

# THE MILITANT

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

## 'EQUALITY YES, RACISM NO!'

10,000 in D.C. protest 'Bakke'



Militant/Lou Howort

APRIL 15—Demonstrators from campuses, unions, and women's groups march to defend affirmative action. See page 3.

### ERA IN DANGER

All-out drive needed  
for women's rights

—PAGE 10

### The meaning of the miners' strike

How working people  
can defend our unions,  
our rights, our living standards

—PAGES 13-21

Special  
feature

## Transit workers vote

An honest, democratic vote.

That's what New York City transit workers are asking for as they mail in their ballots on a proposed new contract.

And an honest, democratic vote is a prospect that terrifies the city administration, the Transit Authority, and the heavy-handed, overpaid bureaucrats who run the Transport Workers Union. They are determined to get the contract approved by browbeating and intimidating transit workers—or, if that fails, by simply stealing the election.

Transit workers know that the overwhelming majority of the union ranks oppose the contract. They want to send their negotiators back for more. The proposal offers only a 6 percent raise over two years—while prices are rising nearly *three times* that fast.

Worst of all, in the view of many TWU members, the proposed pact allows the Transit Authority to begin replacing full-time workers with part-time employees, who may not be given any job benefits or union rights. This scheme is seen as a weapon to undermine working conditions and union strength.

Mayor Edward Koch insists he is ready to take a strike and will add "nothing" to the miserly package if the workers vote it down. This belligerent pose is mainly bluff.

New York's 33,000 bus drivers and subway workers have the power to close the city down tight. A transit strike would cost the big-business interests that rule New York millions of dollars a day in profits. That's the kind of power that can tame Koch's swagger and shake loose some money for city workers.

For their part, the TWU officials are spending the members' dues money on big newspaper ads that dictate: "Vote To Accept Your New Contract . . . Your New Contract Is the Best Possible Under Prevailing Conditions . . . A Vote To Reject Is A Vote To Strike . . . There Is No Other Alternative."

The ads brand all opposition to the contract as "hysterical ravings of the Communist Labor Party, Socialist Labor Party, Trade Union Alliance, United Workers Organization, Progressive Labor Party and other phoney so-called concerned fronts and their followers."

This crude red-baiting can't cover up the desperation of the TWU bureaucrats. Hundreds of transit workers have already

demonstrated against the contract and against the danger of vote fraud.

On April 13, 225 TWU members attended a meeting in Rochdale Village in Queens called by the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers. The committee is trying to get rank-and-file monitors for the vote counting on April 25. It is also urging workers to keep a duplicate copy of their ballot and envelope and to send it by certified mail.

"We're here to get a 'no' vote whatever the consequences," said CCTW leader Mike Warren. "If that means a strike, we're ready for it."

What the transit workers win—or lose—will set the pattern for more than 200,000 other city employees. Their fight for an honest election and a decent contract deserves the support of all working people.

## Farmers & prices

A chorus of cheers echoed in the pages of the big-business press as striking farmers left Washington in mid-April without a cent of financial aid from Congress.

The *New York Times* claimed their demand for full price supports would "exacerbate inflation and endanger world food stocks."

The *Washington Post* attacked farmer demonstrations as "a campaign against the cities, against the consumers, against Washington and, ultimately, against Mr. Carter."

It's the farmers' own fault if they're in debt, the capitalist politicians chimed in. Their demands will only lead to higher food prices.

The same phony arguments were heard only weeks before when the miners wrested some gains in wages and other benefits from the greedy coal operators. The steel and utility giants rushed to raise prices, blaming the miners for "inflationary demands."

This orchestrated campaign of lies is aimed at dividing farmers and working people, at disguising the real culprits who are soaking workers and farmers alike.

Food prices are soaring today at the staggering annual rate of 14.4 percent. But working farmers are not to blame.

Since August 1973, the prices they receive have *dropped* 20 percent. Farm costs have jumped 33 percent. Forced to borrow to the hilt to produce their crops, farmers' debts have nearly doubled, from \$56.9 billion in 1972 to \$102 billion in 1977.

That's why farmers are demanding that the government pay them the full difference between the low prices they receive and their high production costs.

The government has flatly refused.

As a sleazy substitute, Congress debated and finally rejected April 12 a bill sponsored by Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kans.). Dole proposed increasing farm price supports to farmers if they agreed to produce less food.

The Carter administration, while opposing Dole's bill as inflationary, called for increasing aid by the very same method—taking land out of production.

Neither proposal comes anywhere close to giving farmers the full difference between their costs and current income. Both would create food shortages and increase inflation. And both reflect the callous indifference of the U.S. rulers to the plight of millions starving around the world.

The only people who stand to gain from such proposals are the owners of the agribusiness concerns.

It is these conglomerates, along with the giant food processors, retail chains, and shippers, who are reaping the profits from food price increases.

Working farmers, in fact, receive only *forty cents* from every dollar spent on food purchases.

Where does the other sixty cents go? Farmers and workers have a right to know.

They have a right to open the books of the agribusiness industry to see how prices are fixed and shortages created.

They have a right to inspect the books of the banks as well—to see how the small farmer is bled to death by exorbitant interest payments on loans. The debt-ridden farmers have a right to a moratorium on these payments.

There is plenty of money right now to pay farmers the full cost of production for the goods they produce. Carter's current farm aid is a mere \$10.5 billion. That's the same amount as the cost of *just one* of the many weapons programs at the Pentagon—the XM-1 tank program.

Instead of wasting \$126 billion on the war budget, that money could go to provide farmers with a decent livelihood. And to provide food subsidies to all those living on substandard diets, instead of reducing the amount of food produced.

This is a program that would meet the needs of farmers and workers alike.

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### Canal pact: a 'triumph' for Panama?

President Carter and Panamanian dictator Omar Torrijos are both hailing Senate ratification of the Panama Canal treaties. But what about the nationalist aspirations of the Panamanian people? **Page 6.**

### FBI—no honor among thieves

The squabble between the Carter administration and FBI official J. Wallace LaPrade could reveal some more secrets about government crimes. **Page 7.**



### More food, but more go hungry

Marxist economist Ernest Mandel explains why the profit system, not overpopulation, is the cause of hunger and famine around the world. **Page 24.**



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# Thousands in Washington say 'Overturn Bakke'

By Omari Musa

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Chanting "Equality yes, racism no, the *Bakke* decision has got to go," and, "We shall overcome," 10,000 people marched and rallied here April 15.

The protest demanded reversal of the *Bakke* decision and support for affirmative action in education and employment. The National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision sponsored the demonstration.

The *Bakke* case arose from a California Supreme Court decision striking down a special-admissions program for minority students at the University of California Davis medical school. The U.S. Supreme Court is scheduled to rule on an appeal of that decision later this spring.

Protesters marched down Pennsylvania Avenue, and hundreds more joined in for a rally at the Capitol.

The majority of participants were Black, Latino, and Asian-American students and youth, whose futures are directly threatened by the *Bakke* ruling.

Large contingents came from the City University of New York system, Morgan State University, Howard University, and Atlanta Junior College. Local chapters of the National Student Coalition Against Racism participated in the march. Many D.C.-area high school students also turned out.

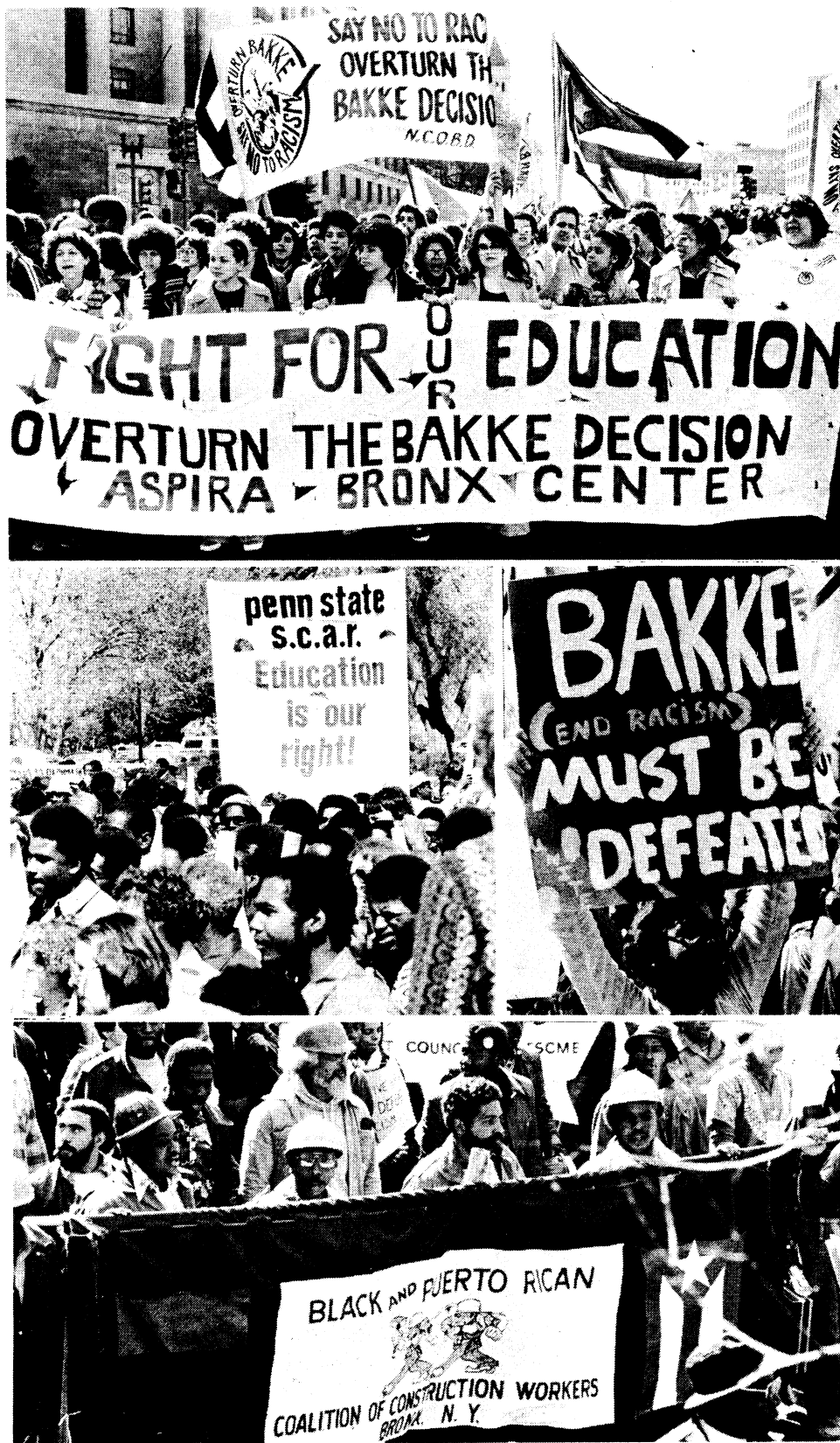
Several chapters of the National Organization for Women marched under banners pointing to the danger that this attack on affirmative action represents for women. Sharon Parker from the NOW Minority Women's Task Force spoke at the rally.

## Union participation

Other banners identified locals of the American Federation of Teachers; United Steelworkers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Fur and Leather Workers; United Auto Workers; Furniture Workers; and other unions. The Black and Puerto Rican Coalition of Construction Workers from the Bronx marched in hard hats beneath their banner.

This union participation spotlighted the labor movement's stake in the fight to reverse *Bakke* and defend affirmative action.

Many radical groups also participated in the demonstration. Among them were the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Workers World Party, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Revolutionary Communist Party, and Socialist Labor Party.



Militant/Lou Howort

At the rally on the Capitol steps, Washington Teachers Union President William Simons welcomed the protesters in the name of the D.C. labor movement and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. The Greater Washington D.C. Central Labor Council was an endorser of the April 15 action.

"We know that once affirmative action is turned back—no matter

whether it is on the job or in the schools—we will see everything pushed backward and further backward," Simons told the rally. "We cannot allow this.

"Let us leave here today knowing that we can put together the kind of unity that pushed us ahead before. We've shown today that we can do it, and we have to continue doing it until

the doors are open to all of us."

D.C. City Council member Hilda Mason pointed out that the council had proclaimed April 8-15 "National Week to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision."

"If the *Bakke* decision is not reversed," Mason declared, "it means our rights will be turned around, and we will be headed back to where we were before the civil rights movement started."

## Medical care

"We are moving. We are marching because there is not enough medical care in our communities. We demand more affirmative action and more places in medical schools."

NCORD leader Grantland Johnson told rally participants, "We have to explain the fight against racism in the context of the economic crisis. Foreign-born workers are blamed for the crisis. Women are blamed for the crisis. Blacks, Latinos, and Asians are blamed for the crisis.

"It is time for Blacks, women, Latinos, Asians, and workers to stand together. We have to pull the covers off the 'reverse discrimination' argument."

Johnson also announced that a demonstration against the *Bakke* decision is scheduled for April 29 in San Francisco. New York NCORD leader Larry Holmes announced that the group is planning local conferences in New York and Washington, D.C., in May.

Other speakers included Antonio Rodríguez, CASA; D.C. School Board member Frank Shaffer-Corona; Amy Cruz, Union of Democratic Filipinos; and Imani Kazana, Wilmington Ten Defense Committee.

Toward the end of the rally, a small group calling itself the Soweto Brigade staged a provocative action on the fringes of the crowd. The group, led by the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade, burned an effigy of Allan Bakke, the white engineer who filed the lawsuit against the Davis special-admissions program. The incident provided the cops with a pretext to arrest one demonstrator.

The fact that more than 10,000 people turned out for the April 15 protest is a victory in the battle to defend and extend affirmative-action programs.

In a statement distributed at the march, the National Student Coalition Against Racism pointed out, "It is through demonstrations like this one that affirmative action will be won. We need more such actions. We need a massive direct action campaign including teach-ins, debates, picket lines, rallies and marches."

## Free to new readers...

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Springboard for spring efforts

'Militant' goes on special week of sales

By Harvey McArthur

The coal miners stood up to the bosses. They stood up to the government. And they beat back the attacks on their union and on their lives.

How did they do it? Can we do it in our union? What does this mean for me?

These questions are on the minds of millions of working people today. And with the special supplement on the meaning of the miners' strike this week, the *Militant* is helping to provide some answers.

That is why socialists have set this as a special week in their spring sales campaign. In all, they have ordered more than 10,000 *Militants* to sell this week. And they have ordered 300 extra copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Most cities have set special higher quotas for the week—some even doubling their regular quotas. All will be doing a lot more talking and selling at plant gates, on campuses and at busy shopping areas.

Working people like the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* for many reasons.

Randi Lawrence reports from Chicago, "We found that the article on proposals for a shorter workweek to create more jobs was a big selling point."

"This was a new idea to most of the people we talked to, but it made sense to them. Many were interested in read-

ing the *Militant* to find out how it would work."

Chicago also found that sales increased substantially when teams made a point to stay out longer.

"In two or three hours each sales person can talk to hundreds of people at a busy shopping center or street corner," said Lawrence. "This means many more chances to discuss socialist ideas with other working people, and—of course—to sell more papers."

Fifteen cities made their quotas last week, more than in any previous week. Chicago, San Francisco, Baltimore, and Tacoma all sold 100 percent or more for the first time.

Detroit also made its quota, though it had taken a much lower one than usual due to petitioning to get Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in Michigan. Detroit socialists sold forty papers, while obtaining more than 7,000 signatures last week.

Nationally, however, there was no increase in total sales (see scoreboard). And we were still well below our goal of having every city make its quota each week. This means there are important factories and neighborhoods in many cities where socialists can—but have not yet—begun regular sales.

This emphasizes the importance of getting these sales organized, with a special effort to make this week a launching pad for the remainder of the drive.



More than 350 copies of the *Militant* and 155 of the *Young Socialist* were sold at the April 15 anti-'Bakke' demonstration in Washington, D.C.

How Salt Lake socialists stay at top of chart

By Nelson Blackstock

SALT LAKE CITY—Socialists in this city have been consistently at the top of the scoreboard in this spring's *Militant* circulation drive.

As you can see from this week's results, they have upped their quota from 90 to 125 and surpassed even that goal, selling 150 in all.

How were they able to do it?

There are several reasons, but these are the essential ones: the drive is seen as a political campaign of the entire branch, and community sales are stressed, with a special outreach on Saturday.

Before the drive opened, the political basis for it was explained in a report to the branch by sales director Jeanne Reynolds. The branch has nineteen members. They reviewed the goals of the national campaign and laid plans for its application here.

(A proper kickoff for the campaign is essential. Socialists in some cities have been "relaunching" the drive in conjunction with the special sales of this issue on the coal miners. The plan now is to go forward to make the local quotas each and every week of the drive.)

With the circulation effort set in the context of a political drive—one in which socialists nationwide are taking part—organizing the project became much easier.

The aim is to reach out to the Salt Lake working people where they work, in the key industrial facilities, and in the communities where they live.

It gets underway each Saturday morning. Sales teams leave from the new SWP headquarters. Street circulation of the *Militant* is a longstanding tradition for socialists in this country, helping them establish a presence in dozens of cities.

Salt Lake has no central downtown shopping area suitable for regular sales. So the socialists stress sales in shopping centers and at grocery stores. Here, too, they sometimes face problems. Store managers frequently ban sales. When this happens, the socialists fall back on door-to-door sales.

The SWP here recently opened its new headquarters—a bookstore in a central location. As they campaign with the *Militant*, socialists distribute publicity for the bookstore, as well as for *Militant* forums.

A second target time for weekly community sales is Wednesday evening. Each member usually goes out to sell an average of two times a week.

Salt Lake City's Chicano population is relatively small and scattered. But the socialists are taking a small *Perspectiva Mundial* quota for sales to Spanish-speaking people.

In addition to plant-gate sales, which a future article will report on, another focus is on getting the *Militant* out at political gatherings and on campus.

As in other cities, the Young Socialist Alliance is taking part in the *Militant* drive. They also sell their monthly paper, the *Young Socialist*. The YSA is working to establish itself at the University of Utah here. SWP members help by selling the *Militant* on campus. Some night-shift workers are able to sell during the day, and others find the time to help during the evening.

The entire branch keeps a watchful eye on how they are doing in relation to the weekly quota. Did Saturday sales go as planned? Maybe it's necessary to schedule an additional sale on Thursday afternoon? Or maybe the steelworker who worked too late to make the Wednesday night sale can sell at the local grocery store on Friday evening?

They look at it this way. The branch as a whole has agreed what its work will be. They agreed democratically to sell ninety papers—now more—and ten *Perspectiva Mundials* during the ten-week drive. And they intend to do what's required to see that the decision is implemented.

This is a young branch, one year old. It's already set good traditions in circulating the press. The way the members see it, getting the *Militant* known in the city is the best way to introduce socialism to the working people of Salt Lake City.

In conjunction with the *Militant* renewal drive earlier this year, the branch initiated an introductory class for *Militant* readers on the ideas of socialism. The class was instrumental in recently winning a new SWP member, a young Sioux Indian woman. The class now continues on a biweekly basis. During the sales campaign, new *Militant* readers are being invited to attend.

Weekly sales results

| CITY             | MILITANT |       | PM   |      | TOTAL |      |         |
|------------------|----------|-------|------|------|-------|------|---------|
|                  | Goal     | Sold  | Goal | Sold | Goal  | Sold | Percent |
| Salt Lake City   | 115      | 148   | 10   | 2    | 125   | 150  | 120.0   |
| Minneapolis      | 100      | 109   |      |      | 100   | 109  | 109.0   |
| Tacoma           | 90       | 98    |      |      | 90    | 98   | 108.9   |
| Raleigh          | 75       | 80    |      |      | 75    | 80   | 106.7   |
| Dallas           | 115      | 118   | 10   | 15   | 125   | 133  | 106.4   |
| Chicago          | 282      | 305   | 18   | 10   | 300   | 315  | 105.0   |
| Cincinnati       | 75       | 76    |      |      | 75    | 76   | 101.3   |
| San Francisco    | 220      | 217   | 15   | 21   | 235   | 238  | 101.3   |
| Baltimore        | 100      | 101   |      |      | 100   | 101  | 101.0   |
| Detroit          | 40       | 40    |      |      | 40    | 40   | 100.0   |
| Indianapolis     | 100      | 100   |      |      | 100   | 100  | 100.0   |
| Kansas City      | 90       | 100   | 10   |      | 100   | 100  | 100.0   |
| Louisville       | 100      | 100   |      |      | 100   | 100  | 100.0   |
| Morgantown       | 100      | 100   |      |      | 100   | 100  | 100.0   |
| St. Paul         | 80       | 80    |      |      | 80    | 80   | 100.0   |
| New York         | 575      | 578   | 75   | 42   | 650   | 620  | 95.4    |
| Albany           | 60       | 55    |      |      | 60    | 55   | 91.7    |
| Miami            | 90       | 76    | 10   | 12   | 100   | 88   | 88.0    |
| New Orleans      | 150      | 132   |      |      | 150   | 132  | 88.0    |
| Toledo           | 60       | 52    |      |      | 60    | 52   | 86.7    |
| San Jose         | 100      | 80    | 10   | 7    | 110   | 87   | 79.1    |
| Boston           | 165      | 150   | 25   |      | 190   | 150  | 78.9    |
| Atlanta          | 250      | 188   |      |      | 250   | 188  | 75.2    |
| Denver           | 105      | 79    | 5    | 3    | 110   | 82   | 74.5    |
| Portland         | 90       | 61    |      |      | 90    | 61   | 67.8    |
| Oakland          | 150      | 95    |      | 6    | 150   | 101  | 67.3    |
| Seattle          | 150      | 101   |      |      | 150   | 101  | 67.3    |
| San Antonio      | 100      | 65    | 10   | 4    | 110   | 69   | 62.7    |
| Los Angeles      | 400      | 269   | 100  | 38   | 500   | 307  | 61.4    |
| Newark           | 150      | 85    |      | 7    | 150   | 92   | 61.3    |
| Pittsburgh       | 125      | 71    |      |      | 125   | 71   | 56.8    |
| Houston          | 270      | 128   | 30   | 14   | 300   | 142  | 47.3    |
| Berkeley         | 150      | 75    | 12   |      | 162   | 75   | 46.3    |
| Milwaukee        | 120      | 57    | 5    |      | 125   | 57   | 45.6    |
| Philadelphia     | 250      | 100   |      |      | 250   | 100  | 40.0    |
| Cleveland        | 150      | 57    |      |      | 150   | 57   | 38.0    |
| San Diego        | 100      | 40    | 25   | 4    | 125   | 44   | 35.2    |
| Washington, D.C. | 230      | 80    | 20   | 7    | 250   | 87   | 34.8    |
| Albuquerque      | 115      | 21    | 10   | 2    | 125   | 23   | 18.4    |
| Phoenix*         | 75       |       | 10   |      | 85    |      | .0      |
| St. Louis**      | 200      |       |      |      | 200   |      | .0      |
| TOTALS:          | 6,062    | 4,467 | 410  | 194  | 6472  | 4661 | 72.0    |

\*Not reporting  
\*\*Petitioning, not reporting



## No money for schools?

# Toledo teachers face cutback demands

By Norma Saldaña

TOLEDO—Striking teachers and other school employees here are being told there's "no money" to meet their demands as an education-funding crisis sweeps the state of Ohio.

In Cleveland, as of April 18, teachers and other school employees had not been paid for more than a month.

In Brunswick, Ohio, thirty-seven of the city's fifty-three teachers were jailed April 8 for refusing to sign a back-to-work pledge aimed at breaking their strike for higher pay and other demands. They were later released. (See page 28.)

The Toledo Federation of Teachers (TFT) Local 250 and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 46 shut down the school system here April 10. The teachers have

been denied a contract for two years. AFSCME members saw their contract torn up by the school board last September.

The school board is demanding that the workers take a wage cut. Its offer is a miserly 7 percent increase, which would not nearly make up for wages already lost, not to mention the rising rate of inflation today. The board is also demanding that the workers accept unpaid maternity leaves, extension of the school day, loss of seniority in transfers, and loss of floating holidays.

These attacks are based on the report of a so-called citizens' committee headed by Chester Devenow, chairman of the board of the Sheller-Globe Corporation. Devenow was also the chief architect of the public relations swindle last fall that persuaded Toledo voters to approve a \$10 million bond issue with the promise that this would solve the schools' financial problems and raise wages for employees.

The teachers have won the support of parents and students, who have joined the picket lines; of the United Auto Workers; Teamsters Local 20;

and the Oregon Teachers Association, a suburban affiliate of the National Education Association.

This support pressured Judge Peter Handwork to throw out a back-to-work injunction sought by the school board on April 10. But the strikers are now threatened with possible use of the hated Ferguson Act, Ohio's version of the Taft-Hartley Act. Under this law, public employees can be fired if they ignore a back-to-work order.

The coal miners' recent defiance of Taft-Hartley has inspired strikers here. "You can't teach kids with the Ferguson Act," says TFT President Dal Lawrence.

The strikers don't believe there's no money for education in Ohio. And they're right.

Millions of dollars that could go to pay teachers a living wage are going instead for interest payments to the banks and corporations that hold school bonds. Millions more are being spent in Cleveland in attempts to overturn court-ordered desegregation. And millions are going to the Pentagon for the bloated war budget.

That money should go to provide



Militant/Walter Lippmann

NORMA SALDANA

school employees with a decent livelihood, rebuild crumbling school facilities, and guarantee an equal education for all.

Norma Saldaña is a member of the Toledo Federation of Teachers Local 250 and was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council in the 1977 municipal elections.

## ...Unionists discuss fight for shorter workweek

Continued from back page

"That's what the UAW has to do in 1979!" he added, prompting a round of cheers.

Both the Conyers bill and the UAW plan leave loopholes allowing the bosses to continue imposing compulsory overtime. Several delegates, for example, pointed out that the companies would rather pay double-time—as proposed by Conyers—than the costs of hiring and training new workers.

Even conference leaders such as USWA District 29 Director Charles Younglove and United Electrical Workers President Albert Fitzgerald called the Conyers bill "short" on this score.

### Profits

How should the movement answer bosses who claim they can't afford a shorter workweek, or who threaten that it would force them to raise their prices or close down factories?

John T. Williams, retired leader of Los Angeles Teamsters Local 208, answered this question in an interview with the *Militant*. "The shorter workweek is against what this system is all about," he said.

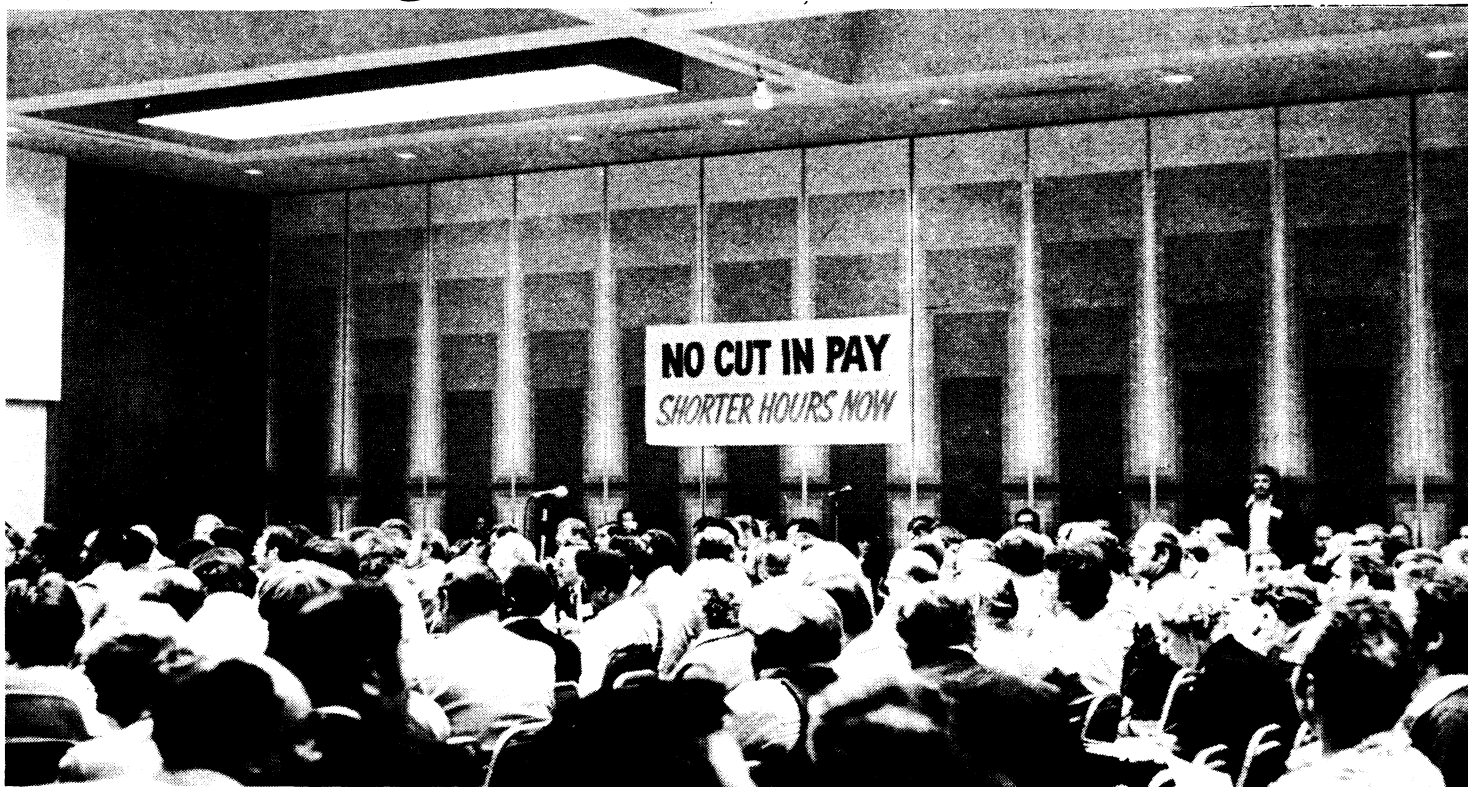
"There's profit in unemployment. We're talking about stopping unemployment, about cutting profits. This movement is on a collision course with the bosses."

A Canadian UAW delegate pointed out that the "multinationals know no bounds in making profits." If the workweek is shortened in the United States, he said, these companies will move into Mexico and other countries where they can exploit workers for fifty or sixty hours a week. The answer to international runaways is an "international committee to fight for all workers," he declared.

In workshops delegates supplied some more answers. A USWA delegate said that when plants shut down, they should be nationalized and kept open under workers' control.

Several unionists called for stepping up the fight to repeal union-busting "right to work" provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. This would help in organizing unorganized workers. Then run-away shops in the South and other "right to work" states would run smack into more union labor.

Despite the astronomical unemployment rate among women and oppressed nationalities—frequently mentioned by conference speakers—the



700 delegates attended April 11 conference

Militant/Shelley Kramer

proposed resolutions made no mention of affirmative action in hiring. Black and female delegates, however, called attention to this issue in workshop discussion.

### Building a movement

How can a powerful shorter workweek movement be built? Runnels and Conyers stressed mobilizing the "persuasive power" of labor through lobbying politicians for the Conyers bill. While adding their support to this legislation, Fraser and UAW Vice-president Irving Bluestone emphasized gradual gains through collective bargaining.

Many delegates had different ideas on this question too.

"The Conyers bill is not primary for us," said Jean Tussey, a delegate from Typographical Union Local 53 in Cleveland, at one workshop. "We need a democratic movement that can fight on all fronts. A movement built from the bottom—from the union ranks—up."

Al Duncan, a member of Detroit's Ford Rouge Local 600—the largest in the UAW—agreed on the importance of involving rank-and-file workers. "Very few people in my local are even aware of this conference," he said. "We need

educational meetings, rallies, and speakouts to reach the rank and file."

In the same workshop discussion, Dick McBride, a Chicago steelworker, called for mobilizing the power of labor in "mass demonstrations demanding thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay."

During the final conference discussion, Lee Cain, president of Detroit UAW Local 3, advocated "shorter workweek committees in all the unions that are here to mobilize and activate people." Pointing to the civil-rights movement, he urged "demonstrations in every major industrial city by this summer."

### Friends in Congress?

A few delegates argued that it's a serious mistake to rely on the Democrats and Republicans to shorten the workweek and provide jobs.

"We don't have any friends in Congress," said Jerry Gordon, a delegate from the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, at a workshop. "All the measures labor has sought have been watered down and weakened in Congress."

"Carter was elected by the labor movement," Gordon added. "Then he turned around and issued Taft-Hartley against the miners, threatening to cut

off their food stamps and starve them out.

"It's time to elect people from the labor movement to Congress," Gordon concluded. "It's time for a labor party."

His remarks were applauded by workshop participants.

"I hesitate whenever I'm called upon to write to congressmen," John T. Williams told the *Militant*. "We can't rely on the legislative process. We're prolonging our agony by relying on this two-party system. Somewhere along the line the labor movement must bring about a labor party."

The need for a labor party was also raised at the conference in a statement distributed by UAW delegates Robin Mace and John Gaige. Mace is running for governor of Michigan on the Socialist Workers Party ticket; Gaige is the SWP candidate for lieutenant-governor in Ohio.

A labor party "would not talk about jobs only when elections roll around," they said. "It would campaign for a shorter workweek all year long—in the unions, in the organizations of the oppressed, among the unemployed, in the news media, and through large public actions."

"This is the kind of mass political movement workers need."

## Ratifies Panama treaties

# Senate sugarcoats U.S. 'right' to invade

By José G. Pérez

The U.S. Senate ratified the last of two Panama Canal treaties April 18. Senators added a reservation that sugarcoats the language—but not the content—of another reservation it had attached to the first treaty last month.

Within minutes of the vote, Panamanian dictator Gen. Omar Torrijos declared it a "triumph," saying he would accept the amended pacts. According to reports in the U.S. press, large street celebrations broke out throughout the country. Torrijos, who keeps a tight grip on the press, had ensured the Panamanian people that ratification means an end to nearly eighty years of U.S. domination over their homeland.

Throughout the week leading up to the Senate action, however, hundreds of other Panamanians demonstrated against the treaties. They warned that the pacts' sanction continued U.S. military intervention in Panama, even after the entire canal and canal zone formally revert to Panamanian control. And that won't happen for twenty-two years.

Last month, before ratifying the first pact, the Senate passed a reservation introduced by Arizona Democrat Dennis DeConcini. It stated in more open terms than the original pact that Washington has the right to send in the marines any time it thinks the canal is being "interfered with."

This explicit language caused big political problems for Torrijos.

As exiled Panamanian socialist Miguel Antonio Bernal explains in an article to be printed in *Perspectiva Mundial*, "Sectors and parties in Panama that supported the treaties have come out against the amendment. Broad layers have discovered the real content and meaning of the Carter-Torrijos treaties."

Bernal explains that this reaction to the DeConcini reservation "cannot be understood without taking into account that the Carter-Torrijos treaties . . . are by themselves harmful to the



Panamanian protest: 'No to the amendments, no to the treaties.' Banner is signed by Liga Socialista Revolucionaria, sister organization of U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

historic interests of the Panamanian people."

The treaties legalize U.S. military bases in Panama and U.S. control of the canal until the year 2000. After that, Panama will operate the canal and maintain its "neutrality." But the original treaty gave the United States the "right" to "defend" this "neutrality"—forever.

The vagueness of the original language was consciously designed not to stir up anti-imperialist sentiment in Panama. Torrijos needed this to sell the treaties during last October's plebiscite.

At the same time, the vagueness gave U.S. rulers adequate cover to intervene in Panama to safeguard their imperialist interests.

But the Senate's DeConcini reservation was too blunt. As the editors of the *New York Times* explained April 13, "Everyone—including Mr. DeConcini

and the Panamanians—knows that Washington could always use any means necessary to keep the canal open. . . . What hurts Panamanian sensibilities—and the image of the United States—is the threat of intervention in writing."

In ratifying the second treaty, the Senate did not gut the DeConcini clause—as both the Carter administration and Torrijos are claiming. All it did was add another rider saying that any U.S. military action in Panama "shall not have as its purpose nor be interpreted as a right to intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Panama."

Stripping away the double-talk, this means that a U.S. invasion of Panama shall not be interpreted as an invasion! It is this empty statement that Torrijos presents as a "triumph."

Despite assurances from both Carter and Torrijos, however, the treaties are

no "triumph" for the people of Panama or elsewhere in Latin America.

As Miguel Antonio Bernal warns, "With the Carter-Torrijos treaties, and with their amendments, U.S. imperialism is trying to consolidate its . . . political, financial, economic, and cultural domination of Latin America."

In its article on the final ratification, the *New York Times* claimed, "Today's vote settles an issue that has existed since Panama seceded from Colombia in 1903 and entered into a treaty with the United States."

But the treaties settle nothing. A *New York Times* editorial the previous day was more honest. "The treaties give away nothing of substance," it said.

And for that reason, the only thing the treaties guarantee is that the struggle of the Panamanian people to regain control of their country will continue.

## Protests against nuclear power April 29-30

### Barnwell

By Mimi Shepherd

ATLANTA—Opponents of nuclear power will converge on Barnwell, South Carolina, April 30 and May 1. They are demanding an end to the use of Barnwell Reprocessing Nuclear Facility as a dump for radioactive wastes.

The plant is now nearly completed. If it opens, it will be the only nuclear-waste reprocessing site in the country. It is owned by Allied General Nuclear Services, a partnership of Allied Chemical, General Atomic, Royal Dutch Shell, and Gulf Oil.

The Barnwell reprocessing plant will take used radioactive fuel rods from nuclear power plants, liquefy them, and extract plutonium and any unused uranium. The remaining liquid waste is still highly radioactive. Radioactive emissions will be several hundred times greater than from a nuclear power plant.

The liquid waste must be stored. Because it is highly corrosive, leaks are a constant problem. Although the liquids are supposed to be turned into solids before storing, no one knows how to do that.

Since Barnwell will be the only commercial reprocessing plant in the country, wastes from all over will be trucked in, raising the possibility of the loss of radioactive materials in a road accident. Up til now these wastes

have piled up at various places around the country.

The plutonium recovered at Barnwell will be reused in nuclear weapons, and could be used to fuel breeder reactors such as the one proposed for Clinch River, Tennessee. Plutonium is one of the most toxic and carcinogenic substances known. It remains radioactive for 500,000 years. Inhaling a millionth of a gram causes lung cancer.

Public concern over nuclear wastes and plutonium management has forced Allied to undertake safety precautions. The company claims that these make the Barnwell plant impossible to operate at a profit. Allied wants a federal government to complete the plant and hire Allied to run it.

The April 30/May 1 actions will be sponsored by the Palmetto Alliance. In a press release, the alliance asked, "Do corporations have the right to control the utilization of our earth's limited resources, and ultimately to determine the future of life on the planet, merely to maximize their profits?"

A march and rally are planned for Sunday, April 30. Speaking at the rally will be Dr. John Gofman, an expert on the effects of radiation, and representatives of the international anti-nuclear power movement.

Some participants are planning non-violent civil disobedience protests for May 1.

Among the groups participating in the weekend activities are Georgians Against Nuclear Energy, the Catfish

Alliance (Tallahassee, Florida), East Tennessee Coalition, Clergy and Laity Concerned, the American Friends Service Committee, Southerners Mobilizing for Survival, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

### Rocky Flats

By Sue Adley

DENVER—Protests here April 29 will demand a shutdown of the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Facility, located a short sixteen miles from downtown Denver.

For the past fifteen years, Rocky Flats has produced an estimated ten plutonium "triggers" for nuclear warheads each day. It is operated by Rockwell International, one of the top U.S. weapons profiteers.

In addition to the ghastly destructive potential of its products, the plant itself poses an immediate threat to the lives and health of area residents and plant workers. Its safety record is abysmal.

There have been more than 200 fires at Rocky Flats since it opened in 1953. These fires have released plutonium and other radioactive substances into the air and water.

In 1969, a huge fire burned more than \$20 million worth of plutonium—that's two tons. It cost \$50 million to repair the damage.

Plutonium from the plant is con-

stantly lost. Drums of radioactive liquid wastes have been stored there since 1958. The first leaks were discovered a year later. By 1967, according to one estimate, eighty-six grams of plutonium had escaped.

A 1977 study found plutonium levels two miles east of Rocky Flats at 3,390 times the normal background level.

In 1973 the plant also accidentally released large amounts of radioactive tritium, a form of hydrogen. The tritium made its way into the Great Western Reservoir, which supplies water to the city of Bloomfield.

Radioactive materials tend to blow from Rocky Flats toward Denver because of the prevailing winds, which sometimes reach eighty miles an hour.

On April 29, a morning rally at the Denver federal building will feature U.S. Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.), Sidney Lens, and other speakers. The rally will be followed by a car caravan to Rocky Flats and a demonstration at the plant. Speakers there will include Daniel Ellsberg and Winona LaDuke Westgard of the International Indian Treaty Council. Following the demonstration, sponsors plan a "symbolic blockade" of the railroad leading into the plant.

The actions are sponsored by the Rocky Flats Action Group, American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Mobilization for Survival. The protests demand an end to the use of nuclear power and an end to the production of nuclear weapons.





Former NY FBI chief LaPrade

# Behind the squabble over the FBI

## No honor among thieves



Attorney General Griffin Bell

By Syd Stapleton

The Carter administration's attempts to clean up the image of the FBI have provoked a squabble that is already baring new secrets about government spying.

The furor was touched off earlier this month when Attorney General Griffin Bell nominated seventy-one FBI agents, officials, and former officials to take the rap for a series of FBI burglaries in New York. Three former officials—including former Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray—face criminal charges. The other sixty-eight will receive some kind of administrative discipline.

The indictments and disciplinary measures are based on FBI burglaries in the early 1970s during an unsuccessful effort to locate members of the Weather Underground.

In response, some of the agents have launched a counterattack against Carter and Bell. The opening gun was fired by J. Wallace LaPrade, former head of the FBI's New York field office. LaPrade was recently booted out of his post by Bell in connection with the Justice Department burglary investigation.

LaPrade went public April 13 and told a news conference in New York that Carter and Bell themselves have authorized FBI burglaries—warrantless break-ins—just like the ones L. Patrick Gray ordered.

In response to LaPrade's bombshell, the Justice Department admitted that "warrantless investigations" (burglaries and wiretaps) are used in cases involving "national security." The Justice Department claims these "warrantless investigations" are carried out against American citizens only if there is "probable cause" to believe that they are "agents of a foreign power."

### The shuffle

But LaPrade blew that story out of the water the next day. He said on the "CBS Morning News": "We have matters today . . . under investigation which, five, six years ago, were considered to be domestic investigations—and now . . . have been put into the category of foreign counterintelligence."

This statement is backed up by the record. In August 1976 the FBI shifted the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, and several other groups from its "internal security" section to its "foreign counterintelligence" section.

While the FBI claims it has stopped investigating the SWP, neither the FBI nor the Justice Department will answer questions about which groups are today targeted for "counterintelligence." The Justice Department's widely publicized guidelines for FBI investigations apply *only* to "domestic security" cases. The guidelines for "counterintelligence" are secret.

The moves against Gray, LaPrade, and the other gumshoes are part of the Carter administration's efforts to appear as a staunch defender of democratic rights. After years of revelations about FBI and CIA assaults on individual rights, the American people feel strongly that a way must be found to protect basic civil liberties from the secret police. To try to restore confidence in the government, Carter has taken a number of steps to try to show that he shares this conviction.

### Carter's problem

But Carter faces problems in achieving this goal. One is the difficulty he has had in forcing the FBI to act publicly in harmony with the changed political mood in the country today. The policies openly proclaimed and justified in the past years of McCarthyism and anti-communist witch-hunting now must be criticized and hidden behind rhetorical commitments to human rights.

But significant sections of the secret police agency have resisted demands to shape up to Carter's new specifications. Recruited and trained in the J. Edgar Hoover spirit of fanatical battle against "subversion," many "street agents" and their bosses have difficulty adjusting to the new political pressures.

Moreover, they see no reason to do so. Like secret police throughout history, they jealously guard their "independence" from the shifting political needs of the class that employs them to defend its interests.

The agents who are up to their ears in flagrantly illegal activities—which is quite a few of them—have added reason to resist any changes. Their own rotten necks are on the block.

### Vulnerable

"Many agents," noted the April 16 *New York Times*, "fear they now will become vulnerable to civil suits, such as the one being pressed with a measure of success by the Socialist Workers' Party."

Angry that they are being made personally liable for crimes they committed on behalf of the government, the FBI agents singled out by the Justice Department are potential dynamite for the Carter administration.

They know which skeletons are in which closets. And if it comes down to a question of personal survival, they could easily decide to bring them out and rattle the bones.

Attorney General Bell has become the administration's point man in the skirmish with the FBI. "I'm trying to run the FBI; I'm trying to save it," he told a Senate committee.

"I feel that the [FBI] director should run the FBI," countered LaPrade. He has dared the attorney general to debate him on nationwide television. LaPrade also called for FBI burglars to

down tools and refuse to perform any more burglaries unless they get written authorizations—for self-protection—from the president.

### Kearney case

The conflict between the Carter administration and the FBI erupted into public shortly after the indictment of John Kearney in April 1977. Kearney was indicted for his role in the Weather Underground break-ins, but the indictment was dropped by Bell last week on the grounds that Kearney was just following orders.

Three hundred FBI agents massed to show support for Kearney outside federal court in New York City when he was arraigned last year. A spokesman for the demonstrators told Kearney that they were there to "give testament to your moral leadership . . . in the fight against the enemies of our nation, namely—anarchy and terrorism."

Various other right-wing groups announced their support for Kearney, including the Young Americans for Freedom and the American Legion. And groups have been cropping up with names such as "Ad Hoc Citizens Legal Defense Fund for the FBI" and the "Security and Intelligence Fund."

### Burglar brawl

As in Watergate, partisan conflicts among the Democrats and Republicans play a role in the dispute over which tactics best serve the capitalist government. And as Carter's bickering with LaPrade and his backers continues, it has the potential of degenerating into an every-burglar-for-himself orgy of charges and countercharges.

Bell and Carter are clearly not prepared to leave sensitive political matters in the hands of the FBI. They want to be the ones to determine who gets wiretapped and burglarized.

The Carter administration has already proclaimed its right to carry out warrantless break-ins, and it is vigorously defending the legality of two "surreptitious entries" done without warrants against David Truong and Ronald Humphrey. The Justice Department has charged Truong and Humphrey with espionage for allegedly giving government documents to Vietnam.

The Justice Department has also asked Congress to pass legislation that would prevent anyone victimized by the FBI from suing the individual agents involved. In addition, government lawyers have been arguing that when the government is sued, victims of FBI attacks should not be entitled to any damages for violations of their rights. If the FBI kicks down your door, holds you at gunpoint, and photographs your papers, all they owe you is the cost of the lock—says the Carter administration.

The Justice Department's position in the Socialist Workers Party and Young

Socialist Alliance suit against government spying has revealed quite a bit about Carter's attitude toward FBI crimes. Bell and Carter have told the Supreme Court that they will defy court orders to release files on FBI informers. They claim that "law enforcement . . . would be severely damaged" if the truth about FBI informer activities were made known.

Bell has also asked the Supreme Court to rule that the government can bog down suits against government spying for years by making drawn-out legal appeals to preserve FBI secrecy.

Six years ago another assistant director of the FBI was kicked out of the bureau in a policy dispute with higher-ups. That official, William C. Sullivan, went to the press with a little of what he knew, and helped spark the massive revelations of FBI crimes. Recently, he was preparing to tell more. Then, four months ago, Sullivan got a rifle bullet in the neck. Police ruled the fatal wound was the result of a "hunting accident."

LaPrade should stay out of the woods.

## Socialist challenges G-man to debate

The following statement was released April 14 by Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party candidate in New York's 19th Congressional District.

In response to charges against him by Attorney General Griffin Bell, FBI official J. Wallace LaPrade has admitted on CBS television that the agency still carries out illegal searches and break-ins against radical groups. As chief of the New York office of the FBI until yesterday, LaPrade should know.

The Socialist Workers Party demands that Attorney General Bell tell the American people the full truth about these illegal FBI activities.

LaPrade has challenged Bell to a debate on the methods used by the FBI against dissenters. As victims for more than forty years of FBI spying, wiretapping, and attempted disruptions, we challenge LaPrade to a public debate on these methods.

The SWP has filed a lawsuit demanding that all these crimes be stopped. Let him debate us about this.



# Portland: Maoist thugs try to disrupt meetings

By Curtis Johnson

PORTLAND, Ore.—Members of the Iranian Students Association—U.S. (ISA—US), the Iranian Student Union (ISU), and the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB—the youth organization of the Revolutionary Communist Party) tried to disrupt two meetings on repression in Iran held here April 11.

Two supporters of the committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) were injured at one of the meetings.

The first, held at Portland State University, was sponsored by CAIFI, the Democratic Association of Iranian Students, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Black Student Union, and the Committee to Free Ali Shokri.

Due to the chanting and screaming of the disrupters, Teimoor Razm, who was scheduled to speak for CAIFI, could not be heard. After forty-five minutes of the frenzied disruption, a campus security officer called in the PSU administration.

James Todd, PSU vice-president for finance and administration, called in the Portland police, who arrested seven of the disrupters.

After the arrests, the meeting continued on schedule. The PSU administration later announced that those arrested would not be prosecuted.

That evening, another meeting organized by CAIFI was held at Reed College. The meeting was cosponsored by the Reed Public Affairs Board.

Again, member of the ISA-US, ISU, and RCYB attempted to disrupt the meeting. However, the speakers were able to make their presentations.

Teimoor Razm, speaking for CAIFI, described the current situation in Iran, over the shouts of the disrupters.

Rev. Philip Getchell, a representative of Amnesty International, discussed the repressive nature of the Iranian prison system and the frequent use of torture under the shah's rule. Ali Shokri, a defector from the Iranian Air Force, spoke about his appeal for political asylum in the United States.

After the presentation there was a question and discussion period. Everyone who wanted to speak was recognized. But each time a question was asked of the CAIFI representative, the disrupters burst into chanting and yelling.

The most serious incident occurred after the meeting adjourned.

An ISU member attacked CAIFI activist Ahmed Faegh, opening a cut in his upper lip. A member of the ISA-US then joined the attack.

Two other CAIFI supporters, Jim Callahan and Jim Watson, attempted to separate Faegh from his attackers. Callahan's forehead was gashed, requiring eight stitches to close the wound.

The next day, April 12, a member of

the ISA-US approached a literature table set up by the PSU Young Socialist Alliance. He grabbed some literature and tried to rip it up. Members of CAIFI in the cafeteria responded by helping the YSA defend its table. The ISA-US member, joined by others in the ISU and RCYB, spent ten minutes shouting insults and slanders. He was evidently trying to provoke another physical confrontation.

CAIFI responded quickly to these attacks. It called a press conference April 12. Speaking were Jane Kristof and Rev. Philip Getchell, who had represented Amnesty International at the Tuesday meetings. A CAIFI representative and Jim Callahan, who had been injured the previous evening, also participated.

A statement "Against Violence in the Movement for Human Rights in Iran" was circulated to political activists and supporters of civil liberties both on an off campus.

The statement explains that, "political differences should be aired openly. A free and open exchange of political ideas must take place. We must not resolve political differences through stifling of free speech or through physical attacks."

The statement has so far been signed by more than twenty-five political activists and professors.

CAIFI also issued a statement pointing out that the actions of the disrupters "serve only the interests of the Iranian government. These actions confuse the American public on the nature of the shah's regime and the opposition to it. They open the movement up to the insidious activities of agents provocateurs. They open the disrupters themselves up to harassment by the cops and immigration officials. And, finally, they further isolate the disrupters from the majority of the Iranian student movement."



Jim Callahan, a supporter of CAIFI, required eight stitches.

# 400 at Seattle meeting hit repression in Iran



Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general, speaking at Seattle meeting.

By Louise Armstrong

SEATTLE—A crowd of 400 braved a gauntlet of hecklers and disrupters April 13 to hear exiled Iranian poet Reza Baraheni, former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, and others speak at the University of Washington.

Repression in Iran and U.S. government complicity in the shah's dictatorial regime were the central themes of the program organized by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

Co-sponsors included the Associated Students of UW, the Commission of International Students, the Graduate and Professional Students Senate, and the UW Women's Commission.

Joining Baraheni and Clark on the platform were Ali Shokri, a defector from the Iranian Air Force seeking political asylum in the United States; Teimoor Razm, CAIFI; and Sherilyn Williams, chairperson of the Black Student Union.

Razm opened the meeting by explaining the harassment and intimidation that Iranian students abroad—and also here in the United States—face at the hands of SAVAK, the shah's political police.

The audience was visibly moved as Ali Shokri told the story of his efforts to win political asylum in this country. For almost a year he has been waiting for the State Department to rule on his asylum request.

Reza Baraheni, a noted Iranian poet, spoke of the rise in political protest in Iran.

"Two months ago," he said, "police shot a young man in Tabriz. Four hundred thousand people came into the streets. The police were brushed aside, and the banks of the shah were burned. The army was ordered into action with artillery, but when the order was given to fire, a soldier shot the commanding officer."

"The shah sent in commandos by helicopter and 600 to 1,000 people were murdered. To commemorate these deaths, on March 30, the people of sixty-three cities went on strike."

"With Carter's betrayal of human rights," Baraheni concluded, "his giving parties for the shah or for Pinochet, with all these betrayals, I think finally Iranian people have come to the conclusion that they and only they can get rid of the dictatorship."

Ramsey Clark scored the U.S. government's involvement in Iran. "We have been friends of tyranny," he exclaimed. "Ours has been a foreign policy of force . . . based on selfish economic interest."

The successful meeting was held despite an attempt to disrupt it by members of the Iranian Student Association—U.S., the Iranian Student Union [National Front], and the Revo-

lutionary Communist Youth Brigade, the youth group of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party.

These groups had made clear their disruptive plans prior to the meeting. At a March 30 meeting to organize opposition to university investments in South Africa, an ISA member publicly declared that this group would not allow the CAIFI meeting to take place. Leaflets handed out in the Persian language contained similar threats.

On the day of the meeting, a member of the RCYB told Shokri that CAIFI would "need the National Guard to defend the meeting."

Since the same forces tried to disrupt CAIFI-sponsored forums in Portland two days earlier, injuring two people (see article on this page), their threats were taken seriously.

Supporters of CAIFI's right to hold a public meeting without fear of attack circulated a statement against violence within the movement for human rights. Signers of the statement, which appeared in the *UW Daily* the day of the meeting, included:

Sherilyn Williams, chairperson of the Black Student Union; Venice Turner of the UW Minority Affairs Commission; Gloria Martin of the Freedom Socialist Party; Janet Wilson, director of the UW Women's Commission; Michael Withey of the National Lawyers Guild; the Socialist Workers Party; and the Young Socialist Alliance.

A defense guard, which included members of CAIFI, the SWP, the YSA, and the Communist Party, was organized.

Unfortunately, this did not deter the disrupters. They distributed a leaflet outside the meeting that said, "We are hoping that everyone concerned here oppose Baraheni's right to speak as a spokesman for the movement in Iran."

About twenty-five of the disrupters, in view of their openly declared intention to prevent Baraheni from speaking, were denied entry to the meeting. They stood outside the auditorium chanting, and at one point charged the defense line in an attempt to break into the meeting.

The campus police, who had not been asked to intervene by the organizers of the meeting, used this incident as a pretext to bar any more people from entering the auditorium. They continued this policy over objections of the organizers of the meeting.

Nevertheless, Mostafa Taleghani, a leader of CAIFI, was able to report after the program was completed: "This meeting was an important victory for the defense of Iranian political prisoners and for the right of CAIFI to freedom of speech. The solidarity shown tonight has struck another blow against the shah's bloody regime."

## Towards a Socialist Australia

How the labor movement can fight back



Documents of the Socialist Workers Party

## Towards a Socialist Australia

How the labor movement can fight back

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# Socialists abroad rally behind Marroquín

By Roger Rudenstein

"With this issue *Socialist Action* is taking up the cause of Héctor Marroquín," begins an article in the March 24 issue of the New Zealand Trotskyist biweekly.

*Socialist Action* reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International. The SAL and the Young Socialists, a Trotskyist youth organization, have launched a campaign to win support for Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum in the United States. They are taking the campaign to student leaders, trade unionists, activists among the oppressed Maori population, and others.

The *Socialist Action* article details the facts of Marroquín's case.

Marroquín is a twenty-five-year-old student leader, trade unionist, and member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. The U.S. government is trying to deport Marroquín to Mexico, where he would face political frame-up charges and be jailed, tortured, and possibly killed. Marroquín's case has gained wide support both in the United States and internationally.

*Socialist Action* prints a letter by Michael Treen, a student activist in New Zealand. Treen writes:

"... while the issue at stake is the right to political asylum in the United States and the means to achieve it, I believe that we in New Zealand, understanding the importance of international pressure, can add our weight to the defence of Héctor Marroquín and his just appeal for political asylum.

"... I ask that you add your name to the 'Appeal for Political Asylum' letter to be sent to Leonel Castillo, Director of the U.S. INS. Your support could help set a precedent in the struggle for human rights worldwide and in the U.S. in particular."

\* \* \*

Readers of the Swedish paper *Internationalen* were introduced to the Marroquín case in the March 31 issue. *Internationalen* is the organ of the Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (Communist Workers League), Swedish section of the Fourth International. Headlined, "A Threat to His Life if He is Deported," the article notes:

"The U.S. government has up to now refused to recognize the right to political asylum for refugees who come from countries whose regimes the U.S. is friendly with. Countries like Chile, Haiti, and other countries with brutal oppressive regimes. . . .

"In part [Marroquín's case] concerns the right of political asylum and in part it concerns the struggle for the poor Mexican workers who are in the USA and are threatened with being thrown out because they lack papers."

*Internationalen* asks readers to circulate the "International Appeal to Save the Life of Héctor Marroquín," which was drawn up by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee in the United States. The international appeal is being circulated in a number of countries in Europe and Latin America.

\* \* \*

The March 22 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière* carries a page-two article on Marroquín. *Lutte Ouvrière* is published in Montréal, Québec, by the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire/Revolutionary Workers League, the section of the Fourth International in Canada. The paper reprints a letter written on December 15, 1977, by Rodolfo Echeverría, a leader of the Mexican Communist Party. Echeverría's letter supports Marroquín's right to asylum and describes the torture that Echeverría was subjected to by the Mexican police during his imprisonment in 1969 and 1970.

*Lutte Ouvrière's* introduction to the

## Costa Rica pickets: 'Asylum for Hector!'



A picket line demanding political asylum for Héctor Marroquín took place outside the U.S. Embassy in San José, the capital of Costa Rica, April 5. The action, sponsored by the Costa Rican Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, attracted the attention of hundreds of passers-by. It was covered by major news media, including television Channel 7 and the newspaper *La República*.

Demonstrators carried signs saying, "Marroquín, student leader and unionist, is in danger of being killed," and, "We demand that the Carter administration give political asylum to Héctor Marroquín."

Many participants in the picket line were members of the Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores

(OST—Socialist Workers Organization), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Carlos Coronado, the OST's presidential candidate in the recent elections, was on hand to support Marroquín. He was interviewed by Channel 7.

Coronado has been jailed twice this year by the Costa Rican regime for taking part in a peaceful demonstration in Limoncito that was attacked by cops. The residents of Limoncito, most of whom are Black, have been demanding such basic social services as clean drinking water, electricity, and sewage lines.

For Costa Ricans, the fight to save Marroquín's life has taken on special significance. In the past, the Costa Rican government has

granted asylum to Latin American political figures who faced persecution in their own countries. In recent months, however, political exiles have been subjected to police harassment. Others seeking asylum in Costa Rica—especially those fleeing the military dictatorship in Argentina—have been turned away.

Human rights supporters in Costa Rica see a victory for Marroquín as a victory for the rights of all victims of political persecution.

In the weeks before the picket line, activists in Costa Rica distributed thousands of leaflets on the case and collected petitions signed by workers, peasants, and students. They plan to present the petitions to the U.S. Embassy.

—R.R.

letter says: "The campaign to win political asylum for Marroquín is growing. Already the American government has had to retreat and let Marroquín speak publicly and travel across the United States. But nothing is yet won. It is necessary to increase the solidarity. Send letters to Leonel Castillo. . . . The most important thing is that the unions show their support with solidarity resolutions. Marroquín's life is in danger and depends on concrete acts of solidarity."

Marroquín supporters in Québec have been active since the case began. They have collected names on petitions and won a number of endorsements, including the endorsement of the Association Nationale des Etudiants de Québec, which represents 110,000 students.

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An article in the March 22 *El Socialista*, published in Bogotá, describes Marroquín's case and says: "It is necessary to launch a broad international campaign against the Carter government to win the right to asylum for Comrade Héctor Marroquín and save his life. The Colombian PST [Partido Socialista de los Trabajado-

res/Socialist Workers Party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International] joins this campaign and

invites all organizations of the workers movement and individual supporters of democratic rights to join it as well."

## How you can help

**MY STORY**  
By Héctor Marroquín



**The Struggle for Political Asylum in the U.S.**

This pamphlet, available in English and Spanish, outlines the facts of Marroquín's case and shows that he is innocent of the charges of terrorism leveled against him by the Mexican government. The price is fifty cents, or thirty-five cents a copy in orders of ten or more.

You can help save Marroquín's life by ordering and selling this pamphlet in your area.

You can also help by:

- Donating money to the defense effort;
- Circulating petitions demanding asylum for Marroquín;
- Endorsing the defense committee;
- Getting your union or other organization to endorse Marroquín's request for political asylum.

Write: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.



By Cindy Jaquith

The struggle to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment has reached the critical point. What course the women's movement charts in the coming months will determine not only the outcome of the battle for the ERA, but will have a major impact on the fight for all our demands.

There is little disagreement among equal rights supporters that winning the ERA by the March 1979 deadline will be extremely difficult. The Democratic and Republican legislators who are blocking ratification have made that unmistakably clear.

Women are angered by the politicians' open defiance of the majority sentiment that exists for the ERA. And that anger is generating renewed discussion of ERA strategy. Rallies, picket lines, and demonstrations—while still modest—are reappearing, many in response to the call by the National Organization for Women (NOW) for an ERA emergency campaign.

NOW's call for a national march and rally in Washington July 9 has met with enthusiasm in the organization's ranks and offers an opportunity to mobilize thousands around the ERA.

The NOW emergency drive focuses on demanding passage of House Resolution 638, a bill in Congress that would extend the 1979 deadline for seven more years. This extension is clearly needed to organize the majority support for the ERA into a force that can make the politicians yield.

But fair-weather friends of the women's movement, from Democratic and Republican officeholders to big-business newspapers like the *New York Times*, are advising women to concede defeat right now.

#### 'Times' opposes extension

In its lead editorial on April 11, the *Times* said, "Despite our deep commitment to E.R.A., . . . we cannot accept the idea of extending the deadline for ratification."

The *Times* editors made no attempt to claim the ERA can be won without extension. Nor did they utter a word of criticism of the two parties that are voting the amendment down. Instead, they attacked supporters of extension, arguing that seven years of trying for ratification is enough. The "opposition" to equal rights has grown, they claimed, and another seven years cannot make the difference.

In a nutshell, the message was: throw in the towel, girls. You're outnumbered and it's not worth the fight.

And just in case the message didn't get through on the first round, the *Times* ran a second lead editorial April 16 condemning the extension drive again.

For the past few years, the *Times* has editorially backed the ERA, reflecting the opinions of one section of the rulers of this country that passing the amendment would hurt them less than defeating it, which could erode still further the image of the U.S. government on women's rights.

But the shift expressed on April 11 was a signal—the bankers and businessmen and their political agents in the Democratic and Republican parties are more and more convinced they can kill the ERA and get away with it.

Of course the *Times* protests profusely that it remains on the side of women. The headline of its second editorial read, "E.R.A., Of Course—Just No Extension."

But the fancy rhetoric didn't fool fifty outraged pickets from NOW-New York, who demonstrated at the newspaper's offices April 13. They distributed a leaflet documenting more than fifty years of sexist policies by the *Times*. "The *New York Times* wants to keep women underpaid just like it wanted to keep women out of the voting booth and out of the United States Constitution," the flyer concluded.

Many of the pickets probably recalled what the *Times* told feminists ten years ago, at the onset of our

# ERA IN DANGER

The deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is only eleven months away. The Democrats and Republicans are telling women to give up. But the battle is not lost if the women's movement alerts its allies and mobilizes for an all-out fight to extend the deadline and win the ERA.



Springfield, Illinois, 1976. Outpouring of support for ERA set example for kind of campaign needed today.

movement. Along with the rest of the capitalist media, the *Times* declared that the masses of women didn't want equality, and feminists were just wasting their time. (As late as 1970 the *Times* was opposed to the ERA.)

The women's movement didn't listen then and it shouldn't listen now. Because what the past decade has shown is that the overwhelming majority of women in this country do support the goals of the women's liberation struggle and believe they have a stake in the outcome of that struggle.

#### The real opposition

The "opposition" to equality cited by the *Times* does not come from the majority of women, or men for that matter, but from those who stand to lose if the ERA and other women's rights are won.

A little-publicized poll done by the government in conjunction with International Women's Year reveals what the *Times* and its backers fear. The support for equal rights is growing fastest precisely among those sectors of the population with the greatest power to effect change. The poll found that women who have been "employed

continuously"—predominantly working-class women—feel the strongest that "the movement for women's rights has helped them personally."

Running second in this sentiment were Black women. Close behind were young women.

That sentiment—translated into action for the ERA and other demands—would be an explosive force, the kind of resistance the rulers of this country cannot tolerate today. They frankly admit they are on a drive to reduce the rights and quality of life of working people. As the *New York Times* put it, there is a "new trend"—"givebacks."

Workers are supposed to give back wage gains, the right to safety, pensions, and other gains.

Blacks are supposed to give back ground won in the fight for desegregation of the schools and for equality in the job market.

Women are supposed to give back legal abortion, child care, affirmative action, maternity benefits—and give up on the ERA.

It's in this context that the ERA has become a major political battle. Ratification of an amendment stating that

women are equal and cannot be discriminated against would be a defeat for the drive to lower the American people's expectations.

In the concrete, the ERA would outlaw unequal pay schedules for women; discriminatory standards against women in education; laws barring women from certain jobs; sex discrimination in social security and pensions; the double standard in the courts, that metes out higher sentences for women than men accused of certain crimes.

#### Weapon for equality

The ERA would be a legal weapon that could arm women in overturning sexist practices. A powerful women's movement could use it to help reverse some of the setbacks we have suffered, and to expand equal opportunity.

Those who stand to lose from passage of the ERA understand what this means in dollars and cents.

They know that equal pay will cut enormously into the profits they reap from locking women into the worst paying jobs at substandard wages. They know that discrimination against women at the workplace helps maintain the exploitation of all workers. Lower pay for women acts as a downward pressure on all wages; inferior work conditions for women helps legitimize unsafe conditions for all employees.

This system of inequality can only be maintained by fostering sex and race prejudices that keep working people divided, preventing a united fight for better living conditions for all. Victory for the ERA would be a blow to this divide-and-rule strategy.

ERA victory would also inspire other forces fighting for social justice, much as the miners' determined strike has given impetus to the demands of other workers under attack.

And defeat for the ERA—worst of all, defeat without mobilizing all our troops for the battle—would be an immense setback for the women's movement.

The employers and the government would seize upon failure of the ERA to argue that women never wanted equality after all. They would use this lie to attack still further the limited gains we have won thus far—abortion, affirmative action, child care, and other rights.

#### Can we win?

Can women win against this determined drive to crush the ERA? The challenge is a big one. Even forcing Congress to extend the ERA deadline will take a giant fight, of the same scope as that needed to win the ERA itself.

But the women's movement would make a fatal error if we were to underestimate our strength. Today we have more potential power than at any time in the past decade.

We saw that power at the national women's conference in Houston, where thousands of Blacks, trade unionists, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, young women, and housewives roared their determination to win the ERA.

We saw it in Richmond, Virginia, on January 22, where the first labor-called ERA demonstration pulled out 3,200 trade unionists and others.

We saw it in the April 15 march to overturn the *Bakke* decision, where thousands of Black, Latina, and Asian women demanded affirmative action.

The job before us is to draw these women and many more like them into a movement for the ERA.

What that movement will look like was shown by the 1976 march for the ERA in Springfield, Illinois. Called by NOW, the march brought out the first large-scale contingents of labor, including many Black women. It mobilized students on the campuses. It revitalized many NOW chapters. Thousands in the demonstration had never before participated in a women's liberation march.

The significance of the Springfield demonstration went far beyond its size—8,000. It created a momentum



around the ERA—generating discussion in union locals; involving civil rights organizations; renewing feminist activity on the campuses. Women began to see the possibility of mobilizing tens of thousands around the demand for the ERA.

### Momentum cut short

But the momentum was cut short. The NOW leaders and union officials who had organized this powerful action retreated almost overnight into the 1976 presidential elections. They fell into the trap of Jimmy Carter's promise that he would win the ERA for women—all we had to do was lobby politely and help "pro-ERA" politicians running for office.

One key way we were asked to "help" was by not calling any more marches or picket lines, so our "friends"—including Carter—wouldn't be put on the spot.

The visibility of the pro-ERA movement faded as fewer and fewer public activities took place. Marches for the ERA were discouraged because they might "turn off" those politicians said to be "wavering."

Actions *against* the ERA continued, of course. The same politicians who told us to keep a low profile made no attempt to stop the right wing from mobilizing. This allowed the Democrats and Republicans, pro- and anti-ERA, to argue that the ERA was becoming an unpopular cause.

The demobilization of the pro-ERA movement set the stage for a stepped-up drive against the ERA. Once women were out of the streets, the politicians felt safe in letting the amendment die.

### Not too late

But it's not too late to build the kind of ERA movement we need.

Where do we start? First, we must regain the visibility of pro-ERA forces through a campaign of public activities.

We need picket lines, speakouts, teach-ins, demonstrations, and rallies to make the ERA a political issue on the campuses, in the Black communities, in the unions.

By reaching out in this way we can draw into the movement the forces we need to win. Such activities—unlike ringing doorbells for candidates or lobbying—have the potential to involve large numbers of people.

And we need to mobilize our power in demonstrations that can show our strength and inspire other women. The antiwar protests of the 1960s and 1970s offer us an example.

These protests began to turn the tide of public opinion against the war, so that antiwar sentiment reached into every corner of American society—from the campuses, to the workplace, to the GIs themselves.

That ferment struck deadly fear into the Democrats and Republicans, who saw a social movement that was independent and out of their control—a movement they could not ignore.

### July 9 demonstration

Organizing support for the July 9 demonstration in Washington can begin that momentum in the ERA struggle. By taking this march to the women's movement as a whole, including abortion-rights groups, child-care activists, union women's committees, Black and student feminist groups, broader forces can become involved.

And we cannot stop there. We need the support of trade unions, Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican groups, fighters against the *Bakke* decision, gay rights organizations. These groups have already shown their willingness to join with us.

Uniting all these forces in ongoing actions for the ERA *will* send a message to the politicians in Washington. It will be the message that an independent movement is taking shape, determined to fight for the ERA.

This kind of self-reliant movement—based on women and our allies—the majority—has the power to win the ERA. And *only* this kind of movement.

## Great Lakes witch-hunt

# New threat to democracy in NOW

By Shelley Kramer

DAYTON, Ohio—The crisis confronting women's rights—from the Equal Rights Amendment to abortion—is putting the women's movement to the test. Only a united, democratic movement will be strong enough to turn back the government's attacks.

Efforts to build such a movement suffered a serious setback here at the April 8-9 Great Lakes Regional Conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

A resolution with intentionally vague and confusing wording was adopted, mandating an investigation of the "organizational affiliation" of NOW members in the six-state region.

The resolution opens up a witch-hunt in NOW.

"As a result of NOW's power and strength it has become the focus of many kinds of groups, large and small, representing a full spectrum of political orientation, from the left to the right," the resolution reads.

This has produced results "which at times have been non-productive and divisive," it continues.

The resolution instructed the NOW regional director to appoint an ad-hoc committee to:

- "determine the nature, scope, and extent of participation in NOW by other organizations";
- "assess the effect on NOW of these activities, both advantageous and disadvantageous";
- pursue this investigation by "political analyses, by conducting interviews and surveys," based upon a

"random sampling of [NOW] members";

- consider "the effect of such association on other organizations in the past."

The discussion around the resolution revealed that the immediate targets of the witch-hunt are NOW members who also belong to the Socialist Workers Party and other members who agree with the socialists on the need for a full discussion to reorient NOW toward becoming a mass, fighting women's organization.

"This is a witch-hunt committee," said Melissa Singler, a member of Cincinnati NOW and of the Socialist Workers Party. "I recognize it for what it is because I grew up in a family that

*Continued on next page*



1977 NOW national conference. Democracy is vital to NOW's ability to meet challenge to women's rights.

## ERA actions build toward July 9

### NOW urges big turnout

By Diane Wang

The National Organization for Women (NOW) is urging all supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment to march on Washington on July 9. That day is the first anniversary of the death of Alice Paul, author of the ERA.

A front-page article in the April/May issue of the *National NOW Times* says:

"NOW members and other ERA supporters in the tens of thousands will converge on Washington D.C. in a dramatic show of support for the Equal Rights Amendment. . . .

"Plans, although incomplete at this time, call for bands, organizational units, state delegations, student contingents, flags, colorguards, and other components.

"State NOW groups are encouraged to organize buses, car-pools, and other organized traveling methods in order to involve as many people as possible. It is expected that every state will be in attendance. All ERA supporters are welcome to attend and participate. . . ."

Between now and July 9 local activities will help build momentum for the national march:

On April 29, ERA supporters in **Chicago** will gather at State and Wacker at 12:30 and march to the Daley Civic Center for a 2:00 p.m. rally. The demonstration, organized by the Chicago Committee for the ERA, is endorsed by several NOW chapters; Marge Jindrich of the Uni-

ted Auto Workers Region 4 women's committee; Clara Day of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; and Jim Balanoff, director of District 31 United Steelworkers of America.

St. Louis NOW also plans an ERA rally on April 29. On that day Milwaukee NOW will picket Monroe Swann, the state legislator leading the attempt to rescind Wisconsin's ERA ratification.

"Give Mom Equal Rights for Mother's Day" will be the theme of a May 13 rally in **Newark** being organized by NOW-New Jersey. National NOW President Eleanor Smeal will be speaking, along with Clara Allen, New Jersey director of the Communications Workers of America; and Ruth McClain, who headed the state's delegation to the National Women's Conference.

NOW chapters are planning similar Mother's Day rallies in **California**, **Louisville**, **New Orleans**, and **Philadelphia**.

### 500 rally in Atlanta

By Dorothy Hawkinson

ATLANTA—Singing "Come on 'round America, pass the ERA," 500 women and men gathered here for a rally on April 7. The rally for the Equal Rights Amendment was organized in conjunction with a National Conference on Women and the Law held in Atlanta.

Controversy surrounded the conference, which was organized by University of Georgia women law students. The National Organization for Women (NOW) has called for an

economic boycott of unratified states, and is urging groups not to hold conferences where the ERA has not passed. Georgia's legislature again refused to ratify the ERA during its 1978 session.

Many women law students did not attend the conference here because of NOW's boycott. But at least 1,000 women did attend, and many used it as an opportunity to voice solidarity with the ERA.

The April 7 rally heard from Atlanta NOW President Katie Harris, Charlotte Bunch of the feminist journal *Quest*, Sue Perry of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, Sonya Patterson of the Georgia Women's Rights Coalition, Dr. Ali Corbin Hixon, and Rep. Wyche Fowler.

About fifty **New York** women picketed the *New York Times* on April 13 in response to the newspaper's editorial against H.J. Res. 638, the bill that would extend the deadline for ERA ratification. (See article on facing page.)

NOW members handed out a leaflet comparing the recent anti-extension editorial with *New York Times* editorials opposing suffrage. On May 13, 1913, the paper said: "The benefits of women's suffrage are almost wholly imaginary. . . . The inevitable result of suffrage will be to coarsen women and to lessen men's respect for them."

On April 8 about 150 people, called together by the American Civil Liberties Union on one week's notice, picketed the **New Jersey** "Right to Life" conference against abortion in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

# ...NOW

Continued from preceding page  
was witch-hunted throughout the 1950s."

She warned that the logic of the resolution would be to foment suspicion and fear inside NOW, ripping it apart just at a time when the organization confronts an emergency on several fronts—the ERA, abortion, affirmative action, and other issues.

There has never been a time when NOW was more in need of unity and an open, democratic atmosphere that can attract new women to its ranks, Singler stated. The movement will grow stronger only if feminists from diverse political groups—from the Republican Party, Democratic Party, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Communist Party, and Socialist Workers Party, as well as independents—all feel welcome in the organization.

But according to Judy Goldsmith, a member of NOW's national board and the maker of the witch-hunt motion, there is too much political discussion in NOW, or too much "dialogue and diversity of opinion," in the words of her resolution.

Goldsmith pointed to the time "wasted" at the 1977 NOW national conference. At this gathering a significant number of NOW members, including women who belong to the SWP, supported a series of resolutions to turn NOW toward building a mass-based, visible movement fighting for women's rights, and away from reliance on women's enemies in the Democratic and Republican parties.

This red-baiting has now been escalated by the Dayton resolution.

"This motion will intimidate NOW members from standing up for what they believe in," said Kathy Michells of Chicago.

"It was not so long ago that lesbian-feminists, like myself, were not welcomed in NOW," Amy Husk of Louisville pointed out, warning of the danger of exclusionary policies within NOW.

The witch-hunt begun here must be nipped in the bud. NOW members must reaffirm that NOW is open to all feminists regardless of their political affiliations.

Resolutions to explicitly bar discrimination on the basis of political affiliation—proposed as an addition to NOW's national bylaws—have already been passed by NOW chapters in Milwaukee, Louisville, and Lexington, Kentucky; and by state organizations in New York, New Jersey, and Kentucky. The Northeast and Mid-Atlantic regional conferences of NOW have also endorsed this proposal.

In Dayton, supporters of such a resolution met with resistance from the leadership. Candidates for NOW's national board, asked for their stand on this question, poked fun at the "laundry list" of constitutional safeguards against discrimination in the bylaws. They all opposed adding political affiliation to the list, which includes race, religion, sexual preference, and lifestyle.

When the motion to add political affiliation came up at the conference here, Nan Frost-Welmers, president of Michigan NOW, successfully substituted another resolution, striking the list of constitutional safeguards altogether.

"If you're a feminist first, you're welcome in this organization," she declared.

But who is to decide this in the Great Lakes region? A select committee founded on the assumption that a woman's political beliefs—especially if she is a member of the SWP or agrees with socialists on some issues—mean she cannot be a feminist also?

The investigation launched here makes it critical for all NOW members to come to the defense of their organization—by repudiating the witch-hunt resolution and actively supporting the campaign to keep NOW open to all feminists.

## 1,200 march for NY gay rights bill



Militant/Anne Teesdale

By Michael Maggi

NEW YORK—Twelve hundred supporters of lesbian and gay rights marched here April 16 demanding immediate passage of the city's gay rights bill, Intro 384.

The bill has been defeated every year in the city council since 1971. On April 18 it was introduced again.

The march and rally were organized by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR), a coalition of more than forty organizations, with the endorsement of many prominent individuals and groups.

At the rally, CLGR spokesperson Eleanor Cooper welcomed the marchers. "We have the support of the majority of New Yorkers, who have indicated in Gallup and Harris polls that they favor civil rights for lesbians and gay men," she declared.

"We know that this will not be an easy struggle," stated David Thorstad, another CLGR spokesperson. "It has taken seven years to get this far. The entire lesbian and gay community and all those who support human rights must stand up now and join the fight for passage of the bill."

Thorstad blasted the reactionary religious hierarchy for sponsoring and funding organizations that oppose the gay rights bill.

But, he added, "the politicians always blame the Catholic Church or the orthodox Jews for the defeat of the bill. But it is the politicians who must bear

the blame. It is the Democratic Party which, after all, runs the city council."

Speakers at the rally included Carol Bellamy, city council president; city council member Ruth Messinger; Joe Sperling, president of the Social Service Employees Union; and Ray Markey of Local 1930, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and a delegate to New York's Central Labor Council. Sperling and Markey pledged continued efforts to widen union support for the bill.

A message of support was read from Mayor Edward Koch.

Noreen Connell, president of NOW-New York, spoke, linking the fight for lesbian and gay rights to the fight for women's rights.

Juanita Ramos of the Comité Homosexual Latino-Americano (COHLA) described the double oppression of gay and lesbian Latinos.

Other speakers included Rev. Paul Abels of the Washington Square United Methodist Church; Gay Teachers Association spokesperson Sandy Gold; Seth Lawrence of the Gay Activists Alliance; Carolyn Pope of Lesbian Feminist Liberation; a member of Salsa Soul Sisters, a Black lesbian group; and CLGR spokesperson Betty Santoro.

Jean Savage, one of the Socialist Workers Party representatives on the CLGR steering committee, told the *Militant*, "The success of this demonstration shows we are beginning to

involve broad forces in this fight.

"The next big focus for the lesbian and gay rights movement should be organizing for the annual Christopher Street Liberation Day march. What is needed is a massive demonstration that demands: 'Pass the gay rights bill now!'"

CLGR can be contacted at 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 505, New York, New York 10010. Telephone (212) 924-2970.

## Victories in Bay Area

A comprehensive gay rights ordinance became law in San Francisco April 12 when Mayor George Moscone signed it. The law bans discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation in employment, housing, and public accommodations.

On April 11, lesbian mother Jeanne Jullion won her long fight for permanent custody of her four-year-old son in Oakland, California.

The boy's father had claimed Jullion was unfit as a mother because she is a lesbian. Superior Court Judge Robert Kroninger ruled that Jullion's sexual preference had nothing to do with her fitness to raise a child.

## CP covers for Marcos vote fraud

By David Frankel

A phony election was staged in the Philippines earlier this month. Opposition parties were generally denied permits for rallies, refused television and radio time, and deprived of even the right to buy advertisements in newspapers. Tens of thousands of people took to the streets to protest the dictatorial rule of President Ferdinand Marcos. As expected, a fraudulent vote count resulted in a sweeping "victory" for the dictator.

The facts are straightforward—unless you happen to be a writer for the *Daily World*, the newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party. Quite a different version of the election is given by Tom Foley in the April 13 *Daily World*.

Faithfully echoing the line of the Marcos dictatorship, Foley says not a word about the huge antigovernment protests that rocked Manila. Instead, the *Daily World's* coverage focuses on the regime's charge that "foreign journalists had actively interfered in the recent national elections."

Moreover, Foley reports, the Marcos government is also investigating

"possible CIA interference in the elections. . . ."

The truth is that the only "interference" feared by Marcos is that of the Philippine masses. But like other governments faced with rising opposition from their own people, the Marcos regime is trying to blame its troubles on outside agitators and foreign plots.

Since the Stalinists support the Marcos regime, Foley tries to oblige it by claiming that the dictator won his show-election "despite U.S. opposition"! According to Foley, "U.S. imperialist opposition to Marcos has hardened. . . ."

How is this U.S. "opposition" being manifested? Is it by the \$100 million in economic aid and the \$39 million in military aid Washington is giving to Marcos this year? Or by the rise in investment by American corporations in the Philippines? This investment went from less than \$600 million in 1972, when Marcos imposed martial law, to more than \$850 million in 1977.

It is worthwhile, in light of Foley's latest apology for the Marcos regime, to recall an article by Philip

pine CP leaders José Lava in the December 1977 *World Marxist Review*. Referring to the organization and mobilization of the masses, Lava said:

"The difficulties encountered in this process are formidable, not only due to the serious limitations on mass action under martial law, but also because the exploited classes themselves are not yet prepared to wage militant struggle."

Lava neglected to note that his party campaigned for a vote in favor of martial law when Marcos held a plebiscite on the question in October 1976. Thus, complaints about "the serious limitations on mass action under martial law" must be taken with a grain of salt when they come from the Stalinists.

But what was the Stalinist response when the exploited masses did take to the streets, when they did show that they were "prepared to wage militant struggle" for their rights?

The response of the Stalinists has been to side with the Marcos dictatorship against the masses, and to brand their struggle as merely a case of "CIA interference."



# COAL STRIKE

## Its meaning for all working people



Militant/Nancy Cole

**By Nancy Cole  
and Andy Rose**

It's March 18 in Detroit. Several hundred unionists and students have gathered for a rally to support the striking coal miners.

Jim White, head of the United Mine Workers safety committee of Local 1638 in West Virginia, gets up to speak.

"A few years ago Martin Luther King said that he had a dream, a dream that Black people would climb the mountain to freedom. I want to say today that coal miners have a dream too. The coal operators better get off that mountain, because we're coming up."

\* \* \*

On the Mesabi Iron Range of northern Minnesota, iron ore miners have just gone through their own 138-day strike against the big steel companies in 1977. Their local union treasuries are broke. Members are still struggling with the debts piled up during their strike.

But they dig deep into their pockets and come up with thousands of dollars to send to the coal miners.

"We're at one of the most critical times in all labor history," says Joe Samargia, president of

*Nancy Cole, a staff writer for the 'Militant,' has covered the struggles of coal miners for several years. She reported on the 1976 United Mine Workers convention, the Scotia disaster, and wildcat strikes in West Virginia. During the recent strike she traveled extensively through the coalfields, interviewing miners and attending strike rallies and solidarity activities.*

*Andy Rose, labor writer for the 'Militant,' is author of the pamphlet, 'The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel.'*

Steelworkers Local 1938. "A victory for the miners is a victory for the whole labor movement."

\* \* \*

It's March 12 in Martinsburg, West Virginia. A caravan of some 300 cars and trucks from Baltimore has brought food and clothing to help the miners. They're decked out with signs and banners such as "UMW Strong as Steel" and "Stick to Peanuts, President Carter, Leave the Coal to Us."

A Black steelworker comments on the groundswell of solidarity. "It's going beyond union members," he says. "The whole community is ready to get involved. People are beginning to see it's more than just earnings at stake—human lives are involved."

\* \* \*

Before the caravan sets out from Baltimore there is a short rally. David Wilson, president of Steelworkers Local 2609, sharply condemns Carter for ordering the miners back to work after they had voted down the bosses' contract offer.

"President Carter has given a lot of people in this country serious doubts about the democracy that we live under," Wilson says. "I think what we see here today is an outpouring of the thoughts of the people that say: this is a country for the people, of the people, and by the people, and the elected representatives have got to do what we say. That's what it's all about."

\* \* \*

In ordering the miners back to work March 6 under the Taft-Hartley Act, President Carter claims he is acting "to protect our country" and "to preserve the health and safety of our people."

Miners know better.

"I think this is an absolute example of our government ignoring the needs of people and turning to big business and saying, 'We're in your

pocket,'" says Doug Arrington, secretary-treasurer of UMW District 28 in Virginia.

Viley Nessee is a safety committee member of UMW Local 1209 in Mahan, West Virginia. He scoffs at the notion that "national interest" means the miners should give in to the coal bosses.

"Miners have already paid any debt we've got to society," he says. "We've paid it with a hundred thousand dead men in this country's coal mines."

Across the coalfields the defiant reply to Taft-Hartley is the same: "Let Carter mine the coal!"

\* \* \*

The 110-day coal strike was something new and different—more important than any other strike in a long time. Not just because it was big. And not just because it was long. It was different in what the bosses set out to accomplish, and different in how the miners and their allies responded.

The miners were hit with the most powerful union-busting assault any industrial union has faced in more than thirty years. *And they blocked it.*

They stood up to the corporations.

They stood up to the government.

They overruled their own union officials who caved in to the bosses' demands.

And despite a concerted effort to pit other working people against them, the miners won the solidarity of millions of workers across the country.

The confrontation in the coalfields became a *social cause*, raising issues that deeply affect every working person. Issues such as safety on the job, health care, pensions, union democracy, and the right to strike.

And the coal strike became a *political battle*, pitting courageous rank-and-file workers against the giant corporations that rule this country.

For a brief time, some of the lies and illusions

*Continued on next page*



Continued from preceding page

that cover up political reality in this country were stripped away. The Carter administration—elected with the votes of workers and politically supported by the union officialdom—stood exposed as an open strikebreaker. The Democratic and Republican politicians, the courts, the police, the news media, the government mediators and arbitrators—all stood out in their true colors as instruments of the ruling rich.

The confrontation came to a head when Carter ordered the miners back to work on company terms under Taft-Hartley. He threatened to fine or jail their union leaders, confiscate their union treasuries, and cut off food stamps for their families.

Yet the miners refused to bow down.

Carter was forced to retreat, and the coal companies quickly came up with a new contract offer that dropped most of their worst antiunion demands.

The outcome was summed up well by Jack Perry, president of United Mine Workers District 17 in southern West Virginia. "Although the agreement falls short of our expectations," he said, "the rank and file can take a lot of credit for blocking management's efforts to destroy our union. To that extent, miners have won a major victory."

Even the *New York Times* had to grudgingly acknowledge what the miners had accomplished: "Although its leadership and its reputation and its

treasury have been ruined, the rank and file of the United Mine Workers have emerged as unexpectedly, stubbornly, even heroically strong men and women. They overcame their own inept hierarchy and, to an extent that [UMWA President Arnold] Miller obviously never believed possible, humbled the operators."

They humbled more than the operators—they took the government down a peg as well. The miners' successful defiance of Taft-Hartley makes it harder for Carter to use that slave-labor law effectively against any other group of workers.

This spectacle—the ranks of the union showing their power and forcing the bosses to step back—fired the imagination and boosted the confidence of workers everywhere.

#### 'Stand up and be counted'

"The miners have set the stage for everyone around the country," said Richard Webster, recording secretary of United Auto Workers Local 51, "that you don't have to accept conditions you don't want. You can stand up and be counted and vote it down."

Even though wages were not a big issue in the coal strike, the miners' success in winning a pay increase of about 30 percent over three years also raised expectations.

Why should we settle for less, other workers are

rightly wondering. Why should Carter dictate that our paychecks be held *below* the rate that prices are rising?

Obviously prodded by this membership sentiment, Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons announced that when the Teamsters nationwide freight agreement expires next spring, they would accept nothing less than what the coal miners got.

Postal workers' contracts expire this year. Emmet Andrews, president of the American Postal Workers Union, fretted, "What are my members going to do when they look at the mine workers' settlement?"

Artists at the Lyric Opera in Chicago decided to ask for a 40 percent increase over two years. The business manager of the opera house complained, "They equate themselves with coal miners."

The greatest accomplishment of the miners' fight was not the contract they ended up with—which is far from adequate to meet their needs—but the example they set. An example not only to unionists but also to Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, students—to everyone striving for justice and social progress. The miners inspired new hope that working people *can* fight together for their rights. And both the successes and limitations of the coal miners' battle hold important lessons about *how* to fight back.

\* \* \*

There are a lot of old labor songs sung at the benefits and rallies to support the miners, and "Solidarity Forever" is always one of them.

The lyrics are familiar to some, new to others. But now more than ever the words ring out fresh and clear and powerful and true.

*When the union's inspiration  
through the workers' blood shall run,  
There can be no power greater  
anywhere beneath the sun.  
Yet what force on earth is weaker  
than the feeble strength of one?  
But the union makes us strong.*

*They have taken untold millions  
that they never toiled to earn,  
But without our brain and muscle  
not a single wheel can turn.  
We can break their haughty power,  
gain our freedom when we learn  
That the union makes us strong.*

*In our hands is placed a power  
greater than their hoarded gold,  
Greater than the might of armies,  
magnified a thousand fold.  
We can bring to birth a new world  
from the ashes of the old,  
For the union makes us strong.*



# 1. 'Strike and be damned'

The coal strike was deliberately provoked by the mineowners in an open attempt to cripple or destroy the United Mine Workers of America. The big-business press freely admitted that.

The November 7, 1977, issue of *Barron's* gloated over what it saw as "the desperately weak position of the UMW." This Wall Street magazine said that "so far as the mine operators are concerned, this is finally the year to tell the union: 'Strike and be damned.'"

Negotiations were supposed to begin October 6, 1977, for a new contract to replace the one expiring December 6. But the Bituminous Coal Operators Association wasn't interested in negotiating. Instead its president, Joseph Brennan, delivered a tirade against "labor instability," "declining productivity," and "featherbedding practices."

The main obstacle standing between the coal industry and a future of unparalleled prosperity, Brennan declared, is "the tendency of UMW members, for one reason or another, to go on wildcat strikes. . . ."

Brennan didn't mention, of course, that 1,500 miners have been killed on the job since 1969. Or that thousands more die each year from "black lung," an incurable disability caused by breathing coal dust.

Brennan didn't mention that nearly all wildcat strikes are provoked by coal bosses violating mine safety laws or the union contract. No, Brennan had something else in mind.

With the big emphasis on coal in Carter's energy plan, the giant corporations that own the industry had visions of turning their coal mines into gold mines of profit. The aim of the coal operators was a tremendous speedup of production regardless of the effect on miners' health and safety.

And so the BCOA laid down a set of demands to transform the role of the union.

The union must push for higher productivity, Brennan said.

The union must guarantee no strikes.

The union must crack down on "absenteeism."

In short, the coal operators insisted that the role of the union was not to *defend* its members but to discipline them.

If union negotiators didn't go along, Brennan threatened, "We will . . . see the decline and possible extinction of the United Mine Workers of America."

#### 'Takeaway' offensive

The assault on the United Mine Workers was not an isolated or accidental event. It was a calculated escalation of a long-term antilabor offensive.

Under the headline, "Bigger Concessions From Unions Sought," this trend was bluntly described in the March 26 *New York Times*. The article began: "A new word is coming into the labor negotiator's vocabulary. It is 'giveback.'"

"For 30 years bargaining has focused on union demands: seniority rights, pay, pensions, layoff protection, time off and medical care. But in recent months," the *Times* continued, "the spark points in contract talks have been management demands for givebacks or 'takeaways'—the cancellation of some of labor's old gains." The *Times* went on to give examples of hard-line employer demands against the coal miners, aerospace workers, transit workers, construction workers, railroad workers, and even newspaper writers.

This offensive has been underway for some time. Beginning back in 1971—when Nixon froze wages and let prices spiral upwards—big business and the

government have been steadily tightening the squeeze on working people.

They deliberately struck first at the workers who were least organized to resist, those whom the unions have largely failed to defend—the unemployed . . . Blacks and other oppressed minorities . . . women . . . young people just entering the job market . . . the elderly.

Social services have been cut back.

Civil rights gains such as busing and affirmative action are under attack.

Equal rights for women are in jeopardy.

#### One step at a time

In taking on the unions themselves, the employers have carefully moved one step at a time.

First they went after some of the weaker unions—particularly in the printing and construction trades.

The government went after public employees, figuring that by blaming them for high taxes they could be isolated from the support of other workers.

Next came outright union-busting assaults against selected smaller locals of some major industrial unions.

Coal production today is dominated by some of the biggest and most powerful corporations in the world, including the oil and steel monopolies. In forcing the United Mine Workers out on strike, they were making a calculated probe.

*This was their first attempt in more than thirty years to break the power of an established industrial union.*

They believed the UMW was a ready target. Its "unruliness," as the coal operators saw it, stemmed in large part from the measures of union democracy the miners had won when they ousted the corrupt regime of Tony Boyle in 1972 and elected a reform

leadership. The miners union not only stood in the way of profits from the projected coal boom, but it also provided an undesirable model of rank-and-file insurgency for the members of other unions.

First among the democratic rights enjoyed by the UMWA membership was rank-and-file contract ratification. Miners also had another "unruly" idea—they thought they should decide the bargaining demands.

### No mood for 'givebacks'

At the 1976 UMWA convention in Cincinnati, 2,000 delegates—nearly all of them working miners—deliberated for days to come up with a detailed series of demands.

These included the right to strike, full-time union health and safety committeepersons paid by the company, a six-hour workday, expanded health benefits to include full eye and dental care, equal pensions for all retired miners, and a substantial wage increase.

The miners were in no mood for "givebacks."

The December 6, 1977, contract deadline came and went. The coal operators still refused to engage in serious negotiations. And so 160,000 miners, honoring the UMWA tradition of "no contract, no work," found themselves out on strike.

The operators were cocky at first.

Coal stockpiles are high, they said.

The UMWA can shut down barely 50 percent of coal production, they said.

The union leadership is weak and the ranks are in a state of "anarchy," they said.

With no strike benefits or medical coverage, the miners can't hold out for long, the coal operators assured themselves.

One month went by. The miners were still holding tough.

Police began to step up harassment of UMWA pickets, while the news media played up lurid accounts of alleged violence by strikers. But they devoted little or no attention to the murderous violence of the coal companies.

"We've got the best guns money can buy," boasted a scab operator in Indiana, pointing to his M-16 semi-automatic military rifles and assorted handguns. "And we aim to use them."

On January 6 a company guard fired six bullets into Mack Lewis, a sixty-five-year-old retired miner, who had brought some coffee and encouragement to a UMWA picket line near Ivel, Kentucky.

Five weeks went by. Then six. Stockpiles of coal were starting to look smaller.

With effective picketing and the sympathy of many unorganized miners, the UMWA had shut down not half but more than two-thirds of the nation's coal production.

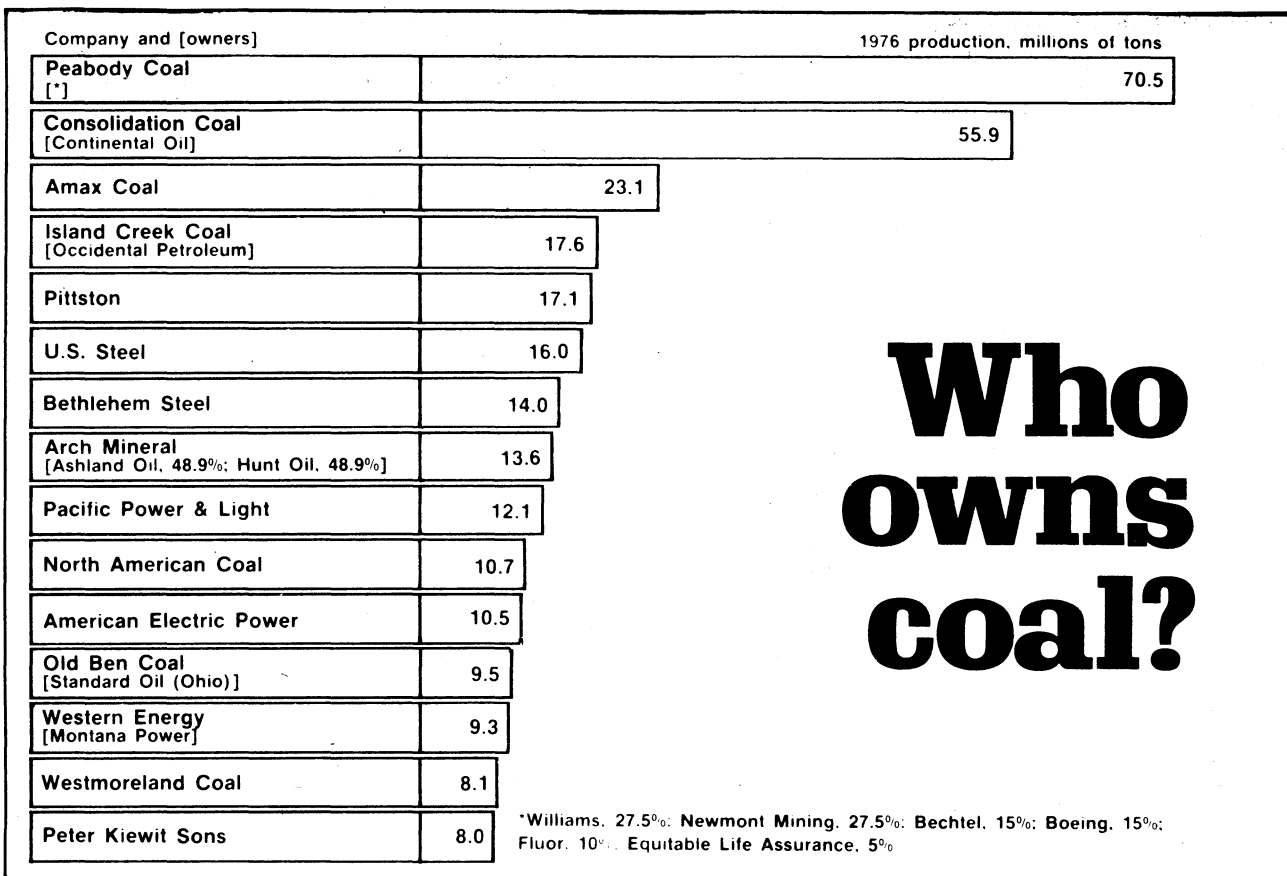
Utilities in Ohio and Pennsylvania began to talk about an "emergency." Power cutbacks would soon be necessary, they declared.

Meanwhile, on February 3, another striker—thirty-three-year-old John Hull—was shot and killed by scabs at a mine near Petersburg, Indiana.

### 'Ball and chain' contract

On February 6, UMWA President Arnold Miller and the BCOA announced agreement on a contract. Miller called it "the best agreement negotiated in any major industry in the past two years." It was the best—for the bosses. It gave in to every one of their demands:

- Automatic twenty-dollar-a-day fines for any miner who honored a picket line.
- Firing of any miner who has "picketed, threat-



# Who owns coal?

Chart shows how coal production is dominated by some of the most powerful capitalist interests—the oil, steel, and utility monopolies. 'Business Week' magazine estimates that 20 percent of total coal production and 30 percent of steam coal comes from oil-owned companies.

ened, coerced, fomented or otherwise been involved in the cause of an unauthorized work stoppage."

- Elimination of the UMWA Health and Retirement Funds, to be replaced by commercial health insurance with miners paying up to \$700 a year for services that had been free to them for decades.

- Drastic curbs on the power of union safety committees, which under the 1974 contract had been authorized to pull miners out of an area of "imminent danger."

- Strict penalties for "absenteeism."
- Imposition of speedup "incentive pay" schemes and seven-day workweeks.

Also included were a host of other union-crippling provisions that had never even been publicly discussed:

- Elimination of the cost-of-living escalator for wages.

- A thirty-day probation period for new miners, during which they would be deprived of many union rights.

- Cutting in half (from ninety days to forty-five) the much-needed training period for new miners.

- Elimination of royalties paid to the union benefit funds on nonunion coal sometimes purchased by unionized companies, giving them a green light to step up this practice.

- Increasing from 1,000 to 1,450 the number of hours a miner must work in a year to qualify for pension credit—another measure to crack down on wildcats and "absenteeism."

- And with a final twist of the knife, even the benefits paid to widows of UMWA members were cut back.

### Rank-and-file explosion

When the news of these provisions reached the coalfields in early February, the union ranks exploded with outrage. Thousands of miners joined in

meetings and rallies to discuss and protest the contract terms. Meetings of local union officials in district after district repudiated the settlement.

Hundreds of miners boarded buses to Washington to demonstrate February 10 at the national UMWA headquarters, where the union bargaining council—composed of district presidents and members of the international executive board—was to vote on the agreement.

"This is a company-written contract," declared Doug Arrington of District 28, one of the protesters.

"It's going back twenty years," said Bob Smith, a miner from Cumberland, Kentucky.

One member of the bargaining council said they had received a stack of telegrams "twelve feet high" opposing the deal.

The council got the message. On February 12 it officially voted by thirty to six to reject the settlement, which one council member dubbed the "ball and chain" agreement.

It was the coal bosses' contract. But they were happy to leave to the UMWA president the dirty job of defending it. Rather than listening to the voice of the membership, Miller fell into the BCOA's trap. He made himself look foolish by going on television to assert that 90 percent of the membership—the "silent majority," he said—would have approved the contract.

An editorial by the New York *Daily News* February 14 summed up the twisted image the media were now trying to convey. "Union democracy has degenerated into mob rule in the UMW," the *News* said. "The most irresponsible elements in the organization are calling the shots."

Exactly the opposite was true.

It was the rank-and-file miners who mobilized to defeat the contract who *were* being responsible—responsible to the interests of coal miners and of all working people.

# 2. Fighting for our rights

During the strike *New York Times* reporter George Vecsey noted that "the word 'rights' is a key to understanding the coal miners' stubbornness."

Miners, Vecsey observed, "contend that they are being forced to give up 'rights' they won a long time ago—health benefits, equitable pensions and, most of all, the 'right' to leave the mine at once over safety issues."

By putting quotation marks around the word "rights," either Vecsey or his editors at the *Times* meant to imply that what the miners were fighting for are not really rights at all. That it is some strange notion—unique to coal miners—to believe they are entitled to these demands.

The news media make a big deal about how miners are "different" and "a special breed." Well, coal miners *are* different in some ways. Their work is the most dangerous in the country. Their union has a special tradition of militancy.

But miners are a young work force these days. Many are Vietnam veterans. Some have worked other jobs in Detroit, Cleveland, Baltimore, and other big cities, returning to the mines because of unemployment in industries there. The number of women—fewer than 1,000—is small but growing.

The aspirations and expectations of coal miners are not so different from those of millions of other workers, especially other young workers.

Growing numbers of working people agree that such things as

- the *right* to a job,
- the *right* to free education,
- the *right* to free medical care,
- the *right* to a secure retirement,
- the *right* to a clean and safe environment

—that these are just and necessary if we are truly to enjoy "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" in today's world.

The miners had won some rights in previous

battles—such as free medical care—that set an example for other workers.

Worst of all, from the bosses' point of view, the miners were fighting to defend these rights. And that example made it harder to take away the rights of others.

### Health care

The incredibly high cost of decent medical care—or any medical care at all—is one of the biggest problems facing workers throughout the country. But through hard-fought strike battles in the 1940s, the UMWA laid the basis for the most comprehensive health-benefits plan of any union.

Miners and their families received a medical card. It entitled them to free services at any clinic or hospital that was part of the system. No forms. No paperwork. No insurance company. No "deductibles."

All costs were paid from a UMWA benefits fund,

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which was financed by payments from the coal companies based on the amount of coal mined and the number of hours worked.

Not only the miners benefited. With the aid of the UMWA fund, new clinics and hospitals were built throughout Appalachia. Health care for the entire region was transformed, since these facilities provided low-cost care to all.

From the beginning, however, the health-fund system suffered from one fundamental weakness—just like every other pension or health benefit that is limited to a single industry or union, rather than provided for all by the government as a social responsibility. *It tied the miners' benefits to the well-being of the companies.*

When the industry was in decline, as it was throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, benefits were cut back. Thousands of miners, widows, and pensioners had their cards taken away.

The coal industry recovered during the 1960s and has been booming in the 1970s—ever since oil prices went up 400 percent and coal became a more attractive energy source again. But despite soaring profits for the industry, payments into the fund did not keep pace with the even steeper increase in health-care costs.

The companies, however, blamed the fund's financial crisis on wildcat strikes. In July 1977—hoping to weaken the miners before the national strike—they engineered an unprecedented slash in the medical benefits. These couldn't be restored without "labor stability," the bosses claimed.

Then when negotiations opened, the coal operators set out to cut their costs even more by abolishing the UMWA fund and the free medical-card system altogether.

By turning health coverage over to private insurance companies and forcing miners to pay hundreds of dollars a year in "deductibles" for doctors' visits, prescriptions, and hospital care, the companies stood to pocket millions of dollars a year in extra profits.

And what about health care for people in the mining areas? Without the subsidies they got from the UMWA fund, seventy clinics and sixty-one hospitals would have to cut back services, according to the Appalachian Regional Commission. Many would have to close.

### Pensions

The plight of UMWA pensioners stemmed from the same source as the attack on health care—inadequate funding by the companies.

Under the 1974 UMWA contract a separate pension fund was set up for miners who retired after January 1, 1976. This was supposedly necessary to

comply with a new federal law regulating pension plans.

Retirees covered by the old fund—about 80,500 at the time of the strike—got a maximum of \$250 a month. Some 6,500 who retired later got more, an average of \$425.

Miners bitterly opposed this inequity. They demanded equal pensions at a level that assures a decent livelihood for all retirees.

In addition, the 1976 UMWA convention voted to fight for cost-of-living provisions for pensions, so that retired and disabled miners would no longer see their benefits eaten away by inflation.

The coal operators hoped that the pension issue would pit older miners and retirees against the younger miners. To their surprise and dismay, the young miners fought militantly against any settlement that wasn't fair to the pensioners.

"If they can take away the pensions and benefits of the retirees, they'll do it to us when our time comes," a Black woman coal miner in Pennsylvania told the *Militant*.

Such solidarity is the opposite of the "just look out for yourself" attitude that is fostered by capitalist society. And it's the opposite of "business unionism," which aims to secure gains only for a select group of workers, to the exclusion of others. It points toward the union movement adopting a broader social outlook and putting its muscle behind all the downtrodden and oppressed.

As a twenty-five-year-old miner in West Virginia said, "They [the retirees] built this union. We've got to keep it strong, and if we're going to do that we've got to think of them."

### Job safety & right to strike

Every day that they go underground, miners know they may be crushed by falling rock, blown up by exploding methane gas or coal dust, suffocated by inadequate ventilation, or mangled by heavy machinery in the cramped mine shafts.

But for the profit-greedy operators, safe work practices are just an obstacle to production and profits.

Russ Stilwell, a rank-and-file miner from Local 1189 in Indiana, told an Indianapolis strike support meeting: "The only thing the coal operators promote in the mines is production. Production first, production second, and production third. And way down here at the end of the tail is safety. We're going to have safety or we're not going to mine coal."

But how can miners assure safety?

They know they can't rely on the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration (formerly the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration). While some MSHA inspectors are honest and dedicated, many more cater to the companies' wishes.

And with ludicrously low fines—a lot of which are never collected—the federal enforcement system isn't set up to penalize mineowners to begin with.

The coal operators and government insist that miners entrust their disputes with the company to the grievance procedure established in the 1974 UMWA contract.

This procedure is similar to those in all other major industries. *And miners, like other workers, have learned through experience that it is rigged against them from the word go.*

Steve Shapiro, president of UMWA Local 6025 in Bishop, West Virginia, explained during the strike why miners "have come to see the wildcat strike as the only means available to them to enforce their contractual job rights."

### Company provocation

"In November 1975," he wrote, "a joint industry-union hearing revealed, as every miner knows, that most wildcat strikes are caused by deliberate company provocation, company refusals to settle grievances at the mine sites, frequent resort to arbitration and the courts, harassment of grievance committeemen by threats and layoffs, and safety discrimination by which miners who complain about unsafe conditions are assigned undesirable work."

The miners' grievance procedure is time-consuming (an average of forty-four weeks per case) and a big drain on the limited treasuries of union locals. And there is rarely anything "impartial" about the outcome of arbitration. Miners from West Virginia and Pennsylvania told the *Militant* what happens.

"Ninety-nine percent of the time, the decision goes to the company," said Terry Wyer.

"No arbitrator has been down there—underground," said Bob Morris. "What do they know?"

The courts and the full force of government stand on the side of the operators and against the miners. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1970 that the existence of a grievance procedure is an "implied no-strike clause." Courts have readily handed down injunctions against UMWA locals, fined them thousands of dollars, and even jailed local officers—all for trying to enforce their contract.

Arbitration takes from the miners their power to settle job disputes and hands it over to grievance boards, arbitrators, and the courts. The miners want that power back.

"You have to have some kind of fighting power to fight the company with," David Brown, a Black coal miner in Pennsylvania, told the *Militant*. "Striking is the only fighting power the union has, and if you take away the right to strike, you have nothing."

# Death in the mines: murder for profit

As business and government officials complain of the "costly" coal agreement, miners continue to pay with their lives.

Just one week after members of the United Mine Workers returned to work March 27, five men suffocated in a Virginia mine. On the same day, a miner in West Virginia was crushed between two railroad cars and killed. The following week, three Virginia mine workers were killed in a roof fall.

It's the same old story. Coal operators freely violate safety laws and contract provisions. And miners suffer the consequences.

Since the beginning of the century nearly 100,000 American coal miners have died on the job. If these were war casualties, that would rank coal combat third in the number of American deaths after World War II (407,316) and World War I (116,708). From 1930 to 1976, more than 1.6 million miners sustained disabling injuries.

During 1977, 142 miners were killed in mine accidents. The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health estimates that by the year 2000—if Carter's plans for doubled coal production become reality—that number will jump to nearly 375 miners killed each year.

Usually miners die quietly in ones and twos. The spotlight centers on their unsafe working conditions only when mine disasters shock the public. The last one happened in March 1976 at the Scotia mine in Kentucky. Twenty-six men died in two explosions of methane gas. They died because the Blue Diamond Coal Company criminally violated safety laws and regulations.

The Scotia mine was non-union. As unsafe as union mines may be, the non-union ones are far worse. The Scotia tragedy spurred on a union



Funeral for one of twenty-six victims of Scotia disaster

Earl Dotter

organizing drive at another Blue Diamond mine in Stearns, Kentucky.

The 145 Stearns miners are now nearing the end of their second year on strike.

They are fighting for safe working conditions

and a union that can make sure Stearns doesn't become the next Scotia. With the ending of the national coal strike, supporters of coal miners' rights should redouble their activity in support of the Stearns miners.



# 3. The power of the miners

From the outset, the strategy of the coal operators relied on two main weapons. First, a divide-and-rule campaign to split the ranks of the miners and to pit other working people against them. Second, strike-breaking action by the government, which the employers control through the two-party system.

As soon as the union ranks hurled the February 6 contract back in the bosses' faces, the operators turned more openly to the government to crush the miners.

On February 11 President Carter proclaimed the state of Ohio to be suffering an "energy emergency." Three days later he declared that the strike "cannot be allowed to continue," and called for negotiations to be held at the White House. Carter threatened to invoke Taft-Hartley and said he was readying federal force for "protection of life and property."

Local politicians, utility companies, and corporate executives issued dire predictions of mass layoffs and other catastrophes if the miners were not forced back to work soon. The auto companies announced a possible shutdown of all their Midwest operations within weeks.

These measures were meant to intimidate miners and to convince other workers that they faced loss of jobs, heat, and light—all because of the greed and irresponsibility of the coal strikers.

Meanwhile, the coal operators and the Labor Department were maneuvering to bust up the unity of the miners themselves. The scheme was to declare further national bargaining hopeless and to promote company-by-company talks.

If some of the weaker union locals could be forced to settle, the operators hoped, a back-to-work movement might be started and the national power of the union wrecked.

On February 20 a separate contract was announced between the UMWA and the Pittsburg & Midway Coal Company.

Now an elaborate and highly publicized display was begun of BCOA "opposition" to the P&M contract and White House "pressure" on the operators to accept it as the basis for a national pact. This was calculated to give the false impression that the contract included big concessions to the miners, while also trying to restore Carter's tarnished image as a "neutral."

## Second contract offer

After a few days of this charade, Carter announced on February 24 a second national contract agreement. The terms were virtually identical to the P&M pact.

If this deal was not "approved without delay" by miners, Carter threatened to take "drastic and unsatisfactory legal action" to end the strike. He called on miners to support the contract as a way of showing "dedication to your country."

When miners saw the contract, however, they immediately recognized it as merely a rehash of the February 6 "ball and chain" agreement. The P&M miners signaled the general sentiment and blocked the splitting move by decisively rejecting their settlement. And when the votes on the national contract came in March 5, miners had voted it down by a more than two-to-one margin.

The next day Carter announced he was ordering the miners back to work under Taft-Hartley.

The terms of the injunction were sweeping. It prohibited all union officers and staff from "continuing, encouraging, ordering, aiding, engaging, or taking part in" the strike. It banned any activity "interfering with or affecting the orderly continuance of work in the bituminous coal industry."

Violators would be fined or jailed, the government warned. Food stamps would be cut off for strikers, since their walkout was now "illegal."

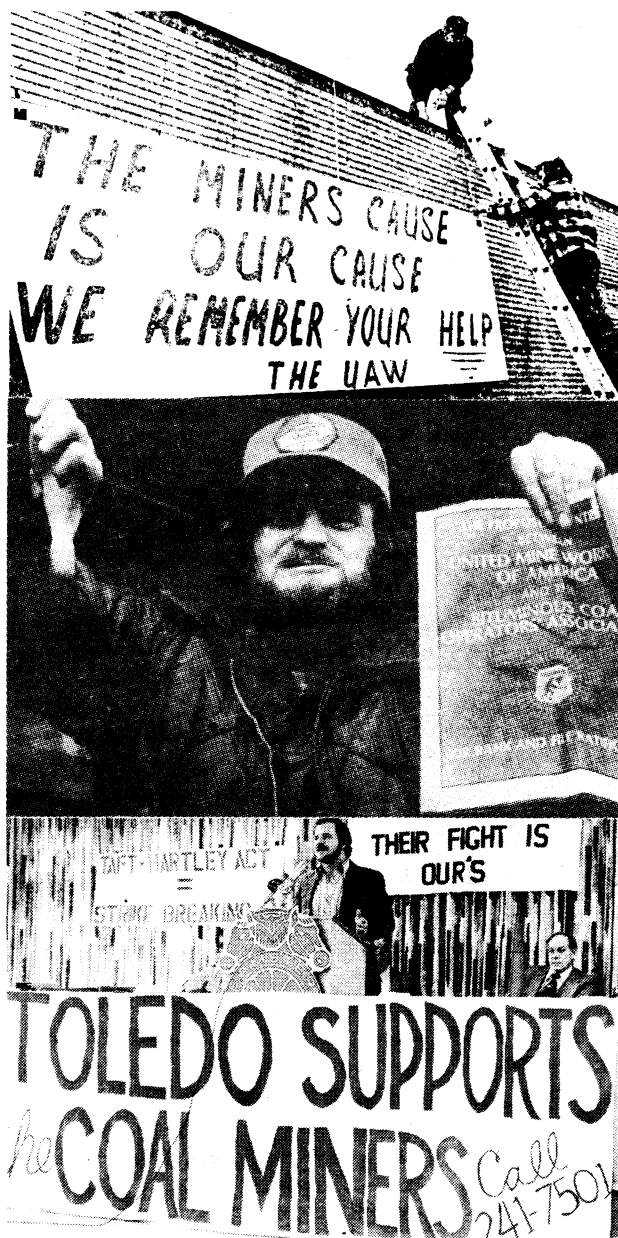
To drive home the threats, federal marshals hand-delivered copies of the order to every UMWA local president. The aim was to intimidate those who had provided much of the day-to-day leadership of the walkout.

Government officials announced that state troopers, National Guard, the FBI, and even federal troops were ready to move against anyone who interfered with production or transportation of coal.

The predictions of mass layoffs in other industries became frantic. If the miners did not give in, three million workers would be jobless within weeks, the administration claimed. Provocative speculation about "violence" filled the news media.

It was an historic test of strength—all the power of corporate wealth and governmental might versus 160,000 determined workers. And the coal miners showed where the *real* power lies.

On March 13—the first day the injunction was in



effect—the companies admitted that fewer than 100 miners in the entire country showed up for work.

No one was jailed.

No one was fined.

No coal was mined.

And the government was powerless to enforce its order.

The very next day, the coal companies came up with a third offer. This one dropped all provisions for disciplining wildcat strikers. It dropped the attempt to limit the authority of union safety committees. It dropped the probation period for new miners, along with a series of other "givebacks" the operators had demanded in their earlier offers.

The medical card was not restored, but the maximum yearly payment by any miner was lowered to \$200. Pensions were raised slightly but not equalized.

The utter defeat of the Taft-Hartley injunction was dramatized when—as the miners prepared to vote again—the federal judge who issued the order refused to renew it. Miners were "not paying attention to what I do anyhow," he admitted.

Voting on March 24, miners reluctantly approved the new offer by 57 to 43 percent. They hadn't won what they were fighting for, but they had blocked the coal operators' offensive and shattered the bosses' dreams for a housebroken work force.

## Union democracy

There were two keys to the miners' success in fighting back: union democracy and working-class solidarity.

With the defeat of the corrupt, procompany regime of Tony Boyle and the election victory of Miners for Democracy in 1972, miners established a series of democratic rights they had never enjoyed before.

Perhaps the most important single gain was the right to vote on their contracts. And not only to vote. Miners wrote it into the UMWA constitution that every member has the right to a copy of the actual contract language—not a "summary."

They have the right to discuss it with others and hear an explanation from their officers at a local meeting, mull it over for another forty-eight hours, and then vote.

This simple democratic procedure proved to be a tremendous obstacle to the coal operators and the government.

But the power shown by the ranks of the UMWA stemmed from much more than simply the formal, constitutional provision for a vote. It comes back to the question of rights. Through a decade-long struggle for control over their own union, miners

have developed a firm belief that they have a *right* to decide for themselves.

That's why the miners didn't rely only on the formal democratic mechanism. They organized mass meetings of up to 3,000 miners—with or without official sanction—where the various contract offers were discussed point by point.

Where any miner could get up at an open microphone and voice his or her opinions.

Where they could discuss how to make the strike more effective.

Where they could remind the union officials loud and clear of what they would or would not stand for.

The miners didn't accept the notion that they should subordinate their fight to government dictates, no matter what the pretext. "Usually when a president talks about patriotism, it's the miners' rear end that's getting picked on," said Jim Bailey, a local vice-president from Harlan County, Kentucky.

The miners had confidence in themselves. The quiet assertion voiced by miner after miner—"We're not as dumb as some people think we are"—captured the essence of that confidence. Workers can think for themselves, decide for themselves, and act for themselves.

That's what union democracy is all about.

And that is what the coal operators—and the rest of the employing class—are dead set against.

A.H. Raskin, longtime labor commentator for the big-business press, glumly summed it up after the strike in *Fortune* magazine: "The latest debacle in the coal fields obliges Americans to recognize that, bad as union dictatorship undoubtedly is, union anarchy is potentially more destructive," Raskin wrote. ("Anarchy" is the bosses' code word for union democracy.)

"Unfortunately," he continued, "the miners have just shown that anarchy pays. They have demonstrated that a rambunctious rank and file with control over a vital resource can get a better deal by spurning the settlements made by their elected leaders and defying court back-to-work orders."

## A rebirth of solidarity

The coal strike showed something that goes way beyond the determination of the coal miners themselves to fight back. It showed the power of working-class solidarity and the changing consciousness among millions of workers.

The campaign of the bosses to get other workers to blame price increases or layoffs on the miners fell flat. Instead of condemning the miners, they cheered them on.

"The UAW should stand up 100 percent to back the miners," said James Jordan, an auto worker in Detroit. "For a simple fact—because they're working people like us."

"If they break the miners union, they'll break ours too and all unions. We've got to stick together," said Judy Garlitz, an electrical worker in Fairmont, West Virginia.

Only a tiny fraction of the sympathy for the miners was mobilized into visible support actions. But by the time the strike ended, thousands of workers had joined in meetings, rallies, or demonstrations.

These displays of solidarity were all the more remarkable because of the shameful role of the top union officialdom. These bureaucrats feared the example the combative miners were setting to the ranks of their own unions. They saw in the upsurge among the miners a challenge to their dead-end policy of collaborating with the employers and stifling internal democracy.

AFL-CIO President George Meany virtually invited Carter to invoke Taft-Hartley. "After all, Taft-Hartley is part of the law of the land," Meany said on February 20. "... If the president feels it's his only alternative, then we won't criticize him."

## Rank-and-file initiative

All the support activities for the miners were initiated by rank-and-file workers and local union leaders. In some cities they succeeded in drawing together strike support coalitions that also won the endorsement of district-level officials and city or county labor councils.

Especially after Carter's threat to cut off food stamps for the strikers and their families, unionists rallied behind the need of the miners for material relief. Local unions and individual workers contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars. Caravans were organized from Baltimore, Detroit, Chicago, and other cities with food and clothing for the beleaguered strikers.

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These actions helped prompt some gestures of solidarity from top union officials. The day after Carter invoked Taft-Hartley, UAW President Douglas Fraser came forward with a \$2 million donation to the UMWA relief effort. Later the United Steelworkers and the Communications Workers each gave \$1 million, and other unions chipped in as well.

But far more important than the amount of material aid was the political impact of the solidarity actions.

They gave the miners a chance to explain their demands and expose the lies of the companies.

They let the miners know they were not fighting alone.

They put the bosses on notice that further escalations of the attack on the miners could provoke wider and more powerful protests.

In many union locals, the coal strike was the first time in years that the idea of taking action in support of another union had been raised—even the simple act of passing a resolution of support or sending a token financial contribution.

An old tradition began to be reborn. The tradition that "an injury to one is an injury to all." The tradition of labor solidarity.

### Allies

The miners themselves—and other workers as well—got some important lessons in where their allies were to be found.

Some of the first support actions, for example, were organized by college students. The miners did not solicit these and were often surprised to find that students would take an interest in their fight. But they welcomed that support.



Virginia state troopers escort scab coal

One of the most dramatic solidarity actions during the entire strike was the caravan organized by working farmers from Missouri—members of the American Agriculture Movement, on strike themselves for a decent income—to bring food to Kentucky miners.

"You heard them speak that they're for us," said one astonished coal miner at the 7,000-strong rally held in Central City, Kentucky, when the caravan arrived. "We used to think the only ones for us was miners."

Farmer Bob Koehn explained: "The miners are fighting for survival, and that's what we're fighting for. We're all little people; we've come to know that the farm organizations are not representing us but rather big business."

Miners touring the West Coast to win support spoke before union meetings and rallies. But they also took their cause to a gay rights speakout in San Francisco and to a Los Angeles meeting to defend Héctor Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance who is threatened with deportation to Mexico because of his political activism.

Women's liberation activists, inspired by the growing role of women miners and miners' wives, joined in backing the strike. So did Black community groups. Their support was also welcomed.

All in all, it was not in keeping with the media stereotype of miners as narrow-minded, backward "hillbillies."

And for millions of unionists, students, Blacks, women, and farmers, it gave a glimpse of a different kind of labor movement. A labor movement that fights for all the oppressed and sees them—not the bosses and capitalist politicians—as its trusted allies.

## 4. The problem of leadership

For many miners, the default of their own national union leadership was the most disappointing and frustrating aspect of the strike.

A petition drive to recall Arnold Miller—put aside for unity's sake at the beginning of the strike—picked up steam after news of the first contract offer hit the coalfields. Demands that Miller resign were prominent at the mass strike meetings.

When the strikers voted on the third contract offer, they were bitterly aware of the contradiction between their own strength and Miller's weakness.

"It's not the best we could have got," said Don Ellis of Cedar Grove, West Virginia, "but I think the men want to get back to work, and they sure need to get back. Maybe it's the best we could get with the kind of people we've had negotiating for us."

"We nowhere near gained over the 1974 contract," said Steve Brewer of Jenkins, Kentucky, "we lost on this one. But it's the best our incompetent leader can get."

Miller was a rank-and-file coal miner until black lung forced him to retire in 1970. He was a founder and president of the Black Lung Association in West Virginia, one of the most important sections of the insurgent movement in coal in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The BLA, for example, led a mass wildcat strike in 1969 for passage of a black lung compensation law by the state legislature.

Miller was elected UMWA president in the 1972 victory of Miners for Democracy. Yet he ended up following a course opposed to what Miners for Democracy had campaigned for. What happened?

### Right-wing pressure

Upon taking office, Miller came under tremendous pressure from the employers, the government, and the bureaucratic misleadership of the rest of the union movement. They all wanted to transform him from an insurgent into a "labor statesman" who would keep miners under control. In addition he faced a substantial right-wing opposition from Boyle-regime holdovers within the UMWA.

The reform leadership was swept into office by a mass upsurge in the coalfields. But the new officers—and many of those who elected them—did not realize that it would take a *continuing mobilization of the ranks* to strengthen and transform the UMWA.

Under the reform administration, miners scored a number of important gains—including the steps toward union democracy, wage increases, and some power for union safety committees. But over time, Miller and the other MFD leaders tended to act as though their job as officers was to solve things for the members, rather than leading the members in struggle against the operators to solve their problems for themselves.

Miller thus allowed himself to become isolated from the real strength of the union—the membership. As an individual, he was unable to withstand the right-wing pressure.

In the 1977 union election, Miller was reelected with only 40 percent of the vote over challengers Lee Roy Patterson and Harry Patrick. Patterson, a slick-talking Boyle man, charged that the reform leadership, put in office by "outsiders' money," had brought the union to the "brink of disaster." Patrick, who had been elected secretary-treasurer in 1972 on the MFD slate, said Miller had abandoned what MFD stood for and was "incapable" of leading the union.

By the time of the 1977 contract negotiations, Miller had evidently become convinced—as he was told over and over by treacherous "friends" in the Labor Department and the union officialdom—that the future of the UMWA lay in collaborating with the industry to achieve "labor peace."

So Miller, Vice-president Sam Church, and Secretary-treasurer Willard Esselstyn approached the negotiations the same way all other top union officials do—as a matter to be worked out between them and the companies. Not as a battle in which they are merely the designated representatives of the ranks.

They acted as though the demands voted on by the 1976 UMWA convention had never existed.

They conducted negotiations secretly, under a news blackout so miners wouldn't know what was going on.

They took it upon themselves to "sell" a contract to the membership rather than listening for the ranks to express their opinion.

They never spoke out to defend the miners' demands to the public, to explain why their cause deserved the support of all working people.

Miners have even charged that Miller and the other officers failed to distribute the relief funds contributed by other unions, so that the ranks would be starved into accepting the third contract offer.

### 'Weak leadership'—two views

Much has been written about Miller's decline and the "weak leadership" of the UMWA. But what this means for the employers and government and what it means for miners are two completely different things—a point the news media deliberately confuse and conceal.

The complaint of the employers is that Miller has not reconstructed a bureaucratic machine they can rely on to control the UMWA ranks. The bosses' poisonous message is that Miller's failure shows the futility of union democracy. Miners should give up trying to run their own affairs and look for salvation from a "strong" leader.

There was a lot of talk about John L. Lewis during the strike. The coal operators and news media pine for the Lewis who ruled the UMWA with an iron hand, who stifled all dissent, and who collaborated with the bosses in the 1950s to wipe out 300,000 coal mining jobs.

The miners, however, recall the John L. Lewis who stood up to the coal operators in the 1930s and 1940s and who eloquently defended the miners' rights before the world.

The problem for the operators—and the great hope for the future of the union—is that *the bosses and government have proved completely incapable of rolling back the democratic gains and expectations of UMWA members.*

John Leonard, president of a UMWA local in Cokeburg, Pennsylvania, put it this way: "The companies picked on Miller and backed him up against the wall because they thought the UMW was weak. As it turned out, only Miller was weak."

### The real leadership

Many commentators have said that the coal strike was leaderless. This is not true.

Leaders are not necessarily those who occupy posts.

Leaders are those who lead.

And leaders did step forward—union presidents, safety committee members, rank-and-file miners.

They were the ones who organized the militant strike actions, meetings, demonstrations, discussions.

They developed greater contact and collaboration with leaders in other locals and districts.

They joined in solidarity actions with members of other unions and learned about their common concerns.

To the extent they could, these local leaders began to do some of the things a national leadership *should* have done to strengthen the strike—call attention to the demands of the 1976 convention, explain to the public what miners were fighting for, expose the divisive lies of the companies, and protest strikebreaking by the government.

The leaders of the coal strike gained authority because what they said and did flowed from the sentiments and actions of the ranks.

And they learned some things. About the companies, the government, the news media. About the labor movement as it is and as it should be. And about themselves.

Despite the default of the national UMWA leadership, these accomplishments have *strengthened* the union. As Jim Nuccetelli, head of the safety committee of Local 1197, told the *Militant*:

"A lot of young people are now involved in the union that I don't think would have been involved before. They learned a lesson. They understand now



what their dads are talking about when they talk about the union and strikes in the thirties and forties. If we didn't prove anything else, we brought the rank and file together."

### The challenge today

Now the miners are back at work under a new and inadequate contract.

There can be no doubt that the coal operators will continue trying to do what they failed to do during the strike—break the spirit of the miners, trample on their rights, and housebreak the union.

The problem of mine safety remains urgent. In the first two weeks after the strike ended, nine men were killed in the mines of Virginia and West Virginia.

The right to strike will have to be defended from new onslaughts by the companies and courts.

Organizing the unorganized mines is a life-and-death question for the UMWA. Miners know they must go into the next contract negotiations with more coal production unionized, not less.

The corporations haven't given up their efforts to isolate miners from other workers. Already big

increases in steel prices and electricity rates are being falsely blamed on the miners.

Coal miners and their communities also face the problem of saving the coalfield clinics and hospitals from destruction.

If the ranks draw the lessons of the national strike and organize to meet these immediate challenges—to go forward *now* to defend miners and strengthen their union—they will succeed in forging a new leadership, including on the national level.

# 5. A strategy to fight back

Coal miners have learned that thousands of unionists across the country—steelworkers, teachers, auto workers, railroad workers, Teamsters, and countless others—are thinking through and discussing the same problems they are.

How to cut through the rigged grievance procedure and settle on-the-job disputes?

How to defend the right to strike?

How to stop the "giveback" offensive of the employers?

How to respond to strikebreaking by the courts, cops, and politicians?

What to do about the deterioration of social services and the inadequacy of existing union benefit plans?

How to defend workers' livelihoods in the face of permanent inflation and mass unemployment?

Both for coal miners and for other workers, a strategy for answering these problems will begin from understanding the strengths of the mine strike and finding ways to extend them.

In the first place, there's a lesson that coal miners have known for a long time. That is, the union is the basic organization through which workers can fight back.

Although our problems of jobs, income, and so on seem at first to be *individual* problems, individuals acting alone cannot solve them. At least, fewer and fewer individuals can find their own escape—through working harder, finding the ideal job, winning the lottery, or whatever—from the tightening squeeze that affects all working people.

The unions are today the only organizations that bring together masses of workers *as workers*—offering the possibility of collective action to solve our common problems.

### Power in united action

Beyond that, the coal strike showed that the power of the union lies in united action of the union ranks—founded on their ability to stop production, the right to strike—not in secret negotiations, not in collaboration with the bosses, not in backroom deals with the Democratic and Republican politicians.

The right of the ranks to know, the right to elect and recall officers, the right to determine bargaining demands and to vote on contracts, the right to decide policy—these are the bedrock of union strength. Everything that limits or denies these rights weakens the union's power.

That's why in many unions the fight against the employers starts with a fight for union democracy—like the Right to Vote Committee in rail in 1969-71, Miners for Democracy in 1970-72, and Steelworkers Fight Back in 1976-77. The workers have to *take back* their organizations from the corrupt gang of bureaucrats who have usurped power and who fail to defend the members.

These bureaucrats insist on the sanctity of the "free enterprise" system, "fair" profits to the employer, and the common interest of worker and boss. After all, capitalism has done well for them, hasn't it? They see a cozy relationship with the employers as key to their fat salaries and petty privileges, even though it's union members who pick up the tab.

But the coal strike was a dramatic illustration of the fundamental *antagonism* between the working class and the employers. Earlier we quoted from a *New York Times* article about the new "giveback" demands of the bosses. The same story interviewed John Zalusky, a staff economist for the AFL-CIO hierarchy. He said the problem was "not so much worker militancy as management militancy."

### 'New breed' of bosses?

How did Zalusky explain this? He pointed to a "new breed" of management negotiators. The old hands on the management side learned from the bottom up, he said. "They knew that nothing was not negotiable, and left both sides with something."

Now, the AFL-CIO hack complained, the bosses' negotiators come to the bargaining table with

university degrees and a "gamesmanship" philosophy, according to which "they must win; there must be a loser."

The implication—and the fond hope of the union bureaucrats—is that if the bosses would just return to their old cooperative philosophy, everything would be fine again.

But the negotiating position of the companies doesn't start with their "philosophy"—it starts with their profits. And the fact is that the current antilabor offensive is the employers' response to the deep-rooted economic problems of the capitalist system on a world scale.

Today competition among the capitalists of different countries—competition for markets to sell their goods and for profitable arenas to invest—is sharper than ever before. Each one seeks a competitive edge by lowering labor costs. And that means driving down the living standards of working people.

Speedup.

Lowering of safety and environmental standards. Elimination of jobs.

Holding wage increases below the level of price increases, or even cutting wages outright.

The attack on the miners wasn't a case of "outmoded" or "nineteenth century" inflexibility by the bosses, as some commentators claimed. It was an example of the *most modern* plans of the employers. The "ball and chain" contract they tried to impose

on the miners shows what they have in store for all other unions as well.

So the starting point for workers can't be how to help the bosses defend profits. It has to be *fighting for the interests of workers regardless of the effect on profits and the profit system*.

The only alternative is acceptance of a steady lowering of incomes, loss of jobs, and degradation of the working class.

The attacks today on the rights of women and minorities seem at first to be something separate and different from the attacks on the unions. But they aren't. All are part of one anti-working-class offensive.

### Discrimination profitable

Business reaps billions of dollars in extra profits each year by discrimination against women, Blacks, and Latinos. And the racial and sexual divisions among workers—just like the divisions between young and old or between different crafts—weakens labor's response to the attacks on the wages and working conditions of all. Basically it is just like the way the energy corporations tried to get auto workers and steelworkers and others to blame threatened layoffs on the coal strikers.

The capitalist system itself breeds unemployment and insecurity. But the capitalists try to convince white workers, for example, that their problems are caused by the demands of Blacks for affirmative

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## Books and pamphlets



### CLASS-STRUGGLE STRATEGY FOR LABOR

A series of books by Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the Minneapolis Teamsters during their historic 1934 strikes and a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Dobbs tells how Teamsters organized to make their union a democratic, fighting weapon against the bosses. This account of a participant draws the lessons of the entire 1930s labor upsurge.

**Teamster Rebellion** \$3.95, **Teamster Power** \$4.45, **Teamster Politics** \$4.45, **Teamster Bureaucracy** \$4.45.

### LABOR'S GIANT STEP

By Art Preis. The only comprehensive history of the CIO—from the working-class battles that led to its formation, to its merger with the AFL in 1955. Includes accounts of the United Mine Workers' defiance of government strikebreaking during the 1940s. 583 pp., \$6.95 paper.

**The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel** by Andy Rose. 38 pp., 50 cents.

**A Struggle for Union Democracy: The story of the Right to Vote Committee in the United Transportation Union** by Ed Heisler. 46 pp., 75 cents.

**A Political Biography of Walter Reuther** by Beatrice Hansen. 23 pp., 40 cents.

**Teachers Under Attack: An alternative to the 'business unionism' of Albert Shanker** by Jeff Mackler. 32 pp., 50 cents.

**Construction Workers Under Attack: How to fight back and rebuild the unions** by Carol Lipman, Frank Lovell, Nat Weinstein. 23 pp., 35 cents.

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

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action, school desegregation, open housing, and so on.

They try to convince men that women—whose “place is in the home”—are to blame for the lack of jobs.

They try to convince U.S. workers that undocumented immigrants, or imports produced by workers in other lands, are “stealing American jobs.”

This is why the working-class solidarity shown during the miners’ strike is so important. It set an example that needs to be broadened out until no worker—of any race, of any nation, employed or unemployed, organized or unorganized—is any longer seen as the enemy, as “them” rather than as “us.”

Finally, the most important lesson from the coal strike is that the bosses’ antilabor offensive is *political*.

Carter’s invocation of Taft-Hartley and his threats to use federal armed force against the strikers were the most open use of government power against the miners. But in fact, every branch and agency of the government, with the full support of both the Democratic and Republican parties, joined in the assault.

### Web of restrictions

- The Labor Department mediators “helped” Miller select his negotiating advisers, who “helped” him come up with the February 6 contract.

- In a little-noticed decision in the midst of the strike, a federal appeals court ruled that the UMWA can be forced to *repay the loss of profits* to any company shut down by roving pickets during a wildcat strike.

- Also in the midst of the strike, the National Labor Relations Board filed suit against the UMWA charging that miners who were picketing nonunion mines were conducting an “illegal secondary boycott.”

- The U.S. House of Representatives has passed and the Senate is considering a “labor law reform” bill whose avowed purpose is to strengthen the antilabor NLRB. In addition, the bill would further curb the right to strike and broaden the authority of courts to ban picketing.

The Senate committee report by Sen. Harrison Williams—one of those famous “friend of labor” Democrats—specifically said the purpose was “to provide an added remedy against the debilitating illegal work stoppages which have in particular plagued the coal fields of Appalachia.”

For decades the government has been spinning a web of court decisions, legislative restrictions, and executive orders to strangle union power. The union bureaucrats think salvation lies in crawling further into the web, searching for “friends” among the government mediators, arbitrators, boards, and politicians. But that is a suicidal course.

During the coal strike it was painfully clear that workers have no political representation at any level of government. Not one Democratic or Republican politician spoke out in defense of the miners’ demands or their right to strike.

Not one used their high public office to denounce the coal operators’ union-busting as the real cause of the strike and the source of any inconvenience to the public.

Not one pledged a campaign to repeal the Taft-Hartley slave-labor act.

It’s the same pattern we’ve seen repeated time and again, especially in the past few years. The very politicians who take union money and woo workers’ votes promptly turn around and demand sacrifices from workers and try to break strikes.

### Is it hopeless?

Does this mean that labor participation in politics is hopeless? That it’s just “human nature” for anyone involved in politics to become a corrupt, lying servant of big business?

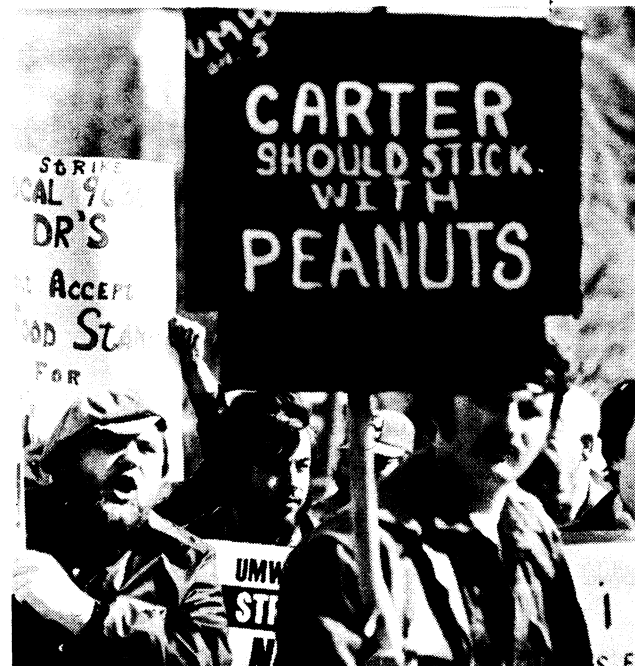
No, the problem has nothing to do with “human nature.” It has everything to do with the nature of the two-party system and the U.S. government.

The interests of workers and bosses are opposed. They are opposed in politics just as they are on the job or in contract negotiations. A political party can no more represent both workers and employers than a union can.

A union that pretends to represent both is in fact dominated by the bosses. It is known as a company union.

*The Democratic Party is the political version of a company union.* It pretends to represent “all the people.” But it is really owned and controlled by the employers, no different from the Republican Party, which is more open about being a big-business party.

A company union, to keep up appearances, finds or bribes a few company-minded workers to act as



Top, Carter campaigns for miners’ votes in 1976. Below, miners protest strikebreaking by Democratic Party with pickets at Kentucky state capitol and at White House.

Militant/Nancy Cole

its stooges. The Democratic Party puts on its councils a few loyal union bureaucrats who can be counted on to support procapitalist policies anyway. But they serve there as captives, not captains.

The only way for workers to gain political representation is to dump the company union—to stop supporting Democrats and Republicans and launch *independent* labor political action.

The working class needs its own political party—a labor party—because the unions alone can’t defeat the antilabor offensive. What’s won through strikes and demonstrations is taken back by the government—by arbitrators, by courts, by taxes, by inflation, and in countless other ways.

A labor party *would* fight to repeal Taft-Hartley, to stop police attacks on pickets, to stop the jailing of strikers, to call a halt to strikebreaking court injunctions.

### Political fight

But more than that—with a labor party workers could begin to go on the offensive to fight politically for some of the things we need. For example:

**HEALTH CARE.** In the richest country in the world, why should any person go without medical care, regardless of their ability to pay? The coal-field clinics and hospitals are just a tiny preview of what could be done if the government replaced the private-profit medical *business* with socialized medicine to provide free, top-quality care for all.

**PENSIONS.** No retired or disabled person should be living in poverty regardless of the ups and downs of any private pension plan. The government should fulfill the original promise of Social Security by automatically providing all retirees with an adequate income, including cost-of-living escalator provisions.

**JOBS.** Lack of jobs for millions who want and need work is the basic cause of poverty, crime, the decay of the cities, and many other social ills. The government should launch a program of useful public works to provide jobs at union wages. There is plenty to be done—building homes, schools, hospitals, day-care centers, libraries, parks; cleaning up and preserving our devastated natural resources; providing the social services that are now being cut back for the young, the old, the sick.

By shortening the workweek—with no loss in weekly pay—millions of jobs could be created and workers would have more free time to enjoy life a little. The miners have for many years demanded work shifts of six hours instead of eight, as a safety measure. This should be instituted across the board for all workers.

### No money?

Measures such as these will never be implemented by the Democrats and Republicans. They claim there’s “no money” for the needs of workers . . . at

the same time that they spend more than \$120 billion of our tax money every year for bombs, tanks, missiles, and all the rest of the Pentagon arsenal to blow up the world . . . and at the same time that they hand out billions of dollars more in tax breaks, business “incentives,” and other giveaways to the rich.

A labor party would reverse those priorities and put the needs of working people at the top of its program.

It would be a completely new and different *kind of party*—a party made up of workers, democratically controlled by workers, led by workers, running workers for public office. Rather than simply a vote-catching machine, it would be a party of *action*, mobilizing workers in strikes, demonstrations, and protests—as well as election campaigns—to fight for their needs.

While its base would be the power of the unions, a labor party would also attract and draw into action the millions of unorganized workers, as well as allies of the working class such as the debt-ridden farmers, the Black communities, and women. It would champion the demands of all the oppressed and exploited.

This kind of bold social program is a far cry from the outlook of the trade-union officialdom today. Bureaucrats such as George Meany and UAW President Fraser are wedded to the Democratic Party just as firmly as they are to collaboration with the employers and suppression of the union ranks.

The building of a labor party is the logical extension of the fight for union democracy in the broadest sense—the fight by the membership to transform their unions into organizations that are militant, democratic, and independent.

### Open the books

A labor party would give workers a weapon to take on the havoc of the capitalist economic crisis. For starters, it would fight to *open the books* of the banks and corporations. During the coal strike, miners pointed out that if the public could see the real profits of the operators, it would be clear that justice was on the side of the strikers.

All these corporations make decisions *in secret* that affect millions of human lives.

Workers have a right to see for ourselves—to see the hidden profits, the tax swindles, the political payoffs, the lavish executive salaries, the secret union-busting schemes, and all the rest of the filth and corruption that would be exposed in the books and records of the monopolies.

In those records would be found a good case for taking big industry out of the hands of the private-profit owners altogether. They have shown themselves to be destructive, socially irresponsible, moti-



vated by nothing except lust for higher and higher profits.

Coal . . . oil . . . steel . . . rail . . . auto . . . communications . . . electrical manufacturing . . . textiles . . . a labor party would lead a fight to nationalize these and other giant corporations (along with the banks) and run them for the general social welfare rather than for the profit of a few fabulously wealthy families.

With access to all the financial and technical information kept secret by the bosses, the workers themselves could take control of the production process. The could regulate the pace of work in the safest and least dehumanizing way. They could produce goods that are safe and durable rather than

designed to break down.

The current chaos of contrived shortages, unexpected gluts, business crises, and inflation could be replaced with *democratic planning* of production to meet human needs.

These are far-reaching tasks that can be carried out only by the power of the government. If these proposals were freely discussed and debated, the majority of people would support them. But do we enjoy today a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people"? No—we are ruled by a government  
of the rich,  
by the rich, and  
for the rich.

The overwhelming majority of people in this country are workers (together with their families). But workers are denied any voice in government. We are denied any control over the economic, social, and political policies that affect our lives.

Formation of an independent labor party would be a giant step toward abolishing the rule of a wealthy minority and bringing to power a truly democratic government—a workers government.

It's like what an angry Pennsylvania coal miner shouted in protest when Carter threatened to use Taft-Hartley: "It's time we showed them who has the power."

## 6. To build a better world...

In the middle of the coal strike, a young machinist at the big General Electric plant in Louisville, Kentucky, demanded and received "editorial reply" time on one of the main TV stations.

He wanted to respond to the anti-UMWA propaganda the station had been broadcasting. In his time on the air, he explained the demands of the miners, how Carter's actions were "a threat to the entire labor movement," and why the miners "deserve the support of all working people."

That machinist's name is Jim Burfeind. He's a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in Louisville. And he is running as the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Kentucky's Third District.

\* \* \*

When Ohio utilities threatened electricity cut-backs and Gov. James Rhodes called the miners' strike a "countdown to catastrophe," their lies did not go unanswered.

Pat Wright, a community college student in Cleveland and former day-care worker, and John

*This special feature on the lessons of the coal strike will soon be available as a pamphlet from Pathfinder Press. Order copies now to distribute in your union, workplace, campus, or community. Single copies seventy-five cents; discount of 25 percent on orders of five or more. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.*

Gaige, a Toledo auto worker, talked to workers around the state exposing the divisive "energy crisis" hoax and urging support for the miners. They called for opening the books of the utilities and explained the need for nationalization of the entire energy monopoly.

Pat Wright and John Gaige are the Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor of Ohio.

\* \* \*

Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for governor of California, and Miguel Pendás, socialist nominee for U.S. Senate from Texas, both toured the coalfields of West Virginia and Pennsylvania. They talked to miners and got the strikers' side of the story, so they could return to their home states and give workers there a first-hand account of what was at stake.

Halstead is a veteran trade unionist and was a national leader of the movement against the Vietnam War. Pendás has been especially active in defending the rights of undocumented immigrant workers.

Halstead and Pendás pointed to the struggle of the miners as an example for all labor. And they explained why workers need a labor party to carry that struggle into the political arena.

\* \* \*

Rosalinda Flint is a clerical worker at West Virginia University in Morgantown and a member of Laborers International Union Local 840. A former steelworker, she helped organize support for both the 1974 and 1977-78 coal strikes. On April 4 she announced her candidacy for U.S. Senate—the first socialist candidate in West Virginia for that office since 1936.

Pointing to the low incomes, inadequate housing, and poor education and medical care in West Virginia, Flint declared, "The responsibility lies with the giant coal, oil, rail, and steel corporations that own and control the wealth, resources, and land in the state."

Consolidation Coal, for example, is the state's biggest landowner. While reaping millions in profits from the labor of West Virginia miners, Consol "rarely pays more than a few cents an acre in property taxes," Flint explained. A top point in her platform is to tax the corporations, not working people.

She is also campaigning vigorously for equal rights for women and for an end to discrimination against Black people.

\* \* \*

Socialist Workers Party activists in unions all across the country—auto workers, steelworkers, public employees, and many others—introduced resolutions of support for the miners and helped raise funds to aid the strike.

Together with student members of the Young Socialist Alliance, they helped initiate broad labor-sponsored meetings and rallies in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Toledo, Morgantown, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Indianapolis, and other cities.

\* \* \*

Week after week the *Militant* newspaper campaigned in support of the miners. Our reporters were dispatched to the coalfields to interview miners. On-the-scene reports conveyed the breadth and significance of labor solidarity actions. Historical features reviewed lessons from the UMWA's rich past.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance went on a special drive to get the *Militant* into the hands of as many potential supporters of the miners as possible. Sales teams also went door-to-door in mining communities,

where hundreds of miners signed up for subscriptions.

\* \* \*

The Socialist Workers Party is a party of working people—of unionists; women's liberation activists; fighters for Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican rights. The SWP has a long history of activity in the fight against wars, oppression, and discrimination.

Socialists did everything we could to help organize the broadest and most effective possible support for the miners. Because we knew the outcome of their strike would affect the struggles of the entire working class.

And we are doing everything we can to explain the meaning of the miners' strike—as we have tried to do in this article. Because what the strike showed, above all else, is the power that the working class of this country really has.

The miners showed the kind of power that can transform this entire society and build a new world—a socialist world—where thousands of workers won't be killed each year by industrial greed.

Where medical care will be available for all, not just for the rich.

Where old people won't be tossed aside when they can no longer produce profits for the corporations.

Where pollution, wars, racism, the oppression of women, and all other forms of human degradation and exploitation will no longer exist.

Mark Zola, a steelworker who is the SWP candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, puts it this way: "The working class keeps the country running—the working class should run the country."

If you agree, then join us in the fight for a better world. Join the Socialist Workers Party.

## Our party is your party

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



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## JOIN THE SWP

# Movement attorneys facing disbarment

By Michael Smith

Attorneys Jerry Paul and Lennox Hinds may be prevented from practicing law for voicing opinions critical of the state of justice in this country.

Paul faces disbarment in a trial now set for April 17 in his home state of North Carolina. The charges arise from his defense of Joanne Little, the young Black woman who defended herself from sexual assault by a white, male jailer while incarcerated in North Carolina. Little was acquitted of murder charges in August 1975.

Hinds, national director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, faces disciplinary charges for remarks he made at a January 1977 press conference during jury selection for the frame-up murder trial of Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard). Shakur, a Black woman, was later convicted.

As reported in a local newspaper, Hinds charged that trial Judge Theodore Appleby did "not have the judicial temperament or racial sensitivity to sit as an impartial judge." Hinds called the trial a "travesty," pointing out that the judge has "gagged" the defense team.

"After the trial began," declared Hinds, "we began to have fears of a legalized lynching."

The North Carolina Bar seeks to discipline Paul for a variety of speech offenses:

- Paul publicly declared that Joanne Little was innocent, that the state's case was racist, and that the Ku Klux Klan was involved in her prosecution.
- Paul "publicly acclaimed himself to be a freedom fighter."
- Paul "intentionally made disparaging public statements to the

members of the public news media . . . reflecting upon the ability and integrity of the presiding judge . . . [and] publicly denounced the judicial system in North Carolina. . . ."

• Paul charged that "the quality of justice in this country is directly related to the pocketbook."

• Paul publicly insisted that the state had failed to prove its case. On August 10, 1975, in a TV interview, he stated, "at that time the state had no case whatsoever."

Paul already has been convicted and served fourteen days in jail for a speech he made in the courtroom when he was not allowed to question Little's potential jurors. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to review that contempt conviction, which is included in the grounds for his disbarment.

As an attorney for the North Carolina Southern Christian Leadership Conference for the past seven years, Paul has represented many Black and poor clients. He currently represents Delbert Tibbs, a young Black framed up on rape and murder charges in Florida.

If Hinds and Paul are disbarred, other bar associations across the country would be encouraged to bring "disciplinary proceedings" against attorneys they see as "troublemakers." This is an attack on the right of political dissenters, the poor, and the oppressed to legal counsel.

Letters supporting Paul can be sent to the North Carolina State Bar, 107 Fayetteville Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27601. Letters supporting Hinds can be sent to David M. Foley, Middlesex County Ethics Committee, P.O. Box 1963, 850 Georges Road, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08902.

# National picket line

## Rail workers face cuts in crew size

The railroad industry is intent on boosting profits through sacrificing the lives of workers and passengers. That's why management is demanding cuts in train crew sizes—regardless of the effect on safety—in this year's negotiations with the United Transportation Union.

When talks began in January, the railroads demanded a national agreement with the UTU to eliminate one and sometimes both brakemen on train crews. The union officialdom said the issue would have to be negotiated railroad by railroad. Management, however, claimed that local union officials would be unwilling to "assume the political liability of cutting jobs." Unfortunately, the bosses were wrong.

While fearful of how the ranks would greet a nationwide capitulation on the crew-size issue, the UTU brass has evidently given the go-ahead for local concessions. In March the Milwaukee Road concluded an agreement with the UTU to eliminate one brakeman on each crew through "attrition." To sugarcoat this attack, the agreement included "productivity" bonuses for remaining workers.

The Long Island Railroad reached a pact with the UTU April 1. It is being sent to the membership for approval along with a "letter of intent" from management announcing its plans to cut crews. Union leaders call the reductions "experimental" and say they will take the issue to a public review board.

## Late delivery on pay, too

The Postal Service has cheated its employees out of some \$1 billion in overtime pay since 1974. And now it may have to pay up.

The service recently agreed to a \$60 million out-of-court settlement of eleven lawsuits filed by past and present employees for its failure to pay overtime. Still pending is a Labor Department suit covering up to 700,000 other postal workers.

Federal employees were brought under jurisdiction of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1974, so workers can recover back pay for violations only since that time. The most any worker is likely to receive is \$1,300.

The postal unions were not officially involved in the employee suits, but they reportedly urged members to file the charges and offered the help of union lawyers.

## Shakeup in Teamster elections

The Fitzsimmons bureaucracy is in trouble where it counts the most—in the ranks of the two-million-strong Teamsters union.

"There appears to be a wave of anti-incumbent voting going on," Bob Windrem told the *Militant* in describing the results of 1977 local union elections. Windrem is the research director of PROD, a Teamster reform organization.

"While in some cases the votes aren't yet going to reform candidates, it's still a good sign," he said. "These elections are the only chance the rank and file has to vote, and I think these votes are anti-Fitz votes."

In large locals in Baltimore, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Akron, and New Jersey—all with 3,000 to 8,000 members—incumbent slates were turned out of office.

Teamster dissidents in PROD and TDU (Teamsters for a Democratic Union) also scored some significant victories.

PROD members John Catlett and Saul Macklin were elected to office on a seven-person reform slate in Local 639. At 7,000 members, Local 639 is the largest Teamster local in Washington, D.C.

Ken Stocker, a PROD leader heading up a local reform ticket, was elected president of the 2,300-member Local 430 in York, Pennsylvania. And in Plattsburg, New York, PROD member Gary Lyle Harris was elected secretary-treasurer of Local 648.

In Greenbay, Wisconsin, a four-person TDU slate swept the offices of Local 75, which includes 2,500 members. And TDU members narrowly lost their races in Detroit Locals 299 and 337—two of the union's ten largest locals. The results of the Detroit elections have been challenged and, if the challenge is successful, TDU will have the chance to run these contests again.

The gains dissidents made in this last round of voting are particularly impressive in light of the red-baiting scare unleashed against them by Teamster officials.

—Shelley Kramer



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## ... 'We want jobs'

Continued from back page

were the first fired during the layoffs three years ago, now they're the last hired."

Miliner spoke with two young Black New York City firemen at length about the problem of unemployment.

"There's a lot to be done just to take care of the cities," one said. "Just cleaning up New York would put a lot of people to work. If they rebuilt the housing here, there would be more decent places for folks to live and more jobs."

Miliner nodded his agreement. "That's exactly what I'm campaigning for—for a massive public-works program that would employ people at decent jobs with decent wages to rebuild the cities. And to make sure that those who suffer disproportionate unemployment are not left out, I'm for

preferential hiring—affirmative action—for minorities on such public-works projects."

Both young workers agreed with Miliner's proposal to finance the public-works project by dismantling the \$126 billion war budget.

"Any way they can find the money to take care of this is good by me," one said. "The way I feel, they should take care of unemployment here before wasting our tax money sending arms around the world."

Both also agreed with Miliner that shortening the workweek with no reduction in pay would help spread the available work.

"The Socialist Workers Party thinks these proposals are realistic," Miliner said. "But they will only come about if working people organize to bring them about. That's what I'm telling people in my campaign."



# World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

## Water, soil & people poisoned

### What Washington did to Bikini islanders

By Matilde Zimmermann

In 1946, the South Pacific island of Bikini was forcibly evacuated by the American government and pounded with nuclear weapons. The Pentagon had decided that the homes, health, and livelihood of a few hundred Micronesians mattered little when measured against the need to test and perfect atomic bombs.

Bikinians are still suffering the cruel consequences.

Ten years ago the U.S. government gave the battered island a clean bill of health. An official of the Atomic Energy Commission said in 1969 that radioactivity in Bikini was "less than Denver, Colorado." Now the Interior Department admits that the water, soil, crops, and air—as well as the bodies of those who returned to Bikini—are contaminated with radioactive poisons.

Twenty-three nuclear bombs were exploded over the Bikini atoll, including, in 1954, the United States' largest nuclear weapon, a 15-megaton hydrogen bomb nicknamed "Bravo."

Most of the evacuated Bikinians ended up on Kili, an isolated and crowded island 450 miles from their home, where they were barely able to eke out an existence.

Then, in 1968, President Johnson announced that radiation levels on Bikini had dropped below danger levels and that resettlement could begin. An Atomic Energy Commission survey the following year concluded that "there is virtually no radiation left, and we can find no discernible effect on either plant or animal life."

Resettlement began in 1972. Forty new houses were built along the lagoon shore, 50,000 new coconut palms were

planted, and a number of families returned. But in 1975, islanders who wanted to build houses away from the lagoon shore were warned against it. A radiological survey had revealed that the interior of the island was still dangerously "hot" with radioactivity. (The entire island covers only two-thirds of a square mile.)

According to John de Young, Interior Department senior staff assistant for Pacific affairs, the 1975 survey actually showed that Bikini Island would not be suitable for long-term habitation for thirty-five to fifty years.

In late 1975 Bikinians filed suit in Federal District Court in Honolulu to try to force the government to determine once and for all whether human beings could live in Bikini, take immediate steps to protect the health of the seventy-five persons who had returned, and resolve the resettlement issue for the 700 still in exile.

A ground survey conducted in 1977 showed dangerous levels of strontium 90 in well water and revealed for the first time that the coconut crop was contaminated with radioactivity. Physical tests showed abnormal amounts of radioactive strontium, cesium, and plutonium in the bodies of persons living on Bikini. All three are known to cause cancer.

The Interior Department, which administers the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, insisted that none of the islanders had suffered any ill effects from the alarming rises in the level of the three radioactive substances. At the same time it very quietly asked Congress for \$15 million to move people off Bikini.

"It is now clear," said a department



Bikini Island, 1946: one of twenty-three U.S. nuclear tests

statement in March 1978, "that for the foreseeable future the island of Bikini in the atoll should not be used for agricultural purposes, particularly for local consumption, and should not be considered a residential area."

Meanwhile the government is continuing to repatriate residents of Eniwetok, another atoll in the Marshall Island group that was evacuated for the nuclear weapons tests. The *Washington Post* of March 23 explains that this involves "locating and removing plutonium pockets" and keeping returnees away from "the plutonium-contaminated areas."

Only the islands in the immediate area of the tests were evacuated. The residents of Rongelap, for example, 110 miles east of Bikini, remained on their island. Their fate was different from that of the uprooted Bikinians, but no better.

The fallout on Rongelap from the

March 1, 1954, Bravo blast was estimated at 175 rads. At that time, such a dosage was not thought to cause long-term damage. Twenty-four years later, thirty-three of the eighty-two inhabitants of the island at the time of the explosion have thyroid disorders, some of them cancerous.

Children suffered the most. Nineteen of the twenty-one residents who were under twelve when Bravo was exploded had developed thyroid tumors or problems by 1978. In addition, the youngest child on the island at the time of the blast had died of leukemia.

A report in the April 3 issue of *Time* magazine called the Interior Department's handling of the Bikini affair "an embarrassing blunder." It seems a rather mild way of describing a third of a century of mistreatment whose final toll in human suffering will not be known for decades.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Moscow cracks down on Ukrainian dissidents

By Marilyn Vogt

Two more members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group\* have been sentenced. On March 29, Mykola Matusevych and Myroslav Marynovych both received twelve-year terms—seven years in a strict-regime labor camp followed by five years' internal exile. The decisions were handed down after a closed trial in Valsikov in the Ukrainian SSR.

Marynovych, an electrical engineer born in Kiev in 1949, and Matusevych, a historian born in Kiev in 1946, were founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, which was formed November 9, 1976. They were arrested April 23, 1977, soon after the

Kremlin rulers began their crackdown on Helsinki Monitoring Groups in February 1977.

Two other founding members of the Ukrainian group, Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy, were arrested February 5, 1977. They were sentenced July 1, 1977, also to long terms.

Rudenko, a fifty-eight-year-old former Communist Party member and a prolific writer, received a twelve-year term—seven years in a labor camp and five years' internal exile. Tykhy, fifty-seven years old, received a fifteen-year term—ten years in a labor camp and five years' internal exile.

All four were convicted on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. Their activity had been to defend imprisoned democratic-rights activists and to defend the Ukrainian language and culture against Russification.

Two other members of the Ukrainian group, Petro Vins and Lev Lukyanenko, have also been arrested but have not as yet been brought to trial.

Vins, a newer member of the Ukrainian group and son of an imprisoned Baptist leader, was arrested in mid-March 1978. Lukyanenko, a founding member of the group, was arrested in December 1977.

Two years before this new arrest, Lukyanenko had been released after serving a fifteen-year term for "treason," handed down in 1961. At that time he had been working on a draft program for a Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union that would work for a referendum for an independent Soviet Ukraine. He and six others were arrested before the union was ever formed.

The harsh terms these dissidents have received is a continuation of the Kremlin rulers' savage treatment of Ukrainians who oppose the Stalinist policy of Russification of the Ukrainian SSR. Stalin's heirs call this opposition to Russification "bourgeois nationalism" and "anti-Soviet activity."

In Memorandum No. 1 of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, the nine founding members summarized why these charges are false.

Defense of the Ukrainian language and culture from Russification is not bourgeois nationalism, they explain. The Ukraine is nationally oppressed by Russians and "it is known that V.I. Lenin insisted on differentiating between the nationalism of the oppressed nations and the nationalism of the oppressor nations," they state.

Even the demand for an independent Soviet Ukraine, grounds for treason charges according to the Kremlin, is totally in keeping with the right of a republic to secede from the USSR as granted by the Soviet Constitution.

This is not "anti-Soviet activity," they point out, and add:

"... the separation of a republic from the Soviet Union does not necessarily have to weaken Soviet rule. On the contrary, this rule could find greater support among the populace—the republic remains soviet... but is completely independent. In this case, there is absolutely no agitation against Soviet rule... We could cite dozens of quotes from Lenin, which show that it is precisely in this *voluntariness* that one should interpret the spiritual and political nature of the Soviet Union."

Yet, they show, millions of Ukrainians have perished "from the first years of Stalinist dictatorship" for defending the Ukraine against Russification, and thousands are now imprisoned for championing this fight.

Thousands of these Ukrainians have been and continue to be confined in the Mordovian prison camp, many of whom, sentenced to long terms, never return to their homeland.

"One thing is known," the memorandum says, "in the past half century, more Ukrainians have died in Mordovia than Mordovians were born."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

\*These committees were started in Moscow in May 1976, with similar groups soon forming in the Lithuanian, Georgian, Ukrainian, and Armenian republics. Their aim is to "foster compliance with the humanitarian provisions" of the Helsinki accords, and their main activity has been to gather information from Soviet citizens about the Kremlin's violations of the provisions.

## Result of profit before people

# The more food there is, the more people go hungry

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article appeared in the February 11-17 issue of *Cuadernos Para el Dialogo*, a Spanish weekly magazine.]

The famine of 1974 has already been forgotten. Last year's harvest in the Northern Hemisphere—except for the Soviet Union—was excellent. From 1976-77, world production of all types of cereal grains grew from 1,270 to 1,477 million tons; in other words, it increased by more than 16 percent. The production of wheat increased by 23 percent, going from 337 to 416 million tons.

You might think that, in face of the bad world economic situation, there is at least some cause for rejoicing in this one bright spot of the international economy. But that would not take into account the perverse logic of the market economy. Because for the market economy, "overproduction"—even of foodstuffs and even in a world where half the people do not get enough to eat—is bad news, not good news. It is a disaster for food producers, both large-scale and small-scale. It causes a drop in prices. In fact, the price of wheat on the world market dropped within two years to less than half its record 1974-75 level.

### Production curtailed

So the "logical" thing happens: production is curtailed in order to "protect" prices. On August 12, 1977, the deputy director of the U.S. Department of Agriculture told a White House news conference that the Carter administration had decided to require American wheat producers to leave 20 percent of their usable land untilled, if they wanted to take advantage of administration measures to keep prices up. There was to be a 10 percent reduction in land devoted to fodder and grain for livestock.

Just as similar policies in the late 1960s and early 1970s caused famines in the Third World during the period 1972-74, so the measures being taken today to restrict production artificially in order to force up grain prices will cause new famines by the end of this decade. It is an insane merry-go-round. And our great economic and political experts still stubbornly insist that it is better to condemn millions of farmers to uncertain, fluctuating, and generally inadequate incomes, to condemn millions of inhabitants of the Third World to living permanently under the shadow of hunger, than to sacrifice the principle of the sacrosanct "market economy."

The world prices of cereals are determined by the fluctuations in supply and demand of the agricultural *surpluses* produced in the big exporting countries (the United States, Canada, Argentina, Australia, and to a lesser degree France). These world prices in turn determine the cyclical expansion and contraction of the amount of land surface that is sown and the size of the harvest. Obviously you would have to be a perverse and totally utopian "subversive" to suggest that it would be better for everybody if farmers were guaranteed incomes equal to the national average (or the average industrial wage), on the condition that they increase their production in order to maintain stable, low food prices and assure a surplus to be distributed free to the poor of the Third World and the imperialist countries. The strangest thing of all is that, in the long run, this "subversive" and "utopian" solution would be less costly from a "purely" economic point of view. But can we as human beings ever approach things on a "purely" eco-

nomie basis when the ability to eat—that is, the *survival*—of millions and millions of people is in question?

### Is hunger inevitable?

It simply is not true that hunger is caused by some Malthusian inevitability, according to which population increases more rapidly than food production. In the course of the fifteen years since 1962, world production of cereals has increased more than 50 percent, much more rapidly than the population of our planet. The annual rate of increase of the population has averaged 1.9 percent; the rate of increase of cereal production, on the other hand, has averaged 2.9 percent.

The fact that hunger continues to exist, casting its shadow over entire nations, is ascribable basically to three things: sharp *annual* fluctuations in production, caused by sharp shifts in world market prices, that is to say, in the profits to be made; the growing shortage of grains in the Southern Hemisphere, which is caused basically by the increasing penetration of capitalism into the countryside and the commercialization of primitive agriculture; the problems of buying power and profits, which mean that malnutrition, lack of food, and outright hunger can increase even in face of overproduction.

In other words, if hunger continues to increase, it is not because too many babies are born. It is because of capitalism, with its chain of irrational and inhuman consequences.

"Capitalism has nothing to do with it," some people will say on the basis of the simple thesis that grain shortages in Third World countries are essentially the result of the backwardness of agricultural technology, that is to say, the very low return per unit of land. Antiquated technology, tools, and methods of work: that's the source of the problem.

Obviously there is a grain of truth in this. A large-scale modernization of agricultural production in the Southern Hemisphere would undoubtedly double or triple production, and thus make it possible to feed two or three times more people than live there now (with ecological consequences still to be studied).

But modernization of agricultural techniques and procedures *under capitalism* would lead to results not foreseen by the so-called "experts" in technology and economics, results that are unfavorable from the point of view of the average nutritional level of the local population. Among "backward" populations, almost all agricultural production is subsistence farming, basically of foodstuffs. The introduction of modern techniques, combined with private ownership and private enterprises, replaces the criterion of nutrition (how many human beings can be fed?) with the criterion of private profit (how much money can be made?). And therefore commercial products, almost entirely for export, replace foodstuffs.

### Logic of profit system

The logic of production for private enrichment is inevitable. When you can make more money growing cattle feed to be sent to Europe (eventually producing a surplus of milk and butter in the Common Market countries) than in growing food for the local population, then that is the direction agriculture will go. In Mali, for example, while tens of thousands of children were slowly starving during the great famine that swept the Sahel in 1974, the export of peanuts and peanut oil increased.

The "green revolution" produces much less posi-



tive results in terms of nutritional levels than might be supposed. In addition to the disastrous ecological consequences of the massive use of chemical fertilizers on irrigated land, there are even more terrible social effects.

The "green revolution" has above all meant the introduction of *capitalist* agriculture into areas previously overwhelmingly dominated by subsistence farming. The transformation of this type of farming into capitalist agriculture means an inevitable social polarization among the population, a constant increase in the number of landless peasants, a growing cutting off of poor peasants from access to the land, a massive exodus from the countryside, and the progressive replacement of human labor power by farming machinery.

And since there is no parallel expansion of industry and of employment in industry, this whole process means that a growing proportion of the former peasantry is pushed to the fringes of society, either in the countryside or in the slums of the big cities. And the more this impoverished population is cut off from direct access to the land, the more seriously it suffers from malnutrition, even if its cash income rises a little (primarily through occasional work in the service sector, a hidden form of unemployment).

Finally, there is the problem of the distribution of foodstuffs. Food consumption and nutritional level are not direct functions of the production of foodstuffs—at least not under capitalism. It is also a function of the distribution of wealth. Hence the fundamental paradox of capitalism that you can have increasing undernourishment of entire layers of the population while at the same time there are growing, unsalable "stockpiles" of food. This has happened repeatedly in the past, most recently during the 1930s. It is happening again today.

### 'Surplus' amid hunger

At the end of 1977 there was an unsold "surplus" of 300,000 tons of butter, 400,000 tons of beef, millions of liters of wine, and a million tons of milk in the Common Market countries. But at the same time, as a result of massive unemployment, there were millions of families in Western Europe—without mentioning the innumerable old people on social security—eating less and less butter and meat because they could not afford them.

In Britain, formerly the "ideal" welfare state, 15 percent of the population now live under the poverty level, which is characterized above all by chronic undernourishment. And do we need to point out that a few dozen kilometers from the "tourists' paradise" of the southern coast of Spain, there are 300,000 Andalusian agricultural workers who make do with a diet of bread and tomatoes for the better part of the year because of underemployment?

Wouldn't it be better to move toward an immediate solution to the problem that exists today of hunger and malnutrition through a more rational form of social and economic organization, rather than concentrating on some imaginary population explosion that is supposed to cause terrible shortages . . . in a century or so?

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



# Canadian gov't tries to deport Chilean refugee

Canadian supporters of civil liberties are fighting the threatened deportation of Galindo Madrid Avilez, a political refugee who faces imprisonment and possible death if sent back to Chile.

An order to deport Madrid, issued last October, was upheld in the Immigration Appeal Board March 6 but has been temporarily stayed pending review by Ottawa. Since a final deportation order could be issued at any time, the Galindo Madrid Defense Committee has been working urgently to publicize the case and bring pressure to bear on the immigration minister to grant political asylum.

Galindo Madrid, twenty-one, is a seaman who left his ship in Squamish, British Columbia, in May 1977 to apply for political asylum. He had fled Chile, where personal experience had convinced him that his life was in danger.

Madrid became a student leader while still in high school in Quintero, before the military coup. He was arrested after the coup on September 18, 1973, and tortured for four days. Still he continued to carry out political activities in the Chilean underground until drafted into the army on January 15, 1975.

Together with other soldiers, he was assigned to cleaning up the Pisagua Concentration Camp so that foreign visitors would not see the evidence of torture and executions.

"At the Pisagua Concentration Camp," Madrid said in a sworn declaration to Canadian immigration authorities, "I observed corpses dumped in open pits or graves, torture rooms, execution stands, and also electrical wires, instruments and equipment for torture. I also observed human remains on the beaches near Pisagua camp and also on the dry and barren hills in the desert to the east of Pisagua. The limbs of most of these corpses had been mutilated and damaged and had broken jaws and smashed skulls. . . .

"At Pisagua I was personally involved in the removal of execution stands, I was personally involved in the removal of signs and evidence of persecution and torture namely covering up blood on floors and demolishing walls with bullet holes. . . ."

Madrid continued to talk politics to his fellow soldiers in a cautious way.

When, after serving the required two years, he was arbitrarily recalled for further military service, he feared that his clandestine political activities had been discovered. It was then he decided to desert and leave the country rather than remain where his life might be in danger.

Madrid took a job with a Greek shipping line. He and a friend, Luis Sanchez, attempted to leave their ship in Squamish to apply for Canadian asylum. The ship's captain threatened to hold them on board until they could be transferred back to Chile. Alerted about the urgency of the situation, Squamish longshoremen refused to handle the ship until the two were allowed to come ashore.

The denial of refugee status to Madrid and Sanchez came only a few months after Canada said it was raising its commitment under the Special Chilean Movement program and would admit up to 7,000 refugees.

There was a quick response to the emergency campaign launched in early March, after immigration authorities upheld Madrid's deportation order. On March 10 the British Columbia Federation of Labour sent a telegram to the immigration minister demanding the granting of political asylum. A petition of 359 names was gathered in just three days. A picket of forty persons was held outside the Immigration offices on March 13.

Among the supporters of Madrid's right to asylum are: the B.C. New Democratic Party, the Vancouver chapters of the Committee for Defense of Human Rights in Chile and of Amnesty International, the Vancouver Chilean Association, the Vancouver Committee for Solidarity with Latin America, locals of the United Steelworkers of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the Revolutionary Workers League.

The defense committee has asked that letters and telegrams in support of Madrid's right to asylum be sent to The Honorable Bud Cullen, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Ontario. Copies should be sent to the Galindo Madrid Defense Committee, Box 69127, Station K, Vancouver, B.C. V5K 4W4.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## World news notes

### Regime vows to free prisoners—again

Indonesian security chiefs told reporters April 11 that all but 200 or 300 of the 20,000 political prisoners they admit to holding will be freed by the end of 1979. Officials insisted that release of all the prisoners at once would be a security risk. The military officials noted that if all 20,000 were released immediately, they might have trouble finding homes and jobs!

Similar promises that political prisoners would be freed have been made by the Indonesian military dictatorship in the past, but with little result.

This time, however, the regime says it intends to keep its promise. Admiral Sudomo, chief of internal security, explained that all prisoners would undergo psychological tests "to check them for the state of their Communist ideology."

Sudomo said, "We asked CIA, 'Maybe you have some equipment to detect if he is a Communist.' They don't have it."

The admiral assured reporters that the psychological tests, developed with the aid of professionals in the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands, would give a 70 to 80 percent assurance of detecting Communists.

Those who prove to be "ideologically wrong," the admiral said, would be subjected to "closer supervision" after their release.

### New abortion bill goes to Italian Senate

Defying strong opposition from the Roman Catholic Church, the Italian Chamber of Deputies passed a bill April 14 that would allow women over the age of eighteen to obtain free state-subsidized abortions during the first ninety days of pregnancy.

The Vatican responded to the new attempt to legalize abortion in Italy by calling on the Senate to reject the bill. A similar measure was defeated by the Senate in 1976, leading to a political crisis in Italy.

### How many was that?

The figure given by the capitalist press for the number of refugees created by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon continues to grow. The invasion began March 14. On March 17, the *New York Times* cited "reports" of 100,000 refugees. This was later increased to 160,000. It was not until March 24—ten full days after the invasion began—that *Times* correspondent Marvine Howe reported that there were 265,000 refugees.

But even that was not the full story. Howe reported in the April 12 *Times* that "an estimated 220,000 Lebanese, as well as 65,000 Palestinians, fled northward when Israeli forces invaded and occupied all of southern Lebanon. . . ."

Meanwhile, the Israeli regime continues to insist that it has no plans of staying in Lebanon. To show its sincerity, it has withdrawn its troops from twenty-five square miles of Lebanese territory—less than 5 percent of the total occupied area

### 94 percent boycott election in Soweto

Only 6 percent of the electorate in Soweto, the largest Black township in South Africa, turned out for the election of a new township council April 16. The elections were pushed by the South African regime as part of its supposed liberalization of the apartheid system.

### Thousands demonstrate in Soviet Georgia

As many as 20,000 people were reported to have joined in a protest near the main headquarters of the Georgian Communist Party in Tbilisi April 14. The protest was against a new draft constitution that dropped a clause proclaiming Georgian as the official language of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Of the 3.1 million Georgians in the republic, only 13,000 listed their first language as Russian in the 1970 census. Some 400,000 ethnic Russians also live in the republic.

The attempt to replace Georgian as the official language of the republic reflected the Soviet regime's general policy of Russification, aimed at forcibly absorbing the country's various nationalities. In this case, however, the protest brought results.

On April 15, a revised draft of the proposed constitution was published. The new draft, unlike the one published March 24, declared that "the state language of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic is Georgian."

### Affirmative-action dispute in India

There is a growing controversy in the Indian state of Bihar over proposed legislation that would set aside a quota of 26 percent of state jobs for members of the so-called backward castes. This large group is one rung up the social ladder from the untouchables. Twenty-four percent of jobs are already set aside for untouchables.

The reaction from the upper castes has been typically venomous: "Most of the backwards simply don't have the education to take these state jobs," explained one Brahman [top caste] newspaper editor.

He also explained that leadership was "a birthright of our caste" and that the new law means "discriminating against the better-qualified upper-caste chaps."

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## Begin's invasion of Lebanon: a political defeat for Zionism



By Michael Baumann

Protest continued to mount as the Begin government's occupation of southern Lebanon neared the close of its fourth week April 8.

The human toll of the Israeli blitzkrieg—1,168 dead, an unknown number wounded, and 265,000 refugees—has provoked distress and outrage both around the world and in Israel itself.

Fresh revelations about the murderous scope of the operation, such as Washington's confirmation April 7 that Israeli bombers used U.S.-supplied fragmentation bombs on a Palestinian refugee camp, can only increase this opposition.

Israel itself is deeply polarized. The clearest sign of this came April 1 when 45,000 persons, mostly of military age, rallied in Tel Aviv in one of the largest demonstrations in Israeli history. The demands of the action were for "Peace Now!" and a return of the territories occupied by Israel after the 1967 war.

### 'New element'

There can be no doubt that the antiwar sentiment expressed at the rally represents "a new element in Israeli political life," correspondent Amnon Kapeliouk reported in the April 4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. Only a few weeks previously, he said, such slogans would have drawn a crowd numbering only in the dozens. "But on Saturday the 'peace meeting' filled the largest square in Tel Aviv, the Kings of Israel Plaza."

Kapeliouk described how the protest had come about:

Among the leaders of this new movement are the "flower" of Israeli youth. Students at the University of Jerusalem, they were for the most part officers in elite units during their military service and were, in some cases, awarded medals after the 1973 war. Today they believe that the great hope evoked by the visit of President Sadat has been lost by the refusal to make the necessary territorial concessions.

On March 7, five of them wrote a letter to the prime minister, which was signed by some 300 officers in the reserves. They received 7,000 telephone calls of solidarity, gathered 10,000 signatures on their petition, and, with the "peace meeting," have taken their action another step forward.

In their letter to Mr. Begin they wrote: "We are perplexed by a government that prefers a Greater Israel [i.e., an Israel that would stretch to its "biblical" borders] to peace. We urge you to take the road to peace."

Saturday, at the speaker's stand, these

political novices repeated . . . before a throng that included several Labor Party deputies and even some from Dash [a party in Begin's governing coalition] what they had already said in their letter and subsequently explained in the course of numerous interviews:

"There must be no misunderstanding. If a war breaks out we will do our duty without hesitation, but we will set out with doubts because we will not be certain that the government has done everything in its power to prevent this war, preferring a Greater Israel to a reasonable compromise. The settlements do not justify the horrors of a new war."

The organizers of the demonstration were astonished at the size of the turnout and have been encouraged to plan another rally, William E. Farrell reported in the April 7 *New York Times*. He spoke with one of the leaders:

"Suddenly we found ourselves leading a kind of movement," said Pzali Resheff, a law student. "We didn't really organize it well—it means that people in Israel feel that people have got to do something."

Expressing surprise that peace sentiment had suddenly coalesced into "a kind of movement," Mr. Resheff said he knew of supporters from across the country's political spectrum, including some who voted for Mr. Begin and his Likud bloc. . . .

### 'Doctorate for war'

A number of other antiwar demonstrations have been held, including picket lines in front of Begin's home with protesters carrying signs saying "We Are Worried," and "Peace Now!"

On April 6 at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, about sixty demonstrators picketed a ceremony awarding Begin an honorary doctorate. According to a report in the April 7 *New York Daily News*, they shouted "Peace yes! Occupation—No!" They also shouted that Begin's honorary degree was a "doctorate for war."

Open signs of dissent began to appear among Israeli youth in January, when eighty high-school students wrote Begin a highly critical open letter. "We run the risk of entering a war that will not be inevitable," they said. "What makes you think that we are going to fight in a war that to us does not seem just?"

Several commentators pointed to disaffection among the troops sent to Lebanon. "Soldiers are returning embittered over what the Lebanese underwent as a by-product of the Israeli operation, which caused more suffering to civilians than to the intended

target," correspondent Teddy Preuss said in the Labor Party daily *Davar* at the end of March.

"I am drained, morally drained by it all," one soldier returning from Lebanon told the military correspondent for the Israeli daily *Maariv*. "I'm sick of all the killing and the houses reduced to rubble."

An indication of the concern such sentiment has aroused in Begin's government can be gauged from its reaction to the peace rally.

On April 2, the day after the rally, Finance Minister Simha Ehrlich denounced the gathering as "smelling of a military putsch."

Borrowing a slander from the arsenal developed by the Johnson and Nixon administrations during the Vietnam War, Ehrlich charged that the "Peace Now!" slogan was one of appeasement and was "all too reminiscent of the slogan used by Neville Chamberlain after his agreement with Hitler. . . ."

Again like his American counterparts who pursued a hated colonial war, Begin has seen his public support erode sharply, particularly among the more politically active sectors of the Israeli population. Amnon Kapeliouk reported in the April 4 *Le Monde*:

According to a poll published in the March 28 issue of the independent daily *Haaretz*, 59% of those questioned are satisfied with the prime minister, as opposed to 68% in January and 79% in December. Generally in Israel prime ministers enjoy the support of

far more than 50% of those questioned. According to the present poll, most of those who are dissatisfied have a university education, a higher than average income, and are of European or American origin.

### Israeli troops dig in

Despite Begin's claim April 3 that Israel had already begun a "significant thinning-out" of its forces in Lebanon, and a subsequent announcement that a partial withdrawal would take place in two stages beginning April 11 and April 14, there is every indication that he intends to keep the occupation forces in Lebanon for a long time to come. *Le Monde* reported April 5:

On the ground, despite claims to the contrary, most foreign correspondents speak of a strengthening of the overall military apparatus in place. For example, the AFP correspondent says that southern Lebanon is gradually being transformed into an armed camp in which the "blue helmets" [United Nations forces], Israelis, and Palestinians are consolidating their positions.

French paratroopers in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) have begun to erect earthworks and dig trenches in the positions they occupy around the city of Tyre. The Israelis, a few hundred meters away, are doing the same and they scarcely give the impression of preparing to leave. . . .

According to the American UPI correspondent, the Israeli forces have installed networks of barbed wire around villages in the south of Lebanon so as to establish better control over them.

### Cluster bombs

In the United States, opposition to the invasion of Lebanon has begun to be reflected among elected officials—a telling sign of the depth of the sentiment.

This has taken the form of senators and congressmen urging the Carter administration to "clarify" whether Israel's reliance on American-supplied weapons in Lebanon constituted a "legitimate" use of this supposedly "self-defense" arsenal.

For Washington, the most embarrassing question to have been asked so far came from Representative Paul McCloskey of California, who in the early 1970s sought to make a name for himself as an opponent of the Vietnam War.

Referring to news reports that Israeli jets had bombed the Rashidiyeh refugee camp with cluster bombs—a devastating antipersonnel weapon developed by the Pentagon for use in Vietnam (see box)—McCloskey asked the Carter administration for confirmation or denial.

He was told that the reports were true but gave little cause for concern. Israel, when informed of his question, had acknowledged that the cluster bombs should not have been used in Lebanon and "apologized."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## What are cluster bombs?

The effect of cluster bombs such as those used by the Israeli regime against Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon was described by Vietnam veteran Donald Duncan in the May 1967 issue of *Ramparts* magazine:

"The pineapple explodes on contact and spews 240 steel balls . . . in all directions. . . . The discharge from one aircraft creates an elliptical killing zone five football fields long by two and one half football fields wide.

"The steel balls have no effect on military structures. They cannot pierce cement and can penetrate earthen or sandbag military revetments only to a depth of two or three inches. The one thing they can

penetrate effectively is human flesh. Because of their shape and/or velocity, once they tear into the body they move in a complex path, doing great damage and complicating removal.

" . . . People soon learned that there was relative safety in the nearest open ditch. A variation was then adopted involving mixed bomb loads—HE [high explosives] or napalm was used to flush people into the open and then the pineapples were dropped.

" . . . Guavas . . . have a longer killing zone—up to the length of ten football fields. The real advantage, however, is that because of the air bursts people in open ditches are no longer protected."



## 'Philosophy & Opinions' of Marcus Garvey

Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey. Edited by Amy Jacques-Garvey. Arno Press and the New York Times. 1968. 412 pages. \$4.50.

Marcus Garvey was one of the foremost Black leaders of this century. Millions of people of African descent throughout the world were moved by Garvey's appeals for Black pride, his calls for Africans to reclaim Africa from its colonial exploiters, and his program of Pan-Africanism.

Garvey built an international movement that reached its peak during the 1920s—a harsh time for Black people everywhere in the world.

The reactionary wave unleashed by the U.S. government after World War I added new burdens to the already heavy load of Jim Crow segregation.

Hundreds of Blacks were lynched by white mobs. Black workers were frozen out of segregated trade unions. Miserable conditions in the South drove millions of rural Blacks to seek a better life by migrating to the North.

In Africa, colonial powers were plundering, exploiting, and raping the

continent of its human and natural resources.

1887. His father was a brick and stone mason.

Garvey moved to the United States in 1916 and launched the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) the following year. The UNIA program called for Black self-improvement and a Black nation. The organization was based financially on a structure of developing Black businesses. The World Community of Islam in the West (Nation of Islam) today follows similar ideas about Black capitalist development.

The UNIA built a fleet of ships known as the Black Star Line. Its ships flew red, black, and green flags.

The UNIA newspaper was called *Negro World*. Its circulation in 1920 was 100,000.

The *World* was published in English, French, and Spanish. In some countries even possession of the paper was a crime. In the French African colony of Dahomey, possession of the *World* was punishable by death.

Garvey's movement won so many followers that he was often called "Black Moses."

Garvey estimated that in 1923 the UNIA had 900 branches around the world.

The UNIA developed institutions such as the African Orthodox Church, the Black Cross Nurses, the African Motor Corps, and the Black Eagle Flying Corps.

The UNIA held annual international conventions between 1920 and 1924. The conventions usually lasted a month. At the first one, 25,000 people turned out to hear Garvey speak at Madison Square Garden in New York. Garvey says that during the 1924 convention there were 5,000 delegates and deputies. He also states that the UNIA had a worldwide membership of 11 million that year!

But Garvey's strongest base of support was in the northern cities of the United States. UNIA membership in New York, for example, was estimated at 35,000. About 2,000 UNIA members lived in Harlem. In 1921 they organized a street march of 50,000 Blacks through Harlem.

Black workers formed the bulk of the UNIA's membership. Among their ranks were people like Herbert Harrison, a socialist, and Malcolm X's father.

Garvey spoke widely, denouncing racism. He blasted the fact that Blacks were forbidden to vote. He criticized the second-class education Blacks were offered. He deplored the rotten housing, high unemployment, lynchings, and other acts of racism inflicted on Blacks in America.

But Garvey wouldn't organize to fight these evils on their own soil. His solution? Instead of meeting these problems head on, Blacks should go back to Africa, ignoring the situation in America.

Unfortunately, Garvey would even unite with the enemies of Black people if he thought this would advance his call for an African homeland.

He invited Klan-like racists to speak at UNIA meetings, where they ex-



MARCUS GARVEY

plained why as sons of slavemasters they wished for the "darkies" to go back to Africa.

He called on the imperialist governments of Europe and the United States for support. His strategy was to "get the American Government, along with the governments of Europe, to acquiesce in the demand of creating for the Negro a government in a nation of our own."

Garvey had big conflicts with W. E. B. DuBois, founding leader of the NAACP. The two Black leaders hurled fierce polemics at each other.

At the heart of this debate were differences over the strategy to win Black liberation—although personal vilifications also played a role.

Garvey rejected DuBois's concept that a "talented tenth" of Black professionals and intellectuals would lead the Black masses to their emancipation. In Garvey's view this theory was elitist.

DuBois blasted Garvey's refusal to fight against Jim Crow segregation and prejudice in the United States. He also frowned on Garvey's business schemes.

Garvey's political opponents also heaped personal slander on him. They called him a thief, a short stumpy fool, a pompous jackal, and other vulgarities.

Garvey's foes based some of these attacks on the elaborate uniforms worn by UNIA members during their parades. His opponents said such outfits made Garvey look like a clown. But Garvey responded, "No one would say that about white people with the same uniforms, so why should I be treated as such?"

Certainly the U.S. government took Garvey's movement more seriously than that. Washington wanted to get rid of him and the mass movement of Black people that he led.

Government agents arrested Garvey

in 1923 on trumped-up charges of using the postal service to defraud. Garvey lost his last appeal in 1925. He served two years of a five-year sentence.

In 1927 he was released from the federal penitentiary in Atlanta and deported to Jamaica. His movement finally broken by U.S. government harassment, his health deteriorating from bronchial asthma, Garvey died in 1940 in London.

Garvey didn't consider the U.S. government an irreconcilable enemy—despite the persecution against his movement. He naively believed that his frame-up was the deed of a handful of corrupt individuals, not systematic government policy.

He didn't have the benefit of today's revelations showing the lengths to which Washington will go to destroy the Black freedom struggle. Now millions of people are aware of repressive COINTELPRO activities suggesting that the government may have played a key role in the assassination of Black leaders such as Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Mark Clark, and Fred Hampton.

But despite his illusions in the U.S. government, Garvey gave millions of Black people the courage to stand up and fight the racism that the government perpetrates.

In the *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* you can study that proud record for yourself.

This collection of speeches was edited by Amy Jacques-Garvey, a participant in the UNIA who became Garvey's second wife. His speeches are part of a collection of thirty-one books on Afro-American history published by Arno Press and the *New York Times*. There is a fine preface titled "A Short History of Black Separatism" written by William Loren Katz. Unfortunately, the book was not indexed.

—Maceo Dixon

## Books

continent of its human and natural resources.

All types of racist crackpot theories about the inferiority of the Black race were flourishing—finding respectability and publicity in institutions of "higher learning."

The Black masses desperately needed a leadership with a strategy to repel these attacks and to fight for full equality.

Garvey tried to fill this leadership vacuum. His strategy was to counter racist reaction by building a Black separatist movement. He explained that so long as Black people had no control over the land of their birth (Africa), they would not be respected or treated as human beings.

Marcus Garvey was a Pan-Africanist. Until Africa was free, he theorized, Blacks could not win their freedom anywhere else. This was the basis for his slogan, "Africa for the Africans. At home and abroad."

Pan-Africanists view Africa as the power base for the liberation struggle of all Blacks, wherever they currently live. Pan-Africanists try to unite people of African descent throughout the world on this basis for the struggle against racism and imperialism.

In his book *A History of Pan-African Revolt*, Black scholar C. L. R. James wrote about Garvey: "He made the American Negro conscious of his African origin and created for the first time a feeling of international solidarity among Africans and people of African descent. Insofar as this is directed against oppression it is a progressive step."

Garvey's movement has its roots in Jamaica, where Garvey was born in

## Quote unquote

"We have matters today . . . under investigation which, five, six years ago, were considered to be domestic investigations—and now . . . have been put into the category of foreign counterintelligence."

—J. Wallace LaPrade, former director of the FBI's New York City office, explaining how the agency has reshuffled labels to continue illegal surveillance of dissenters.

### PELTIER APPEAL

Native American activist Leonard Peltier took his appeal of a double murder conviction to a federal appeals court April 12. Peltier was convicted in 1977 of killing two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge, South Dakota, reservation. He got two life terms.

Attorneys William Kunstler and Michael Tigar argued before the three-judge panel that the conviction should be overturned because of FBI coercion against witnesses.

Myrtle Poor Bear had told the judge at Peltier's trial that the FBI threatened to kill her if she didn't cooperate with them,

but the judge had refused to admit this testimony.

Chief appeals court Judge Floyd Gibson told Kunstler he had received letters on Peltier's behalf from "all over the country," and denounced them as "interference with the operation of the court."

### ANTI-NAZI MARCH SET

Detroit's Labor-Community Interfaith Council Against the Nazis will sponsor a march and rally Sunday, April 30. The group includes several United Auto Workers locals, as well as other unions and community organizations. It has led the opposition to a Nazi headquarters opened in the city earlier this year.

The Nazis were evicted from that headquarters April 12. The building owner won the eviction order after he told a judge the Nazis had rented the space claiming they would use it for a commercial printing business.

### FREE GARY TYLER

Longtime Black activist Robert F. Williams was the featured speaker at a day-long "Free Gary Tyler" conference in New Orleans April 8. About 100 people attended.

Tyler, nineteen, was wrongly convicted for the 1974 killing of a white student in Destrehan, Louisiana. The conference was

## No magic, just high prices

Suddenly there's *too much* oil. The April 16 *New York Times* reports that crude oil levels in California are double what they were a year ago, glutting storage facilities. Nationally, oil production is up 7.4 percent this year.

And suddenly there's a lot of natural gas too. Winter before last—remember?—factories shut down and people froze to death. The energy monopolies said there just wasn't enough gas to go around.

So where did all the oil and gas come from? It's not magic. It was there all along. *It's just that oil prices have quintupled since 1973, and natural gas prices have tripled.*

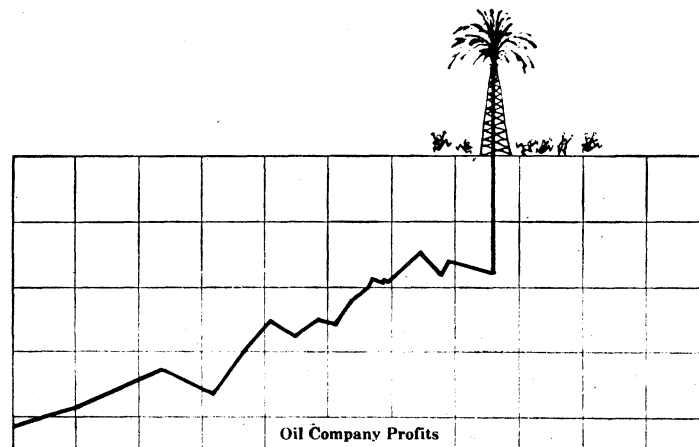
Thus, a major goal of the Carter energy plan has already been realized—higher prices and profits for the energy corporations. Yet the

president wants to jack up prices even further.

Despite this new evidence that the "energy shortage" is a complete fraud, the Carter administration continues to broadcast the myth in an attempt to scare us into accepting the ransom demands of the energy corporations.

"When exactly the oil crunch is going to strike is one of those incalculables," asserted Energy Secretary James Schlesinger, "but you know it's coming."

That's Schlesinger's story. The rest of us are a bit more skeptical about oil company propaganda.



organized by the Gary Tyler Defense Fund, coordinated by Gary's mother, Juanita Tyler.

Tyler's attorney, Jack Peebles, will file an appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court later this month.

### FRONT-PAGE RACISM

Two-thirds of American newspapers have no minority employees, according to a survey conducted by the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University. The survey found that only 4 percent of reporters and editors of daily papers belong to minority groups.

Even a smaller percentage of top newspaper management comes from minorities.

Disputing the repeated claim that there aren't any "qualified" Black reporters, Robert Maynard, chairperson of the Institute for Journalism Education, declared that papers simply weren't looking. "It's

not an issue of supply," Maynard said. "It's an issue of demand."

### PRINCETON SIT-IN

More than 200 Princeton University students sat in at the campus administration building April 14 and 15 demanding that the university sell \$140 million in stock of corporations that do business with South Africa.

The students left the building voluntarily after twenty-seven hours and joined another 400 students outside for a march to a meeting of the university trustees.

### RNA COINTELPRO

Imari Abubakari Obadele, president of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), has filed suit against the federal government charging that he is the victim of an FBI and Justice Department conspiracy. Obadele was sentenced to twelve

years on frame-up charges stemming from a 1971 police raid on RNA headquarters in Jackson, Mississippi.

Obadele has been selected as a "Prisoner of Conscience" by Amnesty International.

### NO TO APARTHEID TENNIS

The International Tennis Federation expelled South Africa from Davis Cup and Federation Cup competition April 16. The ITF gave South Africa until February 1 to merge its three tennis bodies—white, Black, and multiracial. However, the mostly white South African Tennis Union will continue to hold ITF recognition.

The ruling will bar South African teams from international matches.

Four thousand people protested the presence of a South African team in last month's Davis Cup matches in Nashville.

## And good riddance

Sundesert is dead, or at least mortally wounded. The planned multi-billion-dollar California nuclear power plant lost another round April 13 when a state assembly committee refused to grant it an exemption from a law requiring safe disposal of radioactive wastes.

The 1976 law forbids construction of nuclear plants unless the state energy commission rules there is a safe way to dispose of the dangerous wastes the plant will produce. The commission did just the opposite, but the state senate voted to exempt Sundesert.

The assembly decision is a concession to widespread public opposition to nuclear power in California. Just last month voters in Kern County overwhelmingly rejected a proposal to build a huge nuclear complex. If this sentiment continues to flourish, the nuclear industry is in for some hard times.

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA

### LOS ANGELES

**SOCIALIST MAY DAY PICNIC.** Games, music, speakers. Sun., April 30, noon to 6 p.m. Barbecue dinner served 1 to 2:30. Elysian Park, Scott Ave. and Stadium Way. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1978 California Campaign. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

**A MARXIST VIEW OF CHICANO NATIONALISM: AN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.** Fri., May 5, 8 p.m.: Pedro Vázquez on Chicano nationalism and socialism; Sat., May 6, 1 p.m.: Raul Gonzalez on Chicanos and the labor movement; 3 p.m.: Virginia Garza on La Chicana: the struggle for liberation; 7 p.m.: reception for Virginia Garza, SWP candidate for secretary of state. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. (near Olympic). Donation: \$2 for entire weekend/\$1 Fri. only/\$.50 each session. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1978 California Campaign. For more information call (213) 265-1347 or 582-1975.

### LOS ANGELES: S.E.

**THE JARVIS INITIATIVE: A TAX BREAK FOR WORKING PEOPLE?** Speakers: Gary Arnold, United Organization of Taxpayers; Roberta Scheer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state controller. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

## SAN DIEGO

**THE COORS BOYCOTT.** Speakers: Evelyn Desmarais, striking Coors worker; Bill Cadwallander, secretary-treasurer and business agent, Local 315, Bakers union; a representative from San Diego Teamsters Joint Council. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

## COLORADO

### DENVER

**DEFENDING A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE.** Speakers: Representatives from Pro-Choice Coalition, Socialist Workers Party, and NOW. Fri., April 28, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

## GEORGIA

### ATLANTA

**NUCLEAR POWER: A SOCIALIST VIEW.** Speaker: Arnold Weissberg, *Militant* environmental writer, covered 1977 Seabrook antinuclear demonstration. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. Georgia State University, Urban Life Bldg. Rm. 206. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

## ILLINOIS

### CHICAGO: NORTH SIDE

**MAY DAY CELEBRATION: THE LEGACY OF EUGENE V. DEBS.** Speaker: Guy Miller, Socialist Workers Party; film on Debs. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

### CHICAGO: WEST SIDE

**ISSUES FACING BLACK WOMEN.** Speakers: Monica Stewart, National Alliance of Black Feminists; Barbara Williams, Black Women's Task Force; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. Austin YMCA, 501 N. Central. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum, NABF, BWTF. For more information call (312) 261-8370.

## MARYLAND

### BALTIMORE

**SOCIALIST MAY DAY WEEKEND.** Unemployment, layoffs, and inflation: a socialist strategy for fighting back. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party 1972 vice-presidential candidate, member of United Steel Workers Local 1014. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St., Baltimore. Donation: \$2. A revolutionary strategy in the trade unions. Speaker: Judy White, SWP National Committee. Pierce Hall, All Souls Church, 16th and Harvard NW, Washington, D.C. Sat., April 29, 11 a.m. Donation: \$2. Sunday, April 30, noon: May Day picnic in D.C. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (301) 547-0668 or (202) 797-7699.

## MINNESOTA

### MINNEAPOLIS

**RAILROAD WORKERS UNDER ATTACK: THE TRUTH BEHIND THE CURRENT CRISIS.** Speakers: Charles Scheer, Bill Peterson, both active in United Transportation Union and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

### ST. PAUL

**FUNDAMENTALS OF MARXISM.** A six-part series. Class four: socialist transformations. Thurs., April 27, 7:30 p.m. Student Lounge, Macalester College. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

**NORTHERN IRELAND: AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS.** Speaker: Don MacStiofain, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. Student Lounge, Macalester College. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

## MISSOURI

### ST. LOUIS

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate; Mary Prit-

chard, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress; Renita Alexander, SWP candidate for state senate; Glenn White, SWP candidate for state representative. Sat., May 6, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1978 Campaign Committee. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

## OHIO

### CLEVELAND

**BLACK NATIONALISM AND REVOLUTION IN MUSIC.** Speaker: Dr. Curtis Wilson, director of Black Studies at Cleveland State University. Sun., April 30, 7 p.m. 13002 Kinsman. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

## OREGON

### PORTLAND

**IRAN: A COUNTRY WITHOUT JUSTICE.** Speaker: Kambiz Lajevardi, Democratic Association of Iranian Students. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### PHILADELPHIA

**PHILADELPHIA: THE CRISIS IN THE CITY.** Speakers: Ben Bailey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 2nd C.D.; Leroy Simmons, Human Rights Coalition; others. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 218



# The Great Society

Harry Ring



## BLACK 'PROGRESS'

Seven out of ten Black homes in rural Alabama lack indoor flush toilets, according to a recent study by the American

Friends Service Committee.

In South Carolina, where Blacks are 25 percent of the population, they hold 55 percent of laborer jobs.

## Ohio teachers freed

Thirty-four Brunswick, Ohio, teachers were released April 14 after spending nearly a week in jail. Pressured by mounting labor and community solidarity with the teachers, the school board dropped all charges and closed schools until a settlement is reached.

The board has refused to negotiate a contract for over a year, finally forcing the teachers out on strike last month. Judge Neil Whitfield then jailed the teachers for defying his back-to-work order. He also fined them \$500 a day.

The jailings shocked the small Ohio town. Five hundred parents rallied in solidarity with the teachers, and support poured in from unionists all across Ohio.

Cleveland Federation of Labor President Mel Whitt demanded release of the jailed teachers, and urged unionists "to join the teachers on the picket lines and to donate to their cause."

United Auto Workers Local 1250 at Brook Park Ford took up a collection for the teachers' defense fund.

And when police attempted to move some of the teachers to other jails, a crowd of 200 supporters gathered on short notice at 11 p.m. Soon afterwards the plan to disperse the teachers was dropped.

Before his release, Clyde Kincade, a sixteen-year employee of the Brunswick school district, talked with *Militant* reporter Lynda Joyce through the twelve-foot-high chain-link fence of the compound. "I'm outraged by the whole thing," Kincade said.

"How can President Carter talk about human rights in the rest of the world, and then let teachers in his own country be jailed for standing up for what they believe in, for their basic human rights, for the right to bargain?"



Jailed Brunswick teachers

Don't get excited, chief—"We are going to have to do something about inflation."—April 5 statement by President Carter.

Postal notes—The Post Office is awaiting the OK on a new regulation to charge thirteen cents extra for large or oddly shaped pieces of mail. They didn't say if the surcharge will be imposed before or after the mail goes through P.O. mangling machines.

Thought he was at the plant?—"An executive of a firm here caused a few city street workers some anxious moments. . . . It seems the crew was cleaning the street when a motorist came barreling along, not paying attention to a flag man trying to get him to slow down. In fact, the flag man hit the motorist's car to signal him. The executive didn't like that and came out of his car with a gun in his hand."—The Indianapolis News.

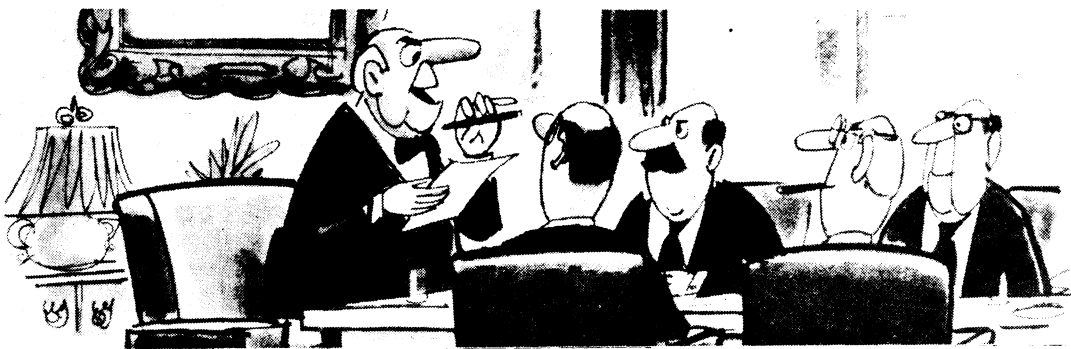
Warms the heart—Former President Nixon kept a file of those who wrote him

letters of support when he was thrown out of the White House. Now each of those letter writers will get an invitation from Grosset & Dunlap to receive a leather-bound, personally autographed copy of R.N.'s *Memoirs*. \$250.

True patriot—Nixon arrived in New York from the Bahamas with an American flag pin in his lapel.

Dear Abby—A recent widow inquired of Abby if the doctor who treated her husband prior to his demise shouldn't have sent condolences. Responded Abby: "If the patient was only a patient, all the doctor sends is his bill. If the patient had been a personal friend, the doctor would send his condolence and a bill."

Inconsiderate, un-British!—One of the Silver Jubilee gifts for Queen Elizabeth II of England was a \$105,000 Rolls Royce. But it didn't go on public display until mid-March, three months late. Why? Because of a strike in the auto industry, that's why.



'To close on an upbeat note, I'm happy to report we received 22 percent more in kickbacks than we paid out in bribes.'

## La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza

## Us & the 'illegals'

If there are any Puerto Ricans out there who think the racist campaign against undocumented immigrants doesn't affect us, they should consider some articles recently published in *El Diario-La Prensa*, New York's Spanish-language daily.

The first was published March 30 under the headline, "Puerto Ricans in New York need identification card." It was followed by several others over the next few days.

The basic piece of news—that the Puerto Rican government's New York office hands out ID cards to people born in Puerto Rico but living in this country—isn't news at all. That's been true since 1930.

The real news is that the colonial government now seems to be on a campaign to promote the cards. "Puerto Ricans in New York and the rest of the United States aren't required to have these cards, but it is good to have them so Puerto Ricans can prove in these difficult times that they aren't illegal aliens," said Felix Rodríguez Capó, head of the Puerto Rican government's New York office.

Puerto Ricans, you see, have a special problem: "Most of us have a largely Hispanic physiognomy and recently bosses have been demanding proof of legal residency from practically all Hispanics in order to tell who is and who is not illegal."

What is this "Hispanic physiognomy"? Does a tall, thin man with light skin and blue eyes fit that description? That's what Puerto Rican Independence Party leader Rubén Berríos looks like.

So the whole idea reflects the racism of U.S. society: it accepts the stereotypes of Puerto Ricans.

To hear the government of Puerto Rico tell it, the reason they're pushing this ID card is to help Puerto Rican workers get jobs. But help like this we don't need. It pits us against our Latin American brothers and sisters, and feeds the racist anti-"alien" drive, which is really a racist campaign against all Latin Americans in this country.

What's going to happen is that a lot of bosses are simply going to look at those cards and smirk. They prefer to hire the undocumented immigrant because they know a quick phone call to the immigration cops will put a stop to any union organizing, complaints about unsafe working conditions, or demands for higher pay.

Other bosses will simply use the "illegal alien" hiring ban to discriminate against all Latinos. They'll say—sorry, can't take a chance you might be "illegal."

The idea of a national ID card for all workers to help detect undocumented immigrants was proposed early in the Carter administration.

But the reaction to this police-state measure among American working people was so negative that Carter dropped it. Instead, he's changing the ID cards to tighten the government's control over "legal" immigrants—citizens of other countries who live in the United States with official permission.

What that really means has now been made clear by the government of Puerto Rico.

In the eyes of the racist rulers of this society, all Latinos—even if they are U.S. citizens born in Puerto Rico—are still "illegal aliens."

So. 45th. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 387-2451.

## TEXAS HOUSTON

TEXAS SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Two classes by Dan Styron on the history of the Socialist Workers Party in the trade-union movement; three classes by Thabo Ntweng on the history of Blacks in the labor movement. Sat., April 29, 12:30 p.m. and Sun., April 30, 10 a.m. and 1 p.m. University Center, Pacific and Atlantic Rooms, University of Houston. Saturday, April 29, 8 p.m. Socialist Campaign rally. Place to be announced. Donation: \$2.50 for whole weekend; \$1 per session. Ausp: SWP. For more information, housing, or transportation call (214) 943-6684, (512) 432-7625, or (713) 861-9960.

## WASHINGTON SEATTLE

SUPPORT INDIAN TREATY RIGHTS. Speakers: John Clinebell, Tacoma Indian Center; Andy de los Angeles, Northwest Indian; representative of National Coalition to Support Indian Treaties. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. Rainier Community Center, 3701 S. Oregon. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST MAY DAY WEEKEND. Unemployment, layoffs, and inflation: a socialist strategy for fighting back. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party 1972 vice-presidential candidate, member of United Steel Workers Local 1014. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles, Baltimore. Donation: \$2. A revolutionary strategy in the trade unions. Speaker: Judy White, SWP National Committee. Pierce Hall, All Souls Church, 16th and Harvard NW, D.C. Sat., April 29, 11 a.m. Donation: \$2. Sun., April 30, noon: May Day picnic in D.C. Donation \$1.50. For more information call (301) 547-0668 or (202) 797-7699.

## WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE PANAMA CANAL. Speaker: Pat O'Neill, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. West Virginia Univ. Mountainlair Outdoor Inn. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 292-7406.

## WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

EUGENE DEBS AND THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT. A film showing. Speaker: Socialist Workers Party representative. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

## Founding of the YSA



YSA members organized support demonstrations for southern civil rights movement, such as this one at University of Chicago.

The weekend of April 15-17, 1960, was an important one for the socialist movement in the United States.

For the previous two and a half years, young members of the Socialist Workers Party, some supporters of the *National Guardian*, and former members of the Communist Party and Young Socialist League had been collaborating in the publication of a newspaper, the *Young Socialist*.

That weekend—after three years of common activity, discussion, and debate—YS supporters met to form the Young Socialist Alliance.

There were only about 100 people at the YSA's founding convention, held in Philadelphia. Representatives came from sixteen college campuses, as well as high schools and trade schools. The average age of the seventy-five convention delegates was twenty-two years old.

The discussions at the convention reflected the many activities YS supporters had been involved in—for example, the Woolworth's boycott in northern cities, protesting the chain's segregated lunch counters in the South.

David Stevens reported in the April 25, 1960, *Militant*:

"[A] delegate from Philadelphia was called to the rostrum to speak but the conference was informed that he was at that moment doing duty on a picket line at Woolworth's on 13th and Chestnut Streets and would speak later. During the lunch intermission delegates joined the same picket line."

Owners of the hotel where many delegates were staying didn't see eye to eye with the YSA on the issue of civil rights. At one point during the convention the hotel refused to rent a room to a Black delegate.

The convention discussed the matter and told the hotel management that unless the Black delegate was given a room, all the other delegates would leave. Moreover, the convention voted to organize a picket line outside the hotel demanding that it be desegregated.

The management backed down, and the Black socialist was given a room.

A year and a half before the founding of the YSA, the Cuban revolution had triumphed. Supporters of the *Young Socialist* threw themselves into mobilizing support for the revolution and against the threat of U.S. intervention against the new government there, which was challenging imperialist domination of the Cuban economy.

In 1960 Fidel Castro came to New York to speak before the United Nations. He stayed at a Harlem hotel, and thousands of Black residents and others gathered every night to cheer outside his hotel.

Fifteen years later Sherry Finer, the YSA's first national organization secretary, recalled what it was like to sell *Young Socialists* there:

"At one point I was near the crowd,

standing with a group of reporters from the major papers. The crowd started to pitch pennies at us and yell out, 'Yellow journalists!' Suddenly several people spotted my badge and yelled out in Spanish, 'Not her. She's a socialist. Young Socialist.' Then the crowd cheered our paper with its banner headline: 'Hands off Cuba!'"

Reports at the founding YSA convention pointed out that the growing support for the Cuban revolution and for the civil rights movement was symptomatic of a new mood among American youth. Jim Lambrecht, elected YSA national secretary by the convention, said:

"The new element in the present period is the development of a student milieu into a student movement. . . . It is not just the sit-in movement, but a growth of interest on campus in a variety of issues, that mark the present as an oasis in the desert of silence foisted on the campus by the witch-hunt."

Delegates recognized that to make a socialist revolution in the United States, or anywhere else, a revolutionary working-class political party was absolutely necessary. The YSA's founding declaration, "Where We Stand," said:

"The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party are the only revolutionary socialist groups in the United States today. The YSA recognizes that only the SWP of all existing political parties is capable of providing the working class with political leadership on class struggle principles. . . ."

As a revolutionary socialist youth organization, the YSA set out to win a new generation of young people to the SWP. Through its activity in the anti-Vietnam War movement, the Black struggle, the feminist movement, and many other struggles, the YSA provided the initial political training to the majority of new members and leaders of the SWP for nearly two decades.

Thanks to this growth, the SWP is well prepared to take its revolutionary ideas to today's radicalizing generation of industrial workers. While more and more people are being won to the SWP directly from industrial workplaces and the communities of the oppressed minorities, the YSA continues to play an essential role in constructing the revolutionary working-class party that will lead the American socialist revolution.

The SWP and the *Militant* enthusiastically greeted the founding of the new youth organization. An editorial in the April 25 *Militant* said:

"The Young Socialist Alliance couldn't have been formed at a more auspicious time. It has a glorious future. We greet our young comrades on this May Day and through them we offer our greetings to the heroic fighters for mankind's future in every country of the world."

—Peter Archer

## Letters

### Imperialist invasion

The current Israeli invasion of Lebanon in "retaliation" for the deaths of thirty-five Israeli civilians by Palestinian guerrillas left 1,200 Arabs killed and 300,000 homeless. This is very similar to the many invasions this century by U.S. imperialists in the Third World, including Lebanon in 1956, to "protect the lives of American citizens and American property."

The Israelis have no more of a "moral authority" to their aggression than the U.S. imperialists had to theirs.

Lorenzo Ervin  
Marion, Illinois

unflinching defense of the rights of women, Blacks, Chicanos, students, and all working people—is convincing more and more people to join the fight for a socialist reorganization of society.]

### Pure food too costly

Harry Ring's April 7 column "The Great Society" contains an item that I think deserves comment. Ring quotes from the Food and Drug Administration for acceptable levels of parts and droppings of insects and rodents in certain foods. These are presented without comment, but with the implication that American workers are necessarily being shafted by having to eat contaminated food.

There is absolutely no way, short of drenching them in pesticide, that foodstuffs can be kept absolutely free of animal material. And keeping them very nearly free would entail enormous extra expense. It's simply a matter of deciding what levels of such material are acceptable, and from time to time you're going to eat some beetle eggs on your lettuce or a bit of mouse crap in your bread, whether you like it or not.

In America we've come to accept food with little or no nutritional value, but we refuse to put up with perfectly harmless blemishes or noticeable insect parts. American expectations are unrealistic and a reflection of false values.

This is not to suggest that the FDA, or any other agency of capitalist government, is looking out for our interests when it sets acceptable contamination levels above zero, though I find the figures cited by Ring to be quite reasonable.

It shows an unfortunate lack of thought to assume that allowing some contamination is an attempt to stiff the consumer, or that total purity is a desirable goal, given the costs. In fact, I suggest that a workers government would allow higher levels of contamination by natural products in some cases.

C.K. Starr  
Athens, Georgia

### 'Militant' as recruiter

Since moving to Boston I have become a provisional member of the Socialist Workers Party, due in large part to my political education through the *Militant*.

Dave Rowlands

Allston, Massachusetts

### Inappropriate word?

The *Militant* often uses the term "caste" to describe the ruling group in the Soviet Union. Although there is great difficulty in finding a proper word for the ruling bureaucracy in the USSR, I do not think that "caste" is appropriate, because it implies

### Opposes abortion

As one who is opposed to the current liberalized abortion laws in the United States, I have followed your articles on that issue with considerable interest.

Quite frankly, I think it is unfortunate that the Socialist Workers Party and the left generally are so much in favor of abortion. This attitude is driving many otherwise sympathetic persons away from the left and into the hands of the conservatives.

The New York State Conservative Party, according to the April 6 *Buffalo Evening News*, is composed largely of anti-abortion supporters and activists.

Would it not be of greater benefit to the poor generally to try to improve medical service benefits to poor women who are pregnant, and to try to ensure a decent life for all their children, rather than simply kill off these children by abortion and thereby not have to worry about the problem? Surely such an approach puts money ahead of people.

Frederick Lewis  
Canadaigua, New York

[In reply—The Socialist Workers Party unconditionally supports and fights for a woman's right to choose abortion. The choice of when or if to bear a child is a basic human right.

[This certainly does not mean that socialists oppose providing for the care of children—the opposite is the case. It is the same government that is cutting off funding for abortion that also refuses to provide money for schools, day care, and other social services. And it is those groups that are organizing against abortion rights that also oppose every progressive social measure to erase poverty, exploitation, and oppression.

[Socialists, on the other hand, are fighting for a society that provides health care, child care, education, and all the necessities of life. A society that gives priority to human needs instead of to profits for the rich.

[Those who want to change society are not being "driven away" from the left. Rather, the SWP—because of its



# Learning About Socialism

## 'Socialism on Trial'

racial differences. The word caste is primarily associated with the divisions in Indian society based on race.

Although the Soviet Union certainly has racial problems that are reflected in the ethnic Russian domination of other nationalities, the domination of their country by a political elite is a far greater problem. Perhaps a new word is needed to describe the Russian bureaucrats, since neither "class" nor "caste" is appropriate in a scientific sense.

John Koethen  
Albany, New York

### Biased coverage?

I have received the *Militant* for several months now. While I agree with many of the socialist ideas it contains and appreciate its anticapitalist perspective on the news, I can no longer abide the virulent anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic propaganda spewed forth in every issue.

While I have no wish to support every position taken by the Israeli government, I feel that the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party's irrational opposition to the concept of Jewish national self-determination, while supporting every other so-called national liberation movement worldwide, betrays either lack of political consistency, political opportunism, or basic anti-Semitism.

How facilely you condemn the "Zionist butchers," without even mentioning the Arab terrorism that provokes Israeli counterattacks!

Please cancel my subscription immediately.  
Barbara Laub  
New York, New York

### Behind bars

After being confined to solitary seclusion pending an investigation, the *Militant* was passed down to me by a comrade a couple of cells down from mine.

After reading the paper from the front cover to the back page, I found it to be not only informative but a viable thrust that speaks to the most important and necessary needs of the people.

The *Militant* deserves to be commended especially on the "World Outlook" for a job well done.  
A prisoner  
Indiana

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

In the introduction to James P. Cannon's *Socialism on Trial*, George Novack calls this work "the best introduction to the application of Marxist ideas in the United States." (Published by Pathfinder Press, it costs \$2.25 and is available at the offices listed below.)

*Socialism on Trial* was produced under circumstances that make Cannon's accomplishment particularly inspiring. It is a transcript of his testimony as a defendant at the 1941 trial of leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544. The government charged the defendants with "conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence."

The trial stemmed from the leading role SWP members played in Local 544, which had become a vanguard of labor organizing and militant unionism in the Northwest and Midwest.

As revolutionary socialists, the leaders of 544 opposed American entry into World War II. They explained that workers in all the warring imperialist countries were being called on to fight and die in order to help their exploiters conquer new markets.

In order to prepare American working people as cannon fodder in that bloody conflict, the Roosevelt administration sought to crush a militant current in the union movement by framing up the SWP leaders. The rulers also wanted to isolate the socialists by portraying them as a violent minority out to impose their ideas by force.

Since the government based its case on the claim that the socialist program was violent and criminal, the defendants decided to turn the tables. Selecting Cannon as their spokesperson, they used the witness stand as a forum to explain basic socialist ideas.

Facing a vindictive prosecutor determined to twist the meaning of his words and provoke hasty retorts, Cannon calmly and patiently explained the program of the Socialist Workers Party. His testimony answers many questions people have about socialism today.

Cannon takes up the socialist view of imperialist wars, how Marxist economic ideas work out in practice, how socialists work to strengthen the trade unions, the meaning of "dictatorship of the proletariat," what a socialist America will be like, and many other questions.

Much of Cannon's testimony centered on the issue of how socialists plan to achieve their goals. He refuted the government claim that socialists advocate violence.

"What is the opinion of Marxists, as far as winning a majority of the people to socialist ideas?" Cannon was asked by defense attorney Albert Goldman, who was also a defendant.

Winning the majority, Cannon replied, "is the aim of the Marxist movement, has been from its inception. Marx said the social revolution of the proletariat . . . 'is a movement of the immense majority in the interests of the immense majority.'"

Because socialists are confident that they can win the majority to their cause, Cannon explained, they have no reason to advocate violence. "The position of the Marxists is that the most economical and preferable, the most desirable method of social transformation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully."

Cannon explained that history has shown that ruling classes are unwilling to accept the decision of the majority when the masses opt for a new, more progressive social order. He pointed to the example of the United States, where the slaveholders rebelled after the Republican Party, which favored restrictions on slavery, won the 1860 elections; and to Russia, where the landlords and capitalists, backed by imperialist armies, fought to overturn the Bolsheviks even though the latter had won the majority in the workers and peasants councils in 1917.

Cannon stated: "The outlived class, which is put in a minority by the revolutionary growth in the country, will try by violent means to hold on to its privileges against the will of the majority. . . .

"Of course, we don't limit ourselves simply to that prediction. We go further, and advise the workers to bear this in mind and prepare themselves not to permit the reactionary outlived minority to frustrate the will of the majority."

The socialists also defended themselves against the phony conspiracy charges outside the courtroom. They helped initiate the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which won support for their rights from almost 150 international and local unions, representing more than 5 million workers, as well as from the CIO.

The dramatic courtroom confrontation between the government's frame-up artists and an embattled defender of the working class and socialism makes this book an exciting way to learn the basic concepts of the socialist movement.

—Paul Montauk

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 973 Page St. Zip: 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 916 Broadway. Zip: 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358. Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Linda Thalman, 1303 Ocala Rd. #140. Zip: 32304. Tel: (904) 576-5737.

**GEORGIA:** East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 17821. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 688-6739. West Atlanta: SWP, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040. Zip: 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, North Side: SWP, 1870 N. Halsted. Zip: 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811. Chicago, South Side: SWP, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 10 N. Cicero. Zip: 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621. Boston, Fenway-South End: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620. Roxbury: SWP, 612 Blue Hill Ave. Zip: 02121. Tel: (617) 288-0753.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave. Zip: 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160. Detroit, West Side: SWP, 18415 Wyoming. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 176 Western Ave. North Zip: 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEBRASKA:** Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 220-222 Utica Ave. Zip: 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200½ W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731. New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

**OHIO:** Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 861-4166. Columbus:

YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 3928 N. Williams. Zip: 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, Germantown: SWP, 5950 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 844-2874. Philadelphia, West Philadelphia: SWP, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Philadelphia: City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Mickey van Summer, 402 S. Burrows #1A. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-9917.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

**TENNESSEE:** Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station. Zip: 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston, Northeast: SWP, YSA, 2835 Laura Koppe. Zip: 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543. Houston, East End: SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza). Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1317 Castroville Rd. Zip: 78237. Tel: (512) 432-7625.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** Adams-Morgan: SWP, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7706. Washington, D.C., Georgia Avenue: SWP, 700½ Barry Pl. NW. Zip: 20001. Tel: (202) 265-7708. Washington, D.C.: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99201. Tel: (509) 326-2468. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

# THE MILITANT

## 'WE WANT JOBS'

### Harlem youth talk with socialist candidate

By John Hawkins

NEW YORK—"It's hard to find a job out here," said Gregory Banks. "I've been looking for a long time."

"I've been to the unemployment office, to the Manpower office—all over—and I still can't find a job. So in about four or five weeks I'm going into the Navy."

Banks's experience in trying to find work is like that of many of his friends, he told Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. representative in New York City's Nineteenth District. In fact it was similar to that of dozens of young Blacks Miliner spoke to on a recent tour of his district in Harlem.

"What these young people are saying," Miliner told the *Militant*, "simply confirms the desperate situation that reports have pointed out since the beginning of the year."

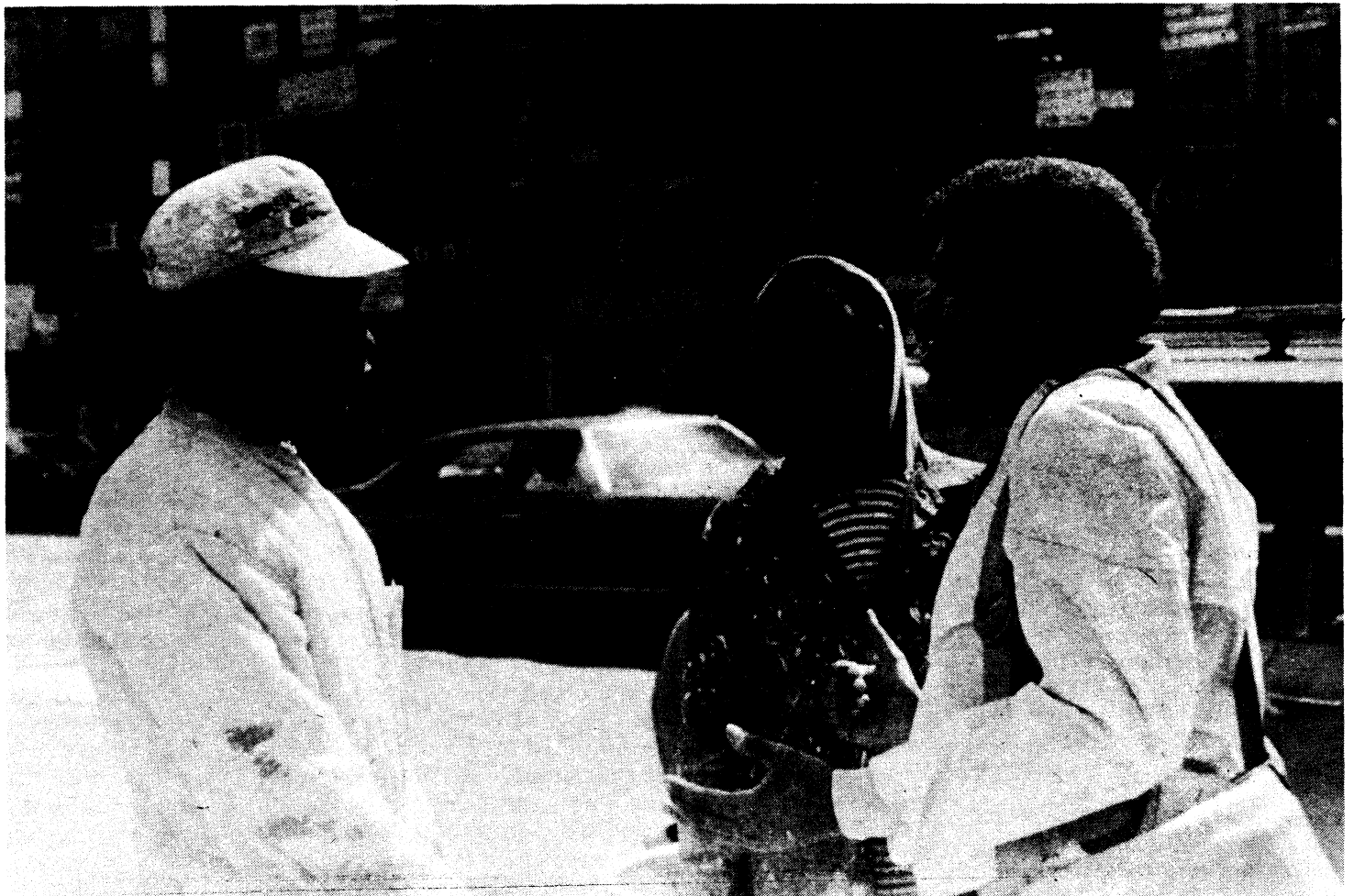
The socialist candidate noted that the New York Urban League had published estimates in January of 80 percent unemployment among Black youth in some parts of the city.

Overall, he said, the Urban League estimated that 25 percent of the Black working population of the city was jobless. "That's close to 225,000 people," Miliner said. "If you add to that the unemployment among whites, Asians, Puerto Ricans, and other Latinos the picture is really devastating."

One youth who is working told Miliner, "I don't see how they can say that things are improving. When I watch the news I see Carter and [New York Mayor] Koch talking about doing something about unemployment. But they never do anything about it."

"I was lucky. Somebody who knew some people got a job for me. If I had had to go it alone I'd probably still be looking."

In March, for the first time in months, Miliner said, the official un-



Miliner (right) talks with two New York City workers in Harlem

Militant/John Hawkins

employment rate rose—from 6.1 to 6.2 percent. "That's about 6.2 million people out of work officially—which is an underestimation."

"If you add the 903,000 so-called discouraged workers, you'd get 7.1 million by official statistics. And that's still low."

Miliner pointed out that while unemployment among whites remained at 5.3 percent, unemployment among Blacks rose to 12.4 percent.

"This increase was concentrated among Black youth, aged sixteen to nineteen, and Black women," Miliner pointed out, "whose official unemployment rates went up to 39 percent and 11.4 percent. That's more than twice the figure for their white counterparts, whose unemployment rates declined."

"Of the 321,000 people the government says were looking for jobs last month," he said, "only 263,000 found them."

"That means 58,000 workers were added to the jobless rolls. Among those were a lot of Black youth looking for their first jobs, and Black women reentering the work force."

"This points up the real nature of the employers' so-called recovery," Miliner said. "They're not expanding enough to provide jobs for all who want them. And they're still subjecting Blacks to racial discrimination in hiring. Blacks

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## Unionists discuss fight for shorter workweek

By Shelley Kramer

DEARBORN, Mich.—Seven hundred trade-union delegates, mostly local officials, gathered here April 11 for the All Unions' Conference to Shorten the Work Week. Discussion centered on how to shorten the workweek with no cut in pay to create jobs for the millions of people in this country who are now out of work.

The conference reflected the economic uncertainty caused by today's high unemployment. With the employers on the offensive, even the employed are no longer sure about their next paychecks. This has given rise to sentiment in the labor movement for action to win jobs for all.

The conference signals the opening of a discussion throughout the labor movement about how the unions can mount an effective campaign to achieve that goal.

The conference was called by the All Unions' Committee for a Shorter Work Week led by Frank Runnels, president of United Auto Workers Local 22. At the committee's founding conference last October, twelve international unions from thirteen states were represented.

At this conference, members of

twenty-five unions in twenty-three states were on hand.

In his keynote address, Runnels urged delegates to build a national movement to "tear down" the forty-hour "wall" that keeps some 10 million people unemployed. He proposed "campaigns of education, legislation, and collective bargaining with enough muscle to win the battle."

The top priority of conference organizers was a campaign to pass H.R. 11784—several amendments to the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act. The bill was introduced last month by U.S. Rep. John Conyers of Detroit.

The Conyers bill would reduce the workweek by stages—from forty to thirty-seven-and-a-half hours within two years of enactment, then to thirty-five hours after four years. It would require employee consent for overtime work (except when the Secretary of Labor declares a "demonstrable economic emergency"). And it would raise the payment for overtime from time-and-a-half to double the regular hourly rate.

Conyers was a guest speaker at the conference. He explained that with this proposed reduction by stages, "Nobody will have to worry about whether those

corporations are going to lose those enormous profits."

At the end of the one-day conference, delegates hurriedly approved resolutions calling for the collection by Labor Day of 250,000 signatures in support of the Conyers bill, and lobbying efforts to secure cosponsors for the legislation.

Delegates also voted to work for state and local laws banning compulsory overtime and reducing work hours, to make these objectives "priority demands" in the next round of collective bargaining, and to establish city-wide committees with expanded union involvement to organize these campaigns.

In his address to the conference, UAW President Douglas Fraser held up that union's paid personal holiday plan as a "realistic step down the road to a shorter workweek." This plan provides twelve additional days off over two years to workers with one year's seniority.

Fraser said the plan has created "thousands and thousands of new jobs." So far, however, there is no evidence to back up Fraser's claim: auto layoffs continue, and the compan-

ies are still free to demand overtime to compensate for days missed.

Counterposing such union-by-union plans to national legislation cutting the workweek was what Fraser meant in saying that "the shorter workweek would be won on the collective bargaining table and on the picket lines, not in the halls of Congress."

Discussion among delegates in workshops and informally, however, revealed different ideas about how to build a movement for a shorter workweek, and about what the goals of such a movement should be.

Ed Mann is president of United Steelworkers Local 1462 in Youngstown, Ohio—a city hit hard by layoffs and plant closings recently. He spoke to the *Militant* about the need for more far-reaching solutions.

"If it takes only so many hours to produce the necessary steel," Mann said, "then these should be divided among the workers—whether it's seven hours per day, five, or even three."

Fraser's promise of more paid personal holidays did not satisfy some UAW delegates. "I'm for a four-day workweek," one member of Local 550 announced on the conference floor.

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