. While Sand became close personal friends with Lamber, she was never to draw the political conclusions from Proudhon's attacks against her, and she continued to stand aside from the debate over women's rights.

Sand and revolution

A parallel paradox can be seen in Sand's attitude toward the two great revolutionary struggles that occurred in her lifetime, the 1848 revolution and the 1871 Paris Commune.

Sand was a fervent republican during the years of monarchist restoration. She was inspired by the utopian socialist vision of a fraternal republic where the ruling class and workers would be reconciled. Thus, she was a militant activist in the 1848 revolution, in which the French monarchy was finally deposed for good. During this period she wrote several stirring manifestos. And for a brief period she collaborated in the publication of a weekly newspaper called *La Cause du Peuple* (The People's Cause).

Narrowly avoiding prosecution herself when the movement was finally crushed, Sand used her contacts with government officials to win clemency for many of the imprisoned or exiled revolutionaries.

But twenty-three years later, when the Parisian workers established the Paris Commune and fought determinedly to wield their power against both the French capitalist rulers and the invading German army, Sand turned her back on the fight. The pioneering woman militant of 1848 was not to be seen alongside the numerous women fighters of 1871.

Her letters and diaries reveal that she was horrified by the insurrectionary workers movement. Instead of surmounting the utopian dream of reconciliation between the classes, she ended up reconciling herself to those who crushed the commune.

Curtis Cate's biography is a serious work from which George Sand, in all her strengths and weaknesses, and the changing historical period in which she lived, vividly emerges.

—Rebecca Finch

...abortion ban

Continued from back page

their anti-abortion proposals.

These attacks pose a challenge to every political group and individual who stands for women's rights. Across the country women are looking to the National Organization for Women, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and other groups to organize a response that can reverse the tide.

Picket lines, marches, and rallies have been held in several cities. NOW has helped to initiate many of these protests. Yet some NOW leaders and other feminists hesitate to launch an all-out national counteroffensive.

Some of these women are saying that abortion is simply a personal—as opposed to a political or presidential—issue. But this ignores reality. Laws codify restrictions or extensions of personal rights. Carter and Ford's anti-abortion statements and Congress's anti-abortion vote are *political* moves that undermine the right of every woman to make a *personal* choice about abortion.

At the bottom of this argument is an electoral strategy that includes getting Jimmy Carter off the hook. While feminists oriented toward the Democratic party are sickened by Carter's anti-abortion stand, they are reduced to supporting him as the "lesser" anti-abortion candidate. They don't want to keep confronting Carter with the issue because it seems to be losing votes for him both among proponents and opponents of abortion rights.

Liberals buckle

Also, some of the feminists counterpose electing "pro-abortion" and "pro-ERA" Democrats and Republicans to holding actions in defense of women's rights. This is also a tragic mistake. Politicians abound who swear loyalty to women's rights.

But just look at the liberal members of Congress who voted for the allocations bill cutting off Medicaid funds: Bella Abzug, Herman Badillo, Shirley Chisholm, Birch Bayh, Edward Kennedy, Frank Church, and Edward Brooke.

This bill falsely counterposed the rights of women to the needs of other oppressed people. The liberals accepted this and opportunistically sacrificed a fundamental need of women in order to pass what they considered to be a more popular section of the bill.

Clearly we cannot expect Democrats or Republicans to defend women's rights.

Some people also pull back from organizing a massive abortion rights action campaign because they fear it will only stir up more anti-abortion activity. But the right-wing movement is already stirred up. Their mobilizations of thousands paved the way for the current retreat on abortion rights. The relative inactivity of women's rights advocates allowed the right wing to masquerade as the majority. Politicians can ignore the wishes of the real majority if that sentiment is invisible and silent.

A year ago, this same do-nothing strategy led to the defeat of state ERA referenda in New York and New Jersey.

Mass mobilizations

We urge you to counter the anti-abortion mobilizations. We urge you to rely on your own power, not the politicians and judges.

The answer to the attacks on women's rights must be a massive, united protest campaign. Independent actions of the oppressed have time and again intervened decisively in the decisions recorded in the legislative halls and courtrooms.

The Supreme Court's original ruling legalizing abortion reflected the popular sentiment being channeled into an organized movement. Joanne Little and other victims of American injustice won victories because of widespread protests. Legislators, including those who enthusiastically supported the segregationist laws of the Jim Crow South, finally bowed to the will of hundreds of thousands of marchers demanding legal equality for Blacks.

Our party and campaign supporters stand ready to join in building a nationwide drive to defend abortion rights.

We need teach-ins, speak-outs, and debates against the anti-abortion groups to alert the population to the crisis confronting abortion rights. Local and national marches and rallies must mobilize feminists, the unions, organizations of the oppressed nationalities, and students. These actions are our only weapon that can demoralize the anti-abortion movement and force the courts and politicians to back off from the attacks on women's right to choose.

[Following is an interview given by Willie Mae Reid, who is running for vice-president on the Socialist Workers party ticket. Her presidential running mate is Peter Camejo.]

[The interview took place September 21. Several days later, Congress overrode a presidential veto and cut off Medicaid funds for most abortions.]

Question. What do you think are the major issues facing women in the elections?

Answer. All the important issues of the day are of grave concern to women: from U.S. support to racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, to FBI attacks on democratic rights, to the severe economic crisis bearing down on working people.

But several issues stand out with special significance for women. One is the Equal Rights Amendment. The ERA is four states short of ratification because of an aggressive right-wing political drive.

The abortion victory that we won in 1973 is under attack too. Congress is moving to cut off Medicaid funds for abortions. Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter are also on the anti-abortion bandwagon.

In addition, the gains women have made in the job market—including affirmative-action programs—are being eroded. Government cutbacks are eliminating the small number of child-care programs that exist.

Jimmy Carter

Q. Some feminists are saying that Carter is more pro-women's rights than Ford. Do you think that's true?

A. Not at all. At the Democratic party convention Carter very humbly told a women's caucus that it was impossible for him to understand people who were not in his income group, not of his race, or of his sex. But, he added, he had great "sympathy" for those people.

Was he sincere? His support to barring Medicaid funds for abortions is particularly revealing.

I had an abortion before the restrictive laws were overturned. I remember in great detail what it was like: very expensive, very brutal, and very chancy in terms of survival. That's what hundreds of thousands of women like me—poor and Black—will have to face once again if Medicaid funding is cut off. That's what Carter is for, Ford is for, and the Democratic-controlled Congress is for.

The capitalist politicians don't recognize abortion as a right for women. So they have no problems with bending to the pressure of a vocal, heavily financed anti-abortion minority.

But we abortion supporters are the majority! We can muster great power if we translate that majority sentiment into action. The need to out-mobilize the right-wing forces through demonstrations, pickets, and speak-outs has never been more urgent.

ERA

Q. Ford and Carter both pledged to campaign for ERA ratification. Why aren't they?

A. Making the record in support of the ERA says nothing about real commitment to its ratification. It just shows that Ford and Carter see it's not wise in 1976 to say they're opposed to legal equality for more than half the population.

But look at their performance. They have millions of tax dollars at their disposal for their campaigns. They haven't spent a dime of that money to discuss the benefits of the ERA. They aren't using their authority within their parties to pressure four more

Interview with Willie Mae Reid

Women and the elections



Militant/Walter Lippmann

WILLIE MAE REID, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate

states to ratify.

The only reason we've gotten thirty-four states to ratify is because of the power of the women's rights movement and its supporters. Remember, the ERA was passed in Congress at a time when the independent feminist movement was on the rise. It was active and vocal.

The states blocking ratification are considering the amendment in a different period—since the economic crisis hit in 1974. This makes it clearer to the politicians that it's not expedient for the private profit system to move ahead on human rights. Guaranteeing one-half of the population an equal opportunity to jobs, for example, doesn't fit into a plan that calls for throwing people already working out of their jobs.

Ford and Carter are trying to throw women off the track by urging us to focus our energies on electing them as the best assurance of ERA ratification.

But we didn't get rid of the anti-abortion laws by depending on the politicians. Blacks didn't get the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by depending on them. We had to depend on our own power, our own demonstrations, our own organizations. That's exactly how women are going to get the ERA.

You know, the Democrats could have

ratified the amendment this year. They already have a majority in fourteen of the sixteen state legislatures still blocking ratification.

Through my campaign, I try to win new partisans for the ERA. My supporters work with coalitions to help organize public activities bringing together large numbers of people.

May 16 demonstration

I'm a member of the National Organization for Women. Leading up to the May 16 demonstration last spring in Springfield, Illinois, I worked to bring as many of my campaign supporters as I possibly could to that march.

At that demonstration, I thought to myself, if the women's movement unites more unions, more Black groups, more students in massive actions on June 16, August 16, October and November 16 . . . then—as one speaker put it—"failure is impossible."

Q. Why do you think so many prominent feminists are supporting Jimmy Carter?

A. A lot of women identify the person holding office as the one holding the solutions. These women believe that Carter is a lesser evil. But

social forces much more powerful than either Carter or Ford determine government policies.

Remember Richard Nixon? It was his administration that finally withdrew most of the ground troops from Vietnam. It was his Supreme Court that legalized abortion. Nixon and the justices had to make concessions to the social unrest being channeled into massive protest movements.

Democratic party

The Democrats pretend that their party welcomes all the movements for social change. But it also welcomes billionaire bankers and businessmen, George Wallace and Louise Day Hicks. You can't be for the rights of the poor and the privileges of the rich at the same time.

The Democratic party's real commitment is to the capitalist class. The capitalists fatten their profits by feeding on our oppression. By feeding on the secondary status of women. So, the Democrats can't implement a program around genuine equality for women.

Since that party is based on a minority—the superrich—it also can't allow democracy within itself. Just look at the convention last summer. Delegates weren't even allowed to discuss the planks in the platform.

Many individuals have gone into the Democratic party hoping to reform it but were simply "reformed" themselves. Look at Bella Abzug, Gloria Steinem, and Betty Freidan. They're out campaigning for Carter—a self-avowed anti-abortion candidate.

Q. Why should feminists support your campaign if you and Peter Camejo can't win this year?

Socialist campaign

A. First of all, women can vote for us with a clear conscience. They don't have to apologize or make excuses like they have to for Jimmy Carter. We're a party that will never let up in our active support for women's liberation. That's because we're committed to a different class than the Democrats and Republicans, the working class and all those—women, Blacks, and others—who suffer from capitalist injustice.

A lot of people are disgusted with both the Democrats and Republicans and don't plan to vote. But the politicians still feel pretty safe. Because when people don't vote, it shows that they don't yet have an alternative.

When feminists vote for the Socialist Workers party, they are showing that they have begun to identify an alternative. They're challenging the capitalists' right to oppress us.

Q. What will the SWP be doing for women's rights after the elections?

A. Two of our top priorities—then as now—will be working with the broadest possible forces to organize actions to defend abortion rights and get the ERA ratified.

And, of course, we'll be encouraging feminists to join the Socialist Workers party.

We have to totally reorganize society on the basis of meeting human needs, not providing profits for a few. This means going up against the most powerful ruling class in history. So working people—and their allies among the national minorities and women—need a party of their own. A revolutionary party that understands and fights for the needs of the oppressed. That's what the SWP is.

We're fighting for a socialist society where the majority of people—working people—run the government. A socialist democracy would guarantee everyone—regardless of race and sex—the opportunity to participate equally in producing society's wealth and sharing in its rewards. That will be the beginning of real liberation for all women.

Against violence in movement

Following is a "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" addressed to Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, the central leader of the Denver Crusade for Justice. (See story on page 9.)

Initial Chicano signers of the statement include: Miguel Angel, chairperson of ethnic studies, Laney Community College, Oakland, California; Elfego Baca, Denver; Cecilio Camarillo, editor of *Caracol* magazine, San Antonio, Texas; Everett Chavez, professor of Chicano studies, University of Colorado, Denver; Abelardo Delgado, Chicano poet, Salt Lake City; Adolfo Gómez, director, Auraria Community Center, Denver.

Also, Armando Gutiérrez, vice-chairperson, Texas Raza Unida party; Frobén Lozada, head of Chicano studies at Merritt College, Oakland, California; Alicia Lucero, West Side Youth Development, Denver; Juan José Peña, chairperson, New Mexico Raza Unida party; Josephine Pérez, West Side Action Center, Denver; Kathleen Roybal, Platte Valley Action Center, Denver; and Mike Zárate, Young Socialist Alliance national office, New York.

Disturbing reports of the use of physical violence by members of the Crusade for Justice have come to our attention. This underlines the urgent need for decisive action to deescalate tensions in the movement and to ensure that physical intimidation does not interfere with the free exchange of political views.

Recent public revelations about the FBI have shown that fomenting violent conflicts within the movement is one of the government's favorite disruptive tactics. This is all the more reason for us to work to bring such incidents to an end.

We hope you will take a stand in favor of the simple democratic right to express a point of view without fear of physical reprisal from anyone, including those who may disagree within the movement. Taking such a stand certainly does not mean repudiating the right of self-defense against violent attacks. It means making clear that differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by fists or other weapons. Any attempt to do so simply provides openings for police and other enemies of the movement to tear us apart.

Further, it certainly does not help us oppose the government's use of violence against us if some of us use it against people who may not agree with our point of view.

The forces opposing progressive social change in the United States are very powerful. The unity necessary to overcome these forces can only be achieved if we respect each other's democratic rights.

...assault

Continued from page 9

the Crusade.

A statement to this effect, addressed to Gonzales, is also being circulated for signatures. A number of prominent Chicano leaders have already signed it.

Those wishing to express their concern over this grave matter should send messages to Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Crusade for Justice, 1567 Downing Street, Denver, Colorado 80218. Telephone: (303) 832-1145. Copies should be sent to Fred Halstead, c/o Socialist Workers party, 1379-81 Kalamath, Denver, Colorado 80204. Telephone: (303) 623-2825.

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11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)

Harvey K. McArthur,
Business Manager

12. For completion by publishers mailing at the regular rates (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual). 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the phased postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. (Signed) Harvey K. McArthur, Business Manager.

Calendar

CHICAGO: WEST SIDE
CAMEJO ANSWERS THE 'GREAT DEBATES.' Open house at noon. Watch Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate, on TV at 1 p.m. Clemens Bak, SWP candidate for controller will answer questions following the TV program and discuss the socialist campaign on the West Side of Chicago. Sat., Oct. 9, noon. 5967 West Madison, 2nd Floor. Ausp: West Side Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (312) 261-8370.

COLLEGE PARK, MD.
HEAR PETER CAMEJO. Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Fri., Oct. 15, 2 p.m. Room 231, Student Union Bldg., Univ. of Maryland. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (301) 454-4758.

LOS ANGELES
SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Sat., Oct. 23, 7 p.m., reception; 8 p.m., rally. Regency Ballroom, Sheraton West Hotel, 2961 Wilshire Blvd. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 California Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 735-4235.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW
BUSING: WHY IT'S WORTH FIGHTING FOR. A panel discussion. Panel: Hattie McCutcheon, NSCAR; others. Fri., Oct. 15, 8 p.m. 440 W. Washington Blvd. (across from Ralph's). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

NEW YORK
THE SOCIALIST ELECTORAL ALTERNATIVE. Representatives of the National Black Assembly, Socialist Labor party, Socialist Workers party, and Communist party USA will discuss why they are running candidates for the U.S. presidency, their campaign platforms, and how electoral politics relates to their overall strategy. Thurs., Oct. 14, 7 p.m. Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th St. Admission: \$2. Ausp: Marxist Education Collective. For more information call (212) 989-6493.

NEW YORK
FREE MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV. Let the Crimean

Tatars return to Crimea. Picket the Soviet airline offices. Mon., Oct. 18, 11:30 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. 45th St. and 5th Ave. Ausp: Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee. For more information call (212) 533-9238.

NEW YORK: WEST SIDE
PUBLIC DEBATE. Ruthann Miller, SWP candidate for N.Y. State Assembly, 70th A.D., and Ed Sullivan, Democratic party candidate for the same office, will participate in a public debate. Tues., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. Broadway Presbyterian Church, 601 West 114th St. (corner of Broadway). Ausp: West Side Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PITTSBURGH
SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; Carla Hoag, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 14th C.D. Tues., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. Linden School Auditorium (near corner of Linden and Wilkins). Take PAT buses 74A or 67. Ausp: 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

ST. LOUIS
ABORTION RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK. Speakers: Barbara Bowman, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Chris Guerrero, president of North County NOW; Vivian Deaner, Reproductive Health Services; Phyllis Lafata, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights. Fri., Oct. 15, 8 p.m. Grace United Methodist Church, 6199 Waterman. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

TOLEDO
CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; Melissa Singler, SWP candidate for Senate. Sat., Oct. 16, 8 p.m., refreshments; 8:30 p.m., program. Scott Park Community House, 2201 Nebraska. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Toledo Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; Eli Green, SWP candidate for D.C. city council, at-large. Thurs., Oct. 14, 7:30 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th and Harvard St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

...Carter

Continued from page 25

It was for these reasons that the *Economist* turned its eyes to Brookings, rather than Carter's speeches, to convey the real views of the potential Democratic administration.

A study suggesting future government policy has just been issued by Brookings. The study was edited by Owen and Schultze.

"Mr. Schultze," says the *Economist*, "questions the notion that federal spending will continue to increase" if government budgets continue as they have in the past decade. "Unless the federal budget is allowed to rise as a proportion of gnp [gross national product], the growth in domestic programmes will have to give way."

These are polite words for the increasing tendency of the government on a local and national scale to try to

resolve financial crises through slashing social programs. We have already seen that Rohatyn, another expert on this question, is a potential Carter cabinet figure.

"Mr. Owen," says the *Economist*, "recommends fierce and concentrated defence of the United States' interests where they lie: Western Europe, Japan and the Middle East, and a subdued concern with events elsewhere, especially in the third world."

These are words that could just as easily describe Henry Kissinger's policy.

Jimmy Carter advertises that "we've seen walls built around Washington and we feel we can't get through."

The walls are certainly there: The secrecy of government, its anti-working-class national and international policies molded by nonelected agents of the ruling class . . . But Jimmy Carter is already behind those walls.

America's Revolutionary Heritage

Edited with an introduction by George Novack

This is a portrait of capitalist America from its colonial infancy to its emergence as an imperialist power in the twentieth century. *America's Revolutionary Heritage* includes the story of the crushing of the Indians, the revolt against the British crown, and the overthrow of the slave system in the South. 384 pp., cloth \$15, paper \$4.45

Last Hired, First Fired

Affirmative Action Vs. Seniority

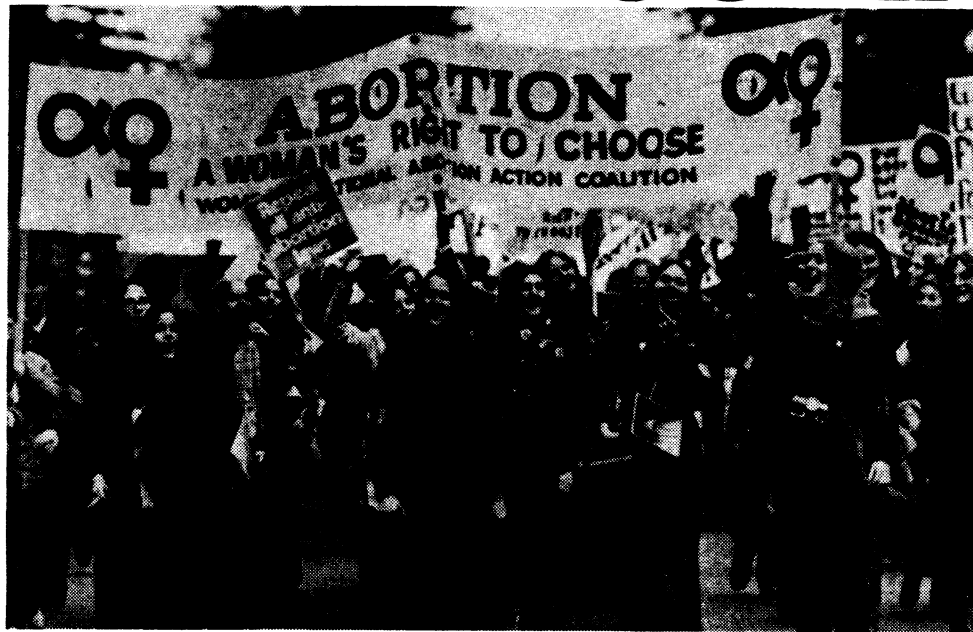
Includes "The Debate Over Seniority and Affirmative Action," "The NAACP and the Struggle for Full Equality," and "The AFL-CIO and the Seniority System."

By Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 32 pp., \$5.00

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Protest abortion ban!

Socialists urge nationwide effort to defend women's right to choose



United actions such as this November 20, 1971, demonstration helped win women the right to abortion.

[The following statement was released October 4 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.]

We are outraged by Congress's decision to deny Medicaid funds to women seeking abortions. This is one of the biggest setbacks for women's rights in decades. It also marks the anti-abortion movement's most significant victory.

At this point the law has not gone into effect. Court action has won a temporary reprieve. [See news story below.]

By barring Medicaid-funded abortions except when a woman's life is "endangered," members of Congress are denying hundreds of thousands of women access to safe abortions. These hypocritical politicians ignore the human cost of this policy.

If the courts give the go-ahead, won't the lives of every woman who will desperately attempt self-induced or back-alley abortions be "endangered"? Congress knows the facts: before the 1973 Supreme Court ruling, botched illegal abortions were the leading cause of maternity deaths.

Rich, white, men—who dominate Congress—have brazenly stepped in to decide the fate of women. They are undermining the democratic right of women to control their own bodies—the cornerstone

of women's equality.

The policy is also flagrantly racist. In disproportionate numbers Black, Chicana, and Puerto Rican women will be turned away from hospitals because they cannot afford to pay \$125 to \$325 for abortions.

In addition, it enforces class discrimination. Low-income, working-class women, says Congress, do not have the same rights as wealthier women.

Moreover, the attack on abortion rights is an important item on the government's agenda to erode political, economic, and social rights in the context of the current economic crisis. It ranks high on the list, along with reinstating the death penalty, restricting busing for school desegregation, tearing up union contracts, eliminating affirmative-action programs, and generally cutting back on social services.

The Medicaid ban and Carter and Ford's anti-abortion pronouncements are a boon to every reactionary cause and right-wing outfit.

In particular, ending the right of women on Medicaid to abortions could easily have a domino effect on the Equal Rights Amendment. If the right wing sees that it is strong enough to erode a fundamental right already won by women, surely it will be emboldened to step up its campaign to prevent any expansion of women's rights.

The intensified anti-women's rights campaign

signals a warning: the government and the two parties that run it are not guardians of democratic rights. Women, Blacks, and the entire working class must fight time and again to safeguard the victories we have won in the past.

Right now, we must unite in emergency actions to defend abortion rights.

Temporarily, courts have issued restraining orders suspending the implementation of Congress's funding ban. U.S. District Court judges will soon be considering the constitutionality of the policy in suits brought by the National Abortion Rights Action League, Planned Parenthood, and others.

The Supreme Court will also hear two cases from Pennsylvania and Connecticut that raise similar issues of economic discrimination in abortion services.

Meanwhile, anti-abortion demonstrators continue to try to shut down abortion clinics in Milwaukee, Cleveland, and other cities. State legislatures prepare to consider additional restrictive laws. The Catholic church hierarchy on October 3 held "Respect Life Sunday," preaching to congregations the moral imperative of backing an anti-abortion amendment to the Constitution. And on the campaign trail, Carter and Ford continue to peddle

Continued on page 28

Suits, actions hit anti-abortion law

By Ginny Hildebrand

Abortion rights supporters went to court just hours after Congress voted to deny Medicaid funds for abortions. The anti-abortion provision is attached to an allocations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. It denies Medicaid funds for abortions except those performed to save the life of a pregnant woman.

On October 1, U.S. District Court judges in Brooklyn and Washington, D.C., issued temporary restraining orders preventing the immediate cutoff of funds. The court orders came in response to suits challenging the constitutionality of the measure.

In Brooklyn, the suit was brought by Planned Parenthood and the New York Health and Hospitals Corporation. The judge said he would rule on a preliminary injunction by October 20. If granted, the injunction would prevent the Medicaid ban from taking effect until the court can rule on the constitutional questions.

In Washington, U.S. District Judge John Sirica will hold hearings

on a preliminary injunction October 12. Two suits were filed in that city: one by several Maryland doctors, clinics, and patients; the other by the National Abortion Rights Action League, a local abortion clinic, and four Washington doctors. The American Civil Liberties Union filed still another suit in Trenton, New Jersey.

The suits raise fundamental issues of democratic rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution.

- The prohibition denies a woman's right to privacy as guaranteed by the Fourth and Ninth amendments. The Supreme Court cited the right to privacy when it ruled in 1973 that the government could not interfere with a woman's decision to have an abortion in the early stages of pregnancy.

- By providing Medicaid funds for pregnancy services other than abortions and denying abortions to women with incomes low enough to get Medicaid, the measure violates the right to due process and equal protection under the Fifth Amendment.

- In effect, the measure also violates the First Amendment by imposing the views of a special religious group on others.

Two days after the congressional vote, 120 abortion rights supporters demonstrated in downtown Milwaukee. Twenty local and state groups backed the action. They included the University of Wisconsin Pro-Choice Abortion Coalition, Coalition for the Right to Choose, Wisconsin National Organization for Women, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, and the Socialist Workers party.

Adrienne Kaplan represented Wisconsin NOW. "We must gather our forces and challenge the tiny but highly visible antiwoman, anti-abortion minority," she told the enthusiastic crowd. "We must demonstrate again and again and again if we have to."

Last spring, abortion rights mobilizations successfully defeated a Wisconsin bill to cut off state Medicaid funds to abortions.

A week before the downtown rally, twenty-five abortion rights supporters picketed the opening of Jimmy

Carter's headquarters in Milwaukee. Carter's son Jack told demonstrators that his father *does* support denying Medicaid funds for abortions.

In San Francisco, an abortion rights news conference announced plans to demonstrate outside the Carter-Ford debate. The purpose of the October 6 action, explained San Francisco NOW President Jayne Townsend, is to demand that Medicaid funds be restored and to let both candidates know how women feel about their "right to choose to live with or without children."

A protest against Medicaid restrictions is also scheduled in New York City for October 19. Twenty-five activists met at the Women's Coffee House October 5 to plan the picket line. Participants at the meeting included members of NOW, Women Office Workers, the Socialist Workers party, Committee to End Sterilization Abuse, Health Right, and the women's centers of New York University and Columbia. The action will be held from 4:30 to 6:00 p.m. at the Federal Building.