

THE MILITANT

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

NEW STEEL PACT

'A disgrace
to union,'
Fight Back
charges

—PAGE 5

Hands off Africa

CARTER MASTER MINDS WAR MOVES IN ZAIRE

EDITORIAL—PAGE 10

NEWS—PAGE 7

MILITANT ON-THE-SCENE REPORT

Israeli terror in a Palestinian village



Young Palestinians gather on road outside Jatt, Israel, April 4 to distribute leaflets protesting Zionist terror raid on this Arab village five days earlier.

Militant/David Frankel

Militant Washington correspondent David Frankel is now on assignment in Israel. This is the first of a series of reports on developments in that country.

By David Frankel

JATT, Israel—Shops were closed in the village of Jatt April 4. The workers who usually leave each morning for construction projects in Haifa and Tel Aviv, or for jobs in hotels and restaurants of nearby Mediterranean resorts like Netanya, stayed at home. Also at home were the peasants who farm the village's land. Jatt was on strike.

A big banner was stretched over the road to the village when I drove up. Young people at a table in front of the road were handing out leaflets.

A group of older men at the village council building were also eager to tell what had happened at their village.

Police entered Jatt in the middle of the night March 27 and arrested five high school students and two young workers. Said Mohamad Abu Full told how police had beaten on the door of his widowed sister-in-law at two o'clock in the morning, terrorizing the family and arresting eighteen-year-old Mohamad Abu Full.

No formal charges have been filed against those arrested. It is well

Continued on page 3

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 4 Va. NOW to join D.C. abortion protest
- 7 NSCAR sets plans for spring & summer
- 8 Chicanos cleared in 'bomb plot'
- 9 'Gang of four' purge debated in Chicago
- 13 Socialist lawsuit tackles 'Big Brother'
- 14 Jackson's vendetta against AFSCME
- 15 Socialist strategy in the labor movement
- 23 Post continues drive to jail 15 unionists
- 24 SWP: 'Make New Orleans a union town!'
- 27 Danger: cancer at work
- 29 Taxes: where your money goes
- 2 In Brief
- 5 Steel Notes
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 *La Lucha Puertorriqueña Capitalism Fouls Things Up*
- 12 *The Great Society National Picket Line By Any Means Necessary*
- 28 In Review

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 19 Legalize workers parties in Spain
- 20 Dissident's appeal for Charter 77 movement
- 21 World News Notes
- 22 Behind Carter's Mideast maneuvering

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GAY RIGHTS: Coral Gables attorney Ellis Rubin has filed suit in the Dade County Circuit Court to overturn a county gay rights ordinance he says violates a state antisodomy law. Ellis also demands that a June 7 referendum on the ordinance be canceled because it would cost taxpayers \$400,000. Singer and reactionary Bible thumper Anita Bryant organized a massive petition drive that forced the referendum.

Meanwhile the American Civil Liberties Union is sponsoring a public meeting in defense of gay rights at Temple Israel in Miami April 28. Speakers include gay activists Elaine Noble, a Massachusetts state representative; former National Football League player David Kopay; and former air force Sgt. Leonard Matlovich.

Elsewhere, thirty people demonstrated outside the Minneapolis courthouse March 25 to protest city Human Rights Department foot-dragging on gay rights.

CHICAGO SCHOOL SEGREGATION: Chicago's school superintendent has released a report officially documenting for the first time widespread racist segregation in the schools of America's second-largest city.

Of 699 public schools, only 83 meet desegregation requirements of the Illinois Board of Education. A mere 66,362 students in a system with 524,221 pupils go to "racially balanced" schools.

The Chicago public schools, the report says, are 75.1 percent nonwhite and 24.9 percent white. But dozens of schools in the system are almost all white or all Black.

SPECIAL FEATURE BY FARRELL DOBBS

This week's 'Militant' presents a special feature by Farrell Dobbs: the afterword to his just-completed four-volume account of the Teamsters union in the 1930s labor upsurge. To allow space, we have had to delay publication of the second article in Frank Lovell's series on union organizing in the South. Lovell's series will resume next week.

THE STITCH-REMOVAL CASE: Last year a Union-town, Alabama, doctor removed three fresh stitches from a Black youth's wrist because his patient could not pay a \$25 fee. Melvin Armstrong, the victim of Dr. Bobby Merkle's racist greed, sued the doctor for \$50,000. On April 11 a jury awarded Armstrong \$5,000 in damages after considering his suit for ninety minutes. Armstrong's attorney, who had sought \$50,000, says he is disappointed with the verdict and may seek a new trial.

DOLLARS IN RACISM: The newly formed Chicano Consortium for Public Issues is demanding that 4,000 copies of a twenty-four-page, glossy \$15,000 brochure mailed out to attract businesses to Tucson, Arizona, be recalled and that a letter of apology be sent to all who received it.

The protesters base their demands on a racist passage in the brochure that says, "Employers who have established plants in Tucson say that our Mexican-Americans are easy to train, will follow instructions, are more loyal, and equal or exceed the productivity of workers in other parts of the country."

Other passages in the brochure, according to an editorial in the *Arizona Daily Star*, "are obviously designed to attract business anxious to escape the expense of organized labor."

And the Tucson Women's Commission has voted to support the Chicanos' demands because of the brochure's sexism.

The brochure was published by the Development Authority for Tucson's Economy, a public relations outfit that receives all of its \$176,000 budget from city tax money.

NEW YORK SOCIALIST MAY DAY CONFERENCE: The New York and New Jersey Socialist Workers 1977 campaign committees will mark the international working-class holiday of May Day with an educational conference and rally April 29-May 1.

Classes will focus on the role of Blacks and women in the labor movement, the history of American unionism, and the history of the revolutionary workers internationals. Classes will be held at Loeb Student Center, New York University, 566 LaGuardia Place (at Washington Square South), on Friday evening and Saturday.

On Sunday, May 1, at 2:00 p.m., there will be a rally and celebration at the NYU Law School, 40 Washington Square West. Featured speakers will be SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes; Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor of New York City; Rich Ariza, SWP candidate for governor of New Jersey; and Olga Rodríguez, a member of the SWP National Committee.

Cost for the whole weekend is three dollars. For more information, write the New York Socialist Workers campaign at 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-6461. —Peter Seidman

Tariq Ali to tour U.S.



Tariq Ali, well-known Pakistani political activist and writer, will tour several major U.S. cities April 18-22. Ali will be speaking on "The Crisis in India and Pakistan Today."

The author of *Pakistan: Military Dictatorship or People's Rule?*, Ali made his most recent trip to Pakistan in December 1976. The Pakistan Federal Intelligence Agency arrested him in order to prevent him from going to India to interview opponents of Indira Gandhi's dictatorship. Ali was released in January 1977 only when he pledged to return to Britain without visiting India.

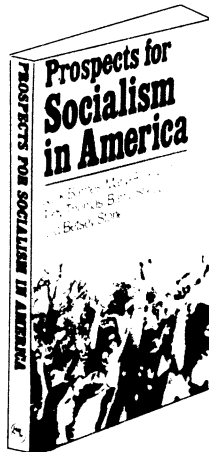
The *New Yorker* has called Tariq Ali "the guru of protest" because of his leading role in organizing huge anti-Vietnam War protests in London. A *New York Times* editorial said that "Mr. Ali's radical vision of chaos on the Indian subcontinent cannot be taken lightly." Tariq Ali is a leader of the International Marxist Group in Great Britain.

He is scheduled to speak in Philadelphia on Wednesday, April 20; in Washington, D.C., on Thursday, April 21; and in New York City on Friday, April 22.

For more information on Ali's tour, contact Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, a division of Pathfinder Press, at 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 741-0690.

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...Israeli attack on Palestinian village

Continued from front page

known, however, that Israeli authorities feared demonstrations in the Arab villages on March 30. That date was the anniversary of the massive March 30, 1976, Day of the Land protest where Israeli forces killed six Palestinians. The authorities probably hoped to prevent any commemorative actions by arresting the activists most likely to organize them. But the tactic backfired.

On March 30, instead of the two minutes of silence that had originally been scheduled to commemorate those killed the year before, elementary and middle school pupils in Jatt barricaded the streets to protest the arrests of their brothers. The police responded by sending troops, armored personnel carriers, and a helicopter to the village of 4,000 persons.

Farouk Aro, one of the men at the local council building described what happened: "While the local council was trying to get the pupils to go back to the village, the soldiers attacked the boys. Then the soldiers surrounded the village."

People were beaten in the streets. When Israeli troops were not able to find people in the streets, they broke into houses and beat people there. Even a group of men praying in the mosque were beaten.

Wajih Watad took me into his house and pointed out where the police had



'Militant' reporter David Frankel (second from left) with members of Jatt town council

smashed in his window with their clubs. He then showed me the tear-gas canister that had been thrown through a hole in the window. It was stamped "Made in U.S.A."

The police terrorism continued all afternoon. Dr. Kula Maiz testified that fifteen to twenty people were taken to the hospital during the first two hours of the rampage.

Israeli troops and police also invaded the neighboring village of Baka al-Garbiya, a town of 10,000, in spite of the appeals of the local council there. The council explained what happened in a statement: "Around ten o'clock in the morning, our studies were going on normally, a military helicopter landed in the school yard, and soldiers broke into the school and threw tear-gas

bombs. . . .

"The security forces and the army humiliated two youths who were beaten and tied with ropes to a police jeep and dragged through the village in the middle of the day for everybody to see."

In the past, both Baca and Jatt have been governed by people associated with the ruling Israeli Labor party. But the outrage at the police attack has severely undermined the hold of the Zionist regime in the two villages.

In Jatt, the head of the village council was expelled from his post when he opposed any protest against the attack. Jalal Abu To'ama, the mayor of Baca, proved more astute. He has been a notorious collaborator with the Israeli regime. This time, however, he went along with the mass meeting organized by the two village councils April 3. The meeting adopted a resolution demanding the release of those arrested March 27, the prosecution of those responsible for the assault on the two villages, and compensation for the damage done by the repressive forces.

To back up its demands, the meeting called the one-day general strike of April 4, which was observed in both villages.

That night, a police official appeared on television to deny that his forces had broken into any houses. His victims, however, know better.

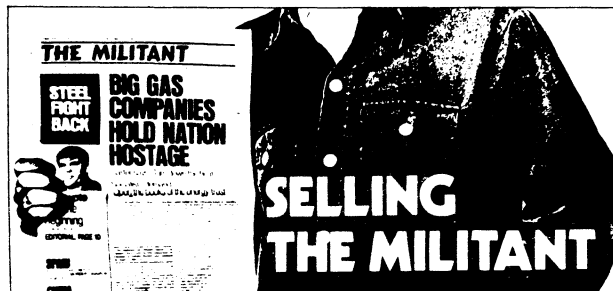
Sales target week victory: 17,000!

By Andrea Baron

The April 2-8 sales target week was a tremendous success. Members and supporters of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance sold 16,948 copies of the *Militant*, way over the 10,000 goal.

Most areas took on special goals and ordered much higher bundles for the week. Socialists in every city made their goal—many for the first time in the drive.

The target week sales were the highest in several years, and the experience of this week will help



maintain high sales for the rest of the spring sales campaign.

Socialists in many areas set up special committees several weeks in advance to plan sales. During the sales week they put aside some regular activities.

However, in most places, the special sales efforts fit right in with other projects.

Dallas SWP organizer Becky Ellis said, "We were prepared to cancel some meetings to make every night open for sales. But the week before, we organized all the sales—planned how to get maximum participation and found the best sales spots. Once we did that, the actual selling took much less time than we expected."

"We were able to sell lots of *Militants* and still go to meetings of the Oliver Lee Defense Committee, help plan for a protest against the death penalty, and have our regular meetings and forum too," Ellis said.

The Denver branch made its goal for the first time. Denver organizer Joe Henry said, "On the first Saturday of the week there was a blizzard in Denver, so the teams were reorganized for Sunday. We wound up selling more on Sunday than we had expected to sell on Saturday."

The New York local of the Socialist Workers party sold the most *Militants*—3,708. Evan Siegle of the Brooklyn branch sold 417 of these.

Jane Roland, Socialist Workers candidate for president of the New York City Council, told me that a report on the success of the sales drive was a

highlight of an April 8 campaign rally in Queens.

Roland says New York salespeople were undaunted by the pouring rain that hit most of the Northeast on Saturday, April 2.

"In Queens, everyone was out on the streets by 10:00 in the morning," Roland reported. "By 10:30 it was pouring and everyone was back. But by 11:00, everyone was out again at new locations or on door-to-door sales. On Saturday, socialists sold 179 copies of the *Militant* at one housing development in Queens."

Plant-gate and workplace sales were an important part of the target week. Socialists in most areas increased their workplace sales.

The Oakland SWP branch sold 52 *Militants* at plant gates. Los Angeles sold 67 at workplaces and plant gates. In the Bay Area, teams from San Francisco, Berkeley, and Oakland sold 170 *Militants* door to door in the Pittsburg steel community.

Many areas tried new sales locations and techniques. Ilona Gersh, Minneapolis SWP city organizer, says, "This was the first time we tried a lot of door-to-door sales. We also sold at Native American housing projects. But everyone here realizes that the most important thing is getting everyone out to sell. We had our highest participation ever."

Several areas more than doubled their previous goals. Detroit sold 1,150, almost triple their goal of 395. Of these, 296 were sold by members of the Detroit-based Revolutionary Marxist Committee.

Chicago socialists didn't participate in the target week because they are carrying out massive signature-collection on petitions to put SWP mayoral candidate Dennis Brasky on the ballot (see story, page 25).



Militant/Richard Rather
Selling at rally against death penalty in Atlanta

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	Kansas City, Mo.	100	151	151.0	Cleveland	200	204	102.0
New York City	1,100	3,708	337.1	San Francisco	550	805	146.4	Minneapolis	300	306	102.0
Detroit	395	1,150	291.1	Albany, N.Y.	75	108	144.0	Louisville	125	125	100.0
Dallas	120	344	286.7	St. Louis	300	410	136.7	Pittsburgh	175	175	100.0
Los Angeles	650	1,440	221.5	Seattle	215	276	128.4	Total	10,000	16,948	169.5
Indianapolis	100	211	211.0	Cincinnati	125	160	128.0	April 8 issue			
Boston	520	1,056	203.1	Atlanta	400	483	120.8	Young Socialist teams			
Miami	75	148	197.3	Houston	400	480	120.0	Mid-Atlantic	90	239	265.6
Baltimore	150	294	196.0	Raleigh, N.C.	40	48	120.0	South	90	114	126.7
Denver	200	387	193.5	Toledo	75	90	120.0	East Great Lakes	90	90	100.0
San Antonio	125	234	187.2	Berkeley, Calif.	250	299	119.6	Midwest	90	84	93.3
San Jose	200	357	178.5	St. Paul	80	93	116.3	Rocky Mountain	90	65	72.2
Phoenix	125	218	174.4	Philadelphia	400	461	115.3	Northern California	90	30	33.3
Newark	225	391	173.8	Salt Lake City	100	115	115.0	Southwest	90	25	27.8
San Diego	200	332	166.0	Portland, Ore.	200	227	113.5	Total	630	647	102.7
Washington, D.C., Area	400	654	163.5	New Orleans	200	220	110.0	Combined total			17,595
Richmond, Va.	75	117	156.0	Tacoma, Wash.	70	77	110.0				
Oakland, Calif.	250	380	152.0	Milwaukee	200	214	107.0				

Virginia NOW conference votes to join May 8 DC abortion protest

By Priscilla Schenk

RICHMOND, Va.—At a statewide conference here March 26-27, the National Organization for Women voted to endorse the May 8 Mother's Day protest at the White House.

The Washington, D.C., action, called by that city's Committee for Motherhood by Choice, will demand an end to the attacks on abortion rights and on pregnancy benefits for working women.

The decision to join the Washington protest came after a weekend of lively discussion and debate over NOW's strategy for defending women's rights.

The discussion began with a report to the 100 conference participants by Eleanor Smeal, head of NOW's national board.

Smeal noted that the house of delegates in the Virginia legislature will be up for election soon. She said NOW has to see that candidates supporting the Equal Rights Amendment are elected.

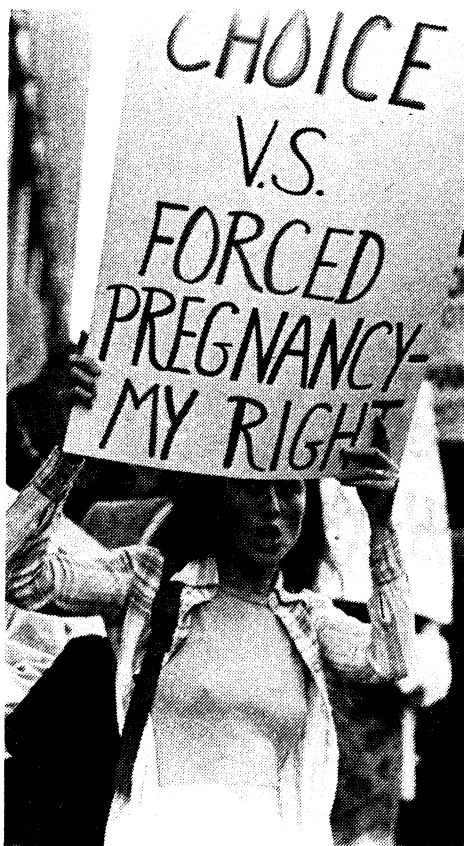
This method of trying to get the ERA passed, however, has long been employed by Virginia NOW. It has led only to defeats for the ERA.

Smeal went on to say that this is not enough. She described the "high visibility" campaign planned for Florida to win ratification of the ERA there.

"The ERA won in Indiana because we were visible and in the streets," she said.

"For too long, we Virginia women have been taught to be 'ladies' and keep a low profile," said one woman during discussion of Smeal's report. "It's time for us to get into the streets and demand our rights."

Another woman added, "We can't expect to be friends with everyone. That's just not our role. As NOW members we should back those legislators to the wall. Wearing pink dresses and handing out flowers just doesn't work. We have to organize and be



Militant/Nancy Cole

"If we don't stand up now, we may lose the right to abortion," said one woman at conference.

visible."

Toba Singer, a convener for the ERA Week Coalition that sponsored a rally of 650 in January, said: "We saw the support for ERA when Gloria Steinem spoke in Richmond. It was this kind of action, this visible campaign that put pressure on the legislature and pushed them further toward ratification than ever before."

"We need more rallies and demonstrations to win the ERA and to protect abortion rights and the other rights of women under attack."

One NOW member said, "If we rally,

they say we're too radical. If we don't rally, they say we never told them what we wanted. So let's rally and let them know what we want."

"Won't rallies hurt our image?" asked someone.

Smeal responded, "I've heard complaints about our image—the gay signs and socialist signs at rallies. We have to learn to respond to those complaints."

"They are smear tactics. We all have to stick together if we are going to win our rights."

A workshop called Broadening the Base of NOW discussed ways of making NOW more attractive to Black women and other oppressed minorities.

"I live in a trilingual community," an Arlington woman said. "Besides Black women, there are Korean and Spanish-speaking women. We have to think about ways to draw these women to NOW meetings."

The workshop on Women and Public Health proposed that Virginia NOW support the May 8 rally for abortion rights.

Most women saw a definite need to fight for the ERA and defend other rights under attack, such as abortion, affirmative action, and child care.

But there was confusion when the action proposal was introduced.

"We have to focus on ERA because we only have until 1979 to ratify," argued one woman.

"But abortion rights are under attack now," answered Patricia Harding-Clark from Arlington NOW. "Where will we be if the Hyde amendment passes and poor women can't get abortions? If we don't stand up now, we may lose this right."

Despite a divided vote, a clear majority of women saw the need to make abortion rights a NOW campaign by endorsing the May 8 protest and making funds available to publicize it.

ERA actions set for Arizona and Illinois

For five years the Illinois and Arizona legislatures have refused to recognize women's right to legal equality.

As politicians prepare to vote on the Equal Rights Amendment this spring, they will be confronted by demonstrators demanding ratification now.

Chicago-area ERA supporters are planning a march and rally in that city for May 14. The Illinois Senate is expected to consider the amendment later that month.

The action was called at a March meeting of thirty activists, who constituted themselves as the Committee for the ERA.

The committee has gained support for the action from ERA Illinois, South Suburban and Illinois Phoenix chapters of the National Organization for Women, National Alliance of Black Feminists, Socialist Workers party, Chicago Branch of the National Council of Negro Women, Federally Employed Women, campus feminist groups, and others.

For more information, contact: Women's Resource Center, Governors State University, Park Forest South, Illinois 60466; Telephone: (312) 534-5000 extension 2435.

In Phoenix, Arizona, a rally is set for 2:00 p.m. on April 17 at the State Capitol. The next day ERA supporters will return to stage an all-day picket line.

Tucson NOW and Arizona State University's Feminists United for Action issued the call for the demonstrations. Other supporters include: Arizona Education Association, Maricopa County Branch of the NAACP, and Arizona Nurses Association.

For more information call (602) 966-2028.

Hearings open on pregnancy benefits bill

By Ginny Hildebrand

Congress has begun hearings on a law to prohibit discrimination against pregnant workers in disability plans.

The new legislation would amend Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to bar employment discrimination based on pregnancy, childbearing, or related medical conditions.

The legislation counters the Supreme Court's December 7, 1976, ruling that said employers can exclude sick leave for pregnant workers in disability plans. The six-to-three decision rejected a challenge to General Electric's disability program brought by members of the International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers Union (IUE). GE's plan includes exclusively male medical conditions, such as voluntary vasectomies, while denying

maternity-related benefits.

The issue is not sex discrimination claimed the court, but merely "an insurance package which covers some risks but excludes others."

The six justices turned a deaf ear to facts showing how discrimination based on women's capacity to bear children is the heart of sex discrimination.

Instead they listened closely to GE's inflated claim that pregnancy benefits would cost companies \$1.6 billion yearly.

What of the human cost to women denied these benefits?

- 85 percent of all working women will be pregnant at some time during their working lives;

- 70 percent of working women work because they are single, divorced,

widowed, or married to men earning less than \$7,000;

- 44 percent of births to married women are unplanned;

- one out of ten babies is born to a single, divorced, or widowed woman.

Last fall *Business Week* estimated that only 40 percent of U.S. companies have disability plans and only 40 percent of these cover pregnancy. The court's ruling encourages more employers to join in penalizing the vast majority of women workers for becoming pregnant.

The IUE, the National Organization for Women, and other groups have formed the Coalition to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers to back the federal legislation.

Groups supporting the proposed law include the AFL-CIO, Coalition of

Labor Union Women, United Auto Workers, Socialist Workers party, NAACP, Mexican-American Women's National Association, and American Civil Liberties Union.

Stiff opposition can be expected from the National Association of Manufacturers, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and other employer groups that hailed the court's December ruling.

With this in mind, some women's rights supporters have begun organizing visible support. In Washington, D.C., for example, a May 8 Mother's Day demonstration at the White House will call for pregnancy disability benefits. The action, called by the Committee for Motherhood by Choice, will also demand that President Carter and Congress halt their attempts to cut off Medicaid-funded abortions.



Issues facing women's movement

BLACK WOMEN'S STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

by Willie Mae Reid, others. 16 pp., 25 cents

ABORTION RIGHTS IN DANGER!

by Nancy Brown, others. 24 pp., 35 cents

WHY WOMEN NEED THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

by Dianne Feeley. 24 pp., 35 cents

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION VS. SENIORITY—Last Hired, First Fired by Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, others. 32 pp., 50 cents

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

Fight Back protests

Basic steel contract 'a disgrace to union'

By Andy Rose

"A nothing contract . . . a big zero . . . a disgrace to the union. . . ."

That's how Steelworkers Fight Back leader Jim Balanoff described the new three-year contract between the United Steelworkers of America and ten basic steel companies. Balanoff was recently elected director of USWA District 31 (Chicago-Gary).

Ed Sadlowski, Fight Back candidate for USWA president in the election last February, said the contract "offers no new benefits, in fact it takes away some benefits."

"It's only another indication of the tremendous inequities of the ENA [Experimental Negotiating Agreement]," Sadlowski said, "and what steelworkers can expect in the future under such a negotiating agreement." Under the ENA, the union gives up the right to strike on the national level.

Protests against the contract have already broken out. Two hundred steelworkers packed into the meeting of USWA Local 1397 in Homestead, Pennsylvania, the night of April 11. They blasted the local president for refusing to provide details of the settlement.

Over the opposition of the local president, the members voted to hold a demonstration April 14 outside the international union headquarters in Pittsburgh.

Attendance at the local meeting was more than twice as large as usual, in part because local Fight Back supporters had leafleted the plant urging a big



JIM BALANOFF

turnout.

The same night, 150 members of Local 1557 at Clairton Coke Works a few miles away instructed their local president to send a telegram to I.W. Abel, union president and chief negotiator, condemning the pact. The local meeting also voted unanimously to take down the picture of Abel in the union hall.

Fight Back leaders point out that Abel's promise of "lifetime job security" for steelworkers has turned out to be a fraud.

The new contract provides only for an increase in supplemental unemployment benefits and an early retirement bonus—both restricted to workers with twenty or more years' seniority.

"Who the hell is going to get laid off after twenty years?" Balanoff said.

At the same time, the contract eliminates health and medical insurance benefits for new workers on probation, even though they pay union dues.

The wage settlement of eighty cents an hour over three years is little more than the 3 percent annual increase guaranteed under ENA. The median wage in basic steel is \$5.50.

The contract provides no improvements in the cost-of-living allowance, grievance procedure, health and safety, vacations, or contracting out of work to nonunion employers. The union leadership had promised major gains in all these areas.

The settlement also takes no steps toward meeting the demands of Black, Latino, and woman USWA members for stronger civil rights committees and an end to job discrimination.

The contract was at first voted down 148 to 143 by basic steel local presidents meeting in Washington April 9. Local presidents, not the members, ratify the contract. They finally approved it 193 to 99 in a roll-call vote after a threatening harangue by Abel.

A few days later, workers at the gates of U.S. Steel South Works in South Chicago told a local reporter what they thought of the contract.

"Eighty cents over three years is not much at all," said foundry worker Stanley Sosnowski. "Take a look at what things cost three years ago, and then at what they cost today, and then you'll see what they'll cost in three years. The money in the contract just isn't going to cover the cost of a car or whatever by the time the contract is up."

Eugene Washington, a Black worker, commented, "This 'lifetime job security' is going to take a lifetime to get."

"It's not the people with twenty years of service that are getting laid off," said Ed French. "It's the younger workers who aren't even covered that need the protection."

Robert Hart declared that "with this ENA they can take away all your rights. The company has the upper hand and there's nothing you can do

about it. You don't have any bargaining power so we don't get any vacation time, more money, or better working conditions. I'd never have voted for this thing."

"I think that all the members should have the right to vote," said Alfred Ratliff. "The way it is now, we have no choice but to accept something we had no part in making."

Abolition of the no-strike deal and the right of members to vote on contracts were key planks in the program of the Fight Back slate. The new storm of discussion and protest around the basic steel contract provides the biggest opportunity since the February election to organize Steelworkers Fight Back as a mass rank-and-file movement for union democracy.

More USWA members than ever before—not only in basic steel but in all the other sections of the union, whose contracts are scaled down from basic steel—will be questioning the policies of the Abel bureaucracy.

The challenge before Fight Back is to explain the lessons of the new contract and aggressively undertake to organize the widespread sentiment for a militant defense of steelworkers' interests.

Some like it

Some people like the new steel contract.

Wall Street likes it. Stock prices rose after the settlement was announced as investors concluded it was favorable to industry profits.

The Carter administration likes it. Government economists called the pact "about what we expected" and indicated it fell within their wage guidelines.

Lloyd McBride likes it. McBride, who will become USWA president in June, called it "a good contract."

The ones who don't like it are the thousands of rank-and-file steelworkers who have to live under its provisions for the next three years. But they don't get to vote.

And maybe that's why.

—A.R.

Steel notes...

MICHIGAN FIGHT BACK TO HEAR WEINSTOCK: Marvin Weinstock will be the featured speaker at a meeting of District 29 (Michigan) Steelworkers Fight Back on Sunday, April 17. Weinstock was Fight Back candidate for international vice-president in the recent union election. The meeting will discuss the national steel contract and what to do about it. It will begin at 1:30 p.m. at the South Gate Democratic Club, 14799 Dix, just north of Eureka, in South Gate, Michigan.

BALTIMORE BLACK STEELWORKERS RALLY: More than 200 Black workers from Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant rallied in Baltimore April 7. The rally was organized by the Twenty-first Century Labor Council to bring its members up to date on their class-action suit against inadequacies of the consent decree. The suit specifically targets the decree's inadequate back pay for victims of past discrimination and inadequate wage-rate retention for Black workers who transfer out of segregated departments.

Attorney Kenneth Johnson outlined the development of the suit and spoke optimistically about reaching a favorable settlement soon. The labor council is in the process of taking sworn depositions from company and union officials.

Johnson also reported that the NAACP Legal Defense Fund has offered its support to the council's efforts. This was met with loud applause from those present.

FBI agent indicted for mail openings, taps

By Diane Wang

"This is one of the worst days we've had," said an agent at the FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., April 7. The office mood, he said, was "very grim."

"This whole office is upset, from top to bottom," another FBI official told the *New York Times*. And in New York an agent complained, "Morale here has been shot."

Why all the gloom? On April 7 a federal grand jury in New York turned in a five-count indictment against former agent John Kearney for illegal wiretaps and mail openings done from 1970 to 1972. It was the first time an FBI agent has been charged with a felony.

The background to the criminal indictments lies in something that happened a little more than a year ago: Agents were ordered to search secret bureau records for material for the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI and other political police agencies.

Evidence in secret "do not file" files showed that New York agents had

carried out black-bag jobs against political dissidents in the early 1970s. Not only did this make a lie of FBI claims that agents' burglaries ended in 1966, it also meant that FBI men could easily be prosecuted for the break-ins, since the five-year federal statute of limitations had not run out.

The Justice Department's civil rights division investigated the burglaries and turned over its evidence to a grand jury last summer. According to reports in the *New York Times* the evidence documented FBI burglaries, wiretaps, mail openings, fire bombings, and kidnapping plots against anti-Vietnam War activists.

The New York dirty work was carried out by Squad 47.

The indictment against John Kearney, the retired agent who headed Squad 47, is the first actual prosecution resulting from that investigation. Kearney is charged only with directing the illegal wiretaps and mail openings. He is not cited for burglaries or for interfering with civil rights.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of

the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the socialists' lawsuit, compared this prosecution to the Justice Department's nonaction in a similar case.

"This decision to prosecute the FBI agents makes it even harder for the government to justify its refusal to prosecute the CIA agents and officials who also did illegal mail openings," Stapleton pointed out.

The Rockefeller commission on CIA activities had reported that the CIA opened mail going to the Soviet Union and some other countries from 1953 to 1973. In January the Justice Department published a fifty-seven-page report explaining its decision not to prosecute CIA officials for that project.

The report said it would be difficult to prove "personal guilt" in the CIA's mail openings. "In such circumstances," it said, "prosecution takes on an air of hypocrisy and may appear to be the sacrifice of a scapegoat—which increases yet again the likelihood of acquittal. And in this case, an acquittal would have its own costs—it could

create the impression that these activities are legal."

Noting the contradiction between the government's approach in these two cases, Stapleton asked: "Why this fear of losing in the CIA prosecution and setting a bad precedent when they are going ahead to charge FBI agents?" In both instances, he said, "the government is actually trying to do the same thing in different ways—to defuse public interest in the crimes."

Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor of New York, called Kearney's indictment "an insufficient response to decades of FBI crimes."

"In fact," Garza said, "the Kearney decision is a cover-up for the Justice Department's real decision, which is not to prosecute the people who hounded Martin Luther King, who opened millions of pieces of first-class mail, who plotted assassinations, who used informers to try to steal the First Amendment protections for free speech, and who have time and time again proven their contempt for the rights of the American people."

U.S. pulling the strings?

France airlifts Moroccan troops to Zaïre

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

Charging that the Zaïrian regime was "a victim of armed subversive activities on its territory originating from abroad," French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing announced April 10 that a fleet of French transport planes would fly a contingent, expected to number 1,500 troops, of Moroccan forces to Zaïre. In reply to a question about the pilots, a government official said, "They are French officers, in uniform."

The day before, the Moroccan Foreign Ministry announced that an initial contingent, also reportedly numbering 1,500 troops, had arrived in Kinshasa, Zaïre's capital, in response to a request by Zaïrian President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The move comes in the face of continuing reverses suffered by the Mobutu regime, which admitted March 31 that its military headquarters at the town of Mutshatsha had been taken by antigovernment Katangan troops. Mobutu has claimed that the Katangans, whom he termed "foreign mercenaries," first entered Shaba Province (formerly Katanga) March 8.

In addition to the aid from France and Morocco, Mobutu's other international allies—particularly the governments in the United States, Belgium, and China—have rushed in supplies to help bolster his dictatorial regime.

An editorial on this subject appears on page 10.

Although there have been no reports of further direct American assistance to Mobutu since President Carter approved an initial shipment of \$2 million worth of supposedly nonlethal supplies March 15, indirect backing has been given in the form of Washington's approval for the sending of Moroccan troops.

A State Department spokesman, Hodding Carter III, denied April 8 that Washington had encouraged or known in advance of the Moroccan military intervention. But Graham Hovey reported in the April 9 *New York Times*:

In response to questions, Mr. Carter said today that both by law and bilateral agreement, Morocco would have to obtain Washington's permission in advance if its army used American weapons outside Morocco. Morocco has received \$30 million in credits for fiscal 1977 for the purchase of American military equipment.

Although Administration officials were emphatic in saying that Washington had not encouraged the Moroccan decision, they made no secret in private of their hopes that King Hassan's soldiers could stabilize the military situation in Zaïre's Shaba Province, formerly known as Katanga.

Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that the French government would have intervened in such a potentially explosive situation without securing Washington's approval in advance. Paris had already announced on March 18 that it would send emergency military supplies to help Mobutu defeat the Katangan forces.

The Belgian government—the former colonial master of Zaïre, when it was called the Belgian Congo—has also agreed to send in military equipment, offering up to thirty plane-loads of supplies.

By taking action through these former colonial powers, Carter is seeking to avoid the impression that Washington is rushing into another foreign military adventure similar to the war in Vietnam, which would have disastrous results for his efforts to restore popular confidence in the White House.

In addition, the editors of the *Wash-*

ington Post pointed out March 25 that overt military backing to Mobutu could damage American interest throughout the African continent. "American involvement," they said, "even if token, is bound to stir African nationalism."

Peking backs Mobutu

In these circumstances, Carter has gained a valuable assist from the Stalinist bureaucracy in Peking. A Zaïrian official announced April 7 that the Chinese regime has agreed to send Mobutu thirty tons of military equipment.

Peking has made no secret of its backing for Mobutu. The *People's Daily* said March 19, "We firmly support the just struggle of the Zaïrian armed forces and people in resisting foreign aggression and safeguarding state sovereignty and territorial integrity."

A Hsinhua News Agency dispatch of the same day explained this support in terms of Peking's rivalry with Moscow, which is alleged to be backing the Katangan forces: "The recent armed invasion of the Republic of Zaïre by several thousand mercenaries from Angola shows that it is a premeditated and planned aggression engineered by the Soviet social-imperialists, another major step of the latter to intensify their infiltration and expansion in Africa."

The Chinese ambassador in Kinshasa personally conveyed Peking's support to Mobutu March 24.

The Chinese Stalinists, in the interests of their own narrow factional conflict with Moscow, have gone so far as to approve Washington's involvement in Zaïre. According to a March 18 dispatch from Peking by *New York Times* correspondent William Safire, "A Chinese Foreign Ministry official says that his Government would have 'no reason' to oppose American aid to Zaïre if the United States aim is to aid the African country and 'to oppose Soviet expansionism' on the continent."

The Mobutu regime has claimed that Soviet and Cuban troops are fighting with the Katangans, but has failed to

present journalists with any proof. Both Moscow and Havana have denied involvement. Although the Katangan forces were based in northern Angola since the 1960s and were thought to have launched their actions from that country, the Angolan regime has also denied any direct role in the conflict.

Imperialists' stake in Zaïre

The American, Belgian, and French aid to Mobutu reflects the concern of the imperialist powers to protect their important stakes in the country.

Zaïre has huge mineral deposits, particularly in Shaba Province. It supplies about 7 percent of the world's copper, 67 percent of its cobalt, and a third of its industrial diamonds. It also produces manganese, tin, zinc, and other minerals. In December 1975, the country's first oil wells went into operation. U.S., Belgian, French, British, Japanese, and South African companies have significant investments there.

Zaïre's location in the center of the continent, as well as its size (it is the third largest African country), gives it a strategic importance. *Los Angeles Times* correspondent David Lamb noted April 1, "Washington considers Zaïre economically significant and an important counterbalance to growing Soviet influence in Africa."

Since 1965, Washington has provided the Mobutu regime with more than \$250 million in economic and military assistance. In fiscal 1975, U.S. military assistance totaled \$3.8 million, but climbed to \$30.5 million by fiscal 1977. The Carter administration has asked Congress to approve \$32.5 million worth of military aid for fiscal 1978. Moreover, it was revealed in February that Mobutu has been a recipient of CIA money.

During the Angolan civil war, Mobutu displayed his usefulness to Washington by funneling money, arms, and mercenaries to the FNLA and UNITA, which were fighting against the MPLA for control of Angola.

The situation in Shaba itself remains obscure. Since journalists are barred from visiting the frontlines, many of the news accounts of the

military situation there are based on rumor or unconfirmed reports.

In a communiqué released in Paris March 11, the Front National de Libération du Congo (FNLC—National Liberation Front of the Congo) claimed credit for the antigovernment actions in Shaba.

Many of the forces in the FNLC are thought to be troops who fought with the imperialist-backed Katangan secessionist movement of Moïse Tshombe in the early 1960s. After their defeat, they fled to northern Angola where they fought with the Portuguese colonialists against the Angolan liberation struggle. During the Angolan civil war they sided with the MPLA against the Zaïrian-backed FNLA and UNITA.

The aims of the Katangan forces are still unclear. According to some reports, they have once again raised the separatist flag. FNLC representatives, however, have stated that they are not secessionist. FNLC spokesman Matumba Cartier was quoted in the April 4 *Africa News* as saying that his group seeks to overthrow Mobutu's regime in Kinshasa and end "the exploitation of the Congolese people."

Discontent spreading

Discontent throughout Zaïre has been heightened by the country's severe economic problems. The fall in the world price of copper—Zaïre's major export item—has greatly undercut the regime's foreign exchange earnings. Its foreign debts are estimated at more than \$2 billion, of which \$500 million is owed to U.S. banks. Inflation, which was about 30 percent in 1974, is now up to 60 percent. Corruption is widespread, there are food shortages in some urban centers, and unemployment is rising.

Besides the conflict in Shaba, there have been small-scale guerrilla actions for a number of years in several provinces, including Kivu, Kwilu, and Haut-Zaïre. Some have been carried out by former followers of Patrice Lumumba, the first president of the Congo, who was murdered in 1961 by imperialist-backed forces.

Since the conflict in Shaba began in early March, there have been new signs of unrest and discontent in other parts of the country. According to the March 30 *Le Monde*, leaflets have been distributed at some army camps accusing the high command of corruption and demanding "just treatment" for lower-ranking officers and troops.

In Kinshasa and the province of Bas-Zaïre, leaflets have also been distributed calling on the Bakongo people to rise up against Mobutu.

The Mobutu regime's growing isolation was most evident at a rally organized by the government in Kinshasa April 3. Although the rally was billed in advance as "the most gigantic demonstration in Kinshasa's history," the 40,000-seat stadium was filled to barely half its capacity. There was almost no cheering or other signs of enthusiasm.

Reporting from Kinshasa April 3, Robin Wright described the speech by Sakombi Inogo, the city's governor. "In one embarrassing moment," she said, "the governor shouted, 'We will vanquish, victory,' then threw up his arms as a gesture for cheers from the crowd. There was only silence. Sakombi repeated the cry in a louder noise, again throwing his arms upward. Silence again."

Large sections of the audience began to leave after about forty minutes. Soldiers closed the gates to prevent further departures.

Three days later Wright quoted a European businessman in Kinshasa as saying, "It's all building up against him [Mobutu], and not only in Shaba. I feel it among my African employees and associates."

Imperialism's foot in the door



Sipa-Press

First photograph of French soldiers in Zaïre's embattled Shaba Province. It appeared March 12 on front page of Paris daily *'France-Soir'*. French government claims troops are military instructors sent to teach Zaïrian and Moroccan soldiers how to use French military equipment, notably tanks and planes. Paris is currently spearheading imperialist intervention in Africa to bolster Zaïre's Mobutu regime, which has been losing ground in its fight against antigovernment troops in Shaba.

NSCAR sets plans for spring and summer

By José G. Pérez

ATLANTA—About sixty people—more than one-third Blacks and Latinos—gathered April 10 at Georgia State University here for the National Student Coalition Against Racism's southern steering committee meeting.

The meeting heard reports by NSCAR national coordinator Tony Austin and national office staff member Mimi Smith. Rev. Bernard Lee, executive vice-president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, brought greetings to the gathering.

In his report Austin outlined NSCAR's major campaigns this spring and summer.

Austin noted the successful tours for exiled South African student leaders Tsietshi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo organized by NSCAR. "Between fifteen and twenty thousand people heard them directly," he said, "and millions more through the media."

Austin also pointed to the importance of the March 25-26 demonstrations against U.S. complicity with southern Africa's racist regimes. "Though modest in size," he said, "these actions were a significant first step in organizing the type of movement needed to get the U.S. out of Africa."

Austin reported that the NSCAR

national office was discussing with leaders of other organizations the need for a meeting to discuss where the movement in support of African liberation stands today.

He urged SCAR members to help organize actions around May 28, African Liberation Day, and June 16, first anniversary of the Soweto protests in South Africa.

"While we are opposing racism abroad," Austin said, "we must continue our activity against growing racist attacks here."

He explained that for the past several years, gains won by Blacks and other minorities have come under increasing attack from the government.

He said the Carter administration, far from reversing this trend, has adopted the same antibusing, anti-affirmative-action stance taken by the Ford administration.

Austin said NSCAR should continue its educational work against these attacks. "May 17, the anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools, can be the occasion for forums, debates, and other activities in defense of school desegregation and affirmative action," Austin said.

"Many civil rights leaders are taking a 'wait and see' attitude, hoping the

Carter administration will stop the attacks," he explained.

In contrast to this approach, NSCAR thinks now is the time to begin a discussion with other forces in the civil rights movement on how best to counter these attacks, Austin said.

One way of beginning the discussion, he suggested, would be for NSCAR activists who are also members of organizations such as the NAACP, SCLC, and Operation PUSH to submit resolutions "calling for a movement that will organize protest actions similar to the 1963 March on Washington."

NSCAR's third major campaign this spring and summer is defense of immigrant workers—the so-called illegal aliens.

Austin said that in the Southwest an orchestrated campaign by immigration cops, local governments, and news media is whipping up racist hysteria against Mexican workers. "Tens of thousands are deported each month," he said. "Opposing this racist campaign must be a major campaign for SCAR chapters in the Southwest. It is also an important issue in many other parts of the country."

Following discussion on Austin's report, Mimi Smith of the NSCAR staff presented an organizational and financial report.



Militant/José G. Pérez

SCLC's BERNARD LEE: Calls for boycott of South African coal brought in by U.S. power companies.

During his greetings Rev. Bernard Lee explained that SCLC was organizing protests against the importation of South African coal by the Atlanta-based Southern Company, owner of several large power companies in the South.

He urged NSCAR to join with SCLC in protesting at the docks of Mobile, Alabama, when the coal arrives from South Africa.

Socialist files charges against racist thug

By Maceo Dixon

BOSTON—Robb Wright, Roxbury organizer of the Socialist Workers party, filed criminal assault charges March 31 against Dan Yotts, a leader of the South Boston Marshals.

Yotts responded by filing totally trumped-up assault charges against Wright.

On March 26 Yotts and about thirty members of the racist gang tried to disrupt a march of 300 people protesting U.S. complicity with southern Africa's white minority regimes. The march was organized by the March 26 Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

As the demonstrators approached the scheduled downtown rally site, Yotts and the other thugs wearing "Southie" T-shirts shouted in unison: "Niggers go back to Africa! Leave South Africa alone! Boneheads, boneheads! Bus 'em back to Africa! You white nigger lovers!" and "We're against Black majority rule. We're for white minority rule!"

Yotts and his band then attacked the demonstrators. As they beat one white demonstrator, Wright, chief marshal for the demonstration, stepped in to pull him away. Yotts turned and attacked Wright.

Wright then demanded that Boston police officer William Smith arrest the attackers. Yotts attacked Wright again in full view of Smith. Smith responded to Wright's demand that he had "no authority to do anything."

The cop in charge at the scene, Capt. Fred Conley, told demonstration marshals he couldn't arrest the racist attackers because he didn't see anything. When marshals demanded that Conley at least order his cops to remove the disrupters, Conley responded that he didn't have enough cops to do that.

Seeing that the cops were not going to allow a peaceful, legal demonstration against white minority rule in southern Africa, the protest leaders decided to return to Boston Common, where a successful rally was held.

Later that evening several Boston Young Socialist Alliance members received harassing phone calls from the South Boston Defense League, a



Robb Wright (left) and Attorney William Homans

Militant/Maceo Dixon

paramilitary racist group. Identifying himself as League member Michael O'Conner, one caller told a YSA member, "I'm calling to keep our records straight. Are you a member of the YSA?"

Before the YSAer could answer, the caller hung up.

Also that evening, Phil Martin, a WILD radio reporter, spoke to a caller who said the League was responsible for the disruption. "We believe in white minority rule," said the caller. "And we will continue to disrupt all demonstrations."

The following evening a caller who identified himself as Dennis O'Conner said to Dave Gilton, host of WBCN radio's "Third World Report":

"The group that sponsored the march to liberate South Africa are communist. Not only will we not tolerate them within the parameters of South Boston, but we will seek them out wherever they go, as a defensive measure."

"Because," he continued, "if they can move freely, they will gather courage to come into our turf. And we

don't want that left-wing scum to get close enough to our people to infect them with their social sickness. We will use violence to protect our community. Our community is tough, independent, and white, and that's the way it will stay forever. God help anyone who tries to change that."

Wright first tried to file charges against Yotts March 28, but a cop at the Boston Municipal Court refused to allow it until Conley appeared.

Conley never showed. But Yotts did. He came on crutches with his attorney, U.S. Rep. Michael Flaherty (D-South Boston).

Wright returned March 31 with a lawyer, William Homans. Before the hearing, after Wright refused Flaherty's suggestion that he drop charges against Yotts, Yotts pressed charges against Wright.

Yotts explained to the judge that he and his wife were returning to their car from downtown shopping when he was attacked for no reason by some of the marchers.

He claimed that Wright and four others had spread-eagled him against

a car and had beaten him with a bullhorn. That, he explained, was why he was on crutches. The judge allowed each to file charges against the other.

Yotts has a history of instigating racist violence. In December 1975, after Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity took South Boston High School into receivership, Yotts wrote in the *South Boston Tribune*:

"Well, old gorilla-face [NAACP President Thomas] Atkins is at it again in trying to stir up the chowder. Close Southie High, that's what mummy is spouting off. Well, if Garrity closes Southie and Atkins is not wiped out and NAACP headquarters with him, I'm going to be the most surprised and disappointed guy in Southie."

A few days later racists fire bombed the Boston NAACP headquarters.

The physical attack on the March 26 demonstration and Wright's court action against Yotts have received considerable media coverage. WILD and WBCN radios broadcast extensive interviews with Wright. The *Boston Phoenix* and *Boston Globe* ran accurate articles on the march and the attempted disruption.

An April 5 news conference announcing the court action was covered by six radio stations and the NBC and CBS television affiliates.

Wright told the *Militant*, "We have to publicize this incident as broadly as possible. The attack on the demonstration is one in a string of attacks on Blacks in Boston. It shows that the city is still polarized and that city officials and police are still encouraging the racists through their inaction."

"We have to pressure the city to protect the right to peaceful protest. These racists could attack us with impunity because for more than three years Mayor Kevin White has refused to uphold the law in respect to Blacks and those who support Black rights."

"We have to gather enough support to establish once and for all our right to demonstrate, rally, picket, or hold other peaceful, legal activities anywhere in this city in support of Black rights in South Africa and Black rights here."

A hearing on the charges against Yotts is scheduled for May 3.

Jury wouldn't 'rule out' gov't conspiracy

Chicano activists cleared in 'bomb plot'

By Miguel Pendás

DENVER—A twelve-member jury unanimously acquitted Crusade for Justice leader Juan Haro of the charge of trying to blow up a Denver police station in 1975.

After only four-and-a-half hours of deliberation, the jury foreman announced that the jury had not "ruled out" that Haro was the victim of a government conspiracy.

The foreman said the jury was mainly swayed by the prosecution's failure to link Haro with the bomb allegedly found in his car.

"No one saw Mr. Haro with the bomb," the head juror said. "They couldn't show us evidence [of dynamite] on his clothes. They couldn't show us anything."

Shortly after the verdict was announced, prosecutor Richard Spriggs declared that he would drop all the charges against Antonio Quintana, Haro's co-defendant, who was scheduled to go on trial May 23.

Spriggs noted that the judge in the Haro trial had thrown out of court the only evidence the prosecution had against Quintana.

Further, at a pretrial hearing, chief prosecution witness Joseph Cordova was unable to identify Quintana, who was sitting in the courtroom.

The government pulled out all the stops trying to win the case. The entire



Rocky Mountain News/Dan Gibson

JUAN HARO

scene around the courthouse had been carefully staged to make Haro and his supporters appear violence-prone.

Police were stationed all over the building. The chief prosecution witness was given a secret out-of-state identity and was accompanied to court by shotgun-armed guards. The jury was kept locked up, away from public contact. Everyone entering the courtroom was searched.

Police dogs trained to sniff out bombs were held in the courthouse basement.

The jurors, however, said that they didn't feel at all intimidated by the presence of Haro's supporters in court.

The only "evidence" the cops had against Haro was the word of Cordova, an agent provocateur for the Denver cops and the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau of the Treasury Department (ATF).

Two ATF agents couldn't agree on whether it was Haro or Cordova who allegedly carried the bomb to a waiting car.

There were no traces of explosive found on Haro. None of Haro's fingerprints were found on the bomb.

Under cross-examination, Cordova admitted to extensive knowledge of explosives. Defense attorneys suggested that Cordova made the bomb

himself and planted it in a car to set up Haro.

Cordova had been sent into the Crusade for Justice, which is a Denver Chicano organization, by the ATF and the Denver cops. He had been responsible for setting up other people for the Denver police.

Crusade leader Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales testified that his organization had been a frequent victim of government infiltration, spying, and harassment—citing the Denver police and district attorney's office, the FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Internal Revenue Service.

The case was so obviously a frame-up from start to finish that even a nearly all-white jury in rural Colorado saw right through it.

Haro still faces a six-year sentence for a January 1976 federal conviction on charges of possessing hand grenades.

Haro's car and Quintana's car were both confiscated at the time of their arrests, in September 1975. Even though neither was convicted, they will not get their cars back. Both federal and Colorado law permit such confiscation.

However, the bank that held the loan on Haro's 1975 Oldsmobile will be repaid in full.

Raza leaders see Carter's pick to head 'la migra'

By Mark Schneider

SAN DIEGO—Carlos Vásquez got a nasty surprise at the San Diego airport March 30. Although he's an American citizen, he was hauled out of an airline boarding lounge by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The border cops demanded proof of Vásquez's citizenship. He missed his plane.

By itself, that's nothing new. It happens to thousands of Chicanos in the United States every day.

This time there was an ironic twist. Vásquez was on his way to visit the INS district director.

A delegation of Chicano leaders left San Diego the same day to meet with Leonel Castillo, Jimmy Carter's choice to head the INS.

They went, said Herman Baca of the Committee on Chicano Rights, because "our communities are virtually under a state of siege." He spoke at a news conference before the group's departure.

The other members of the group were Jesse Ramirez of the Chicano Federa-

tion, and Al Garcia of the United Mexican-American Association.

The three wanted to call Castillo's attention to the severe impact recently stepped-up deportations are having on the millions of Chicanos in the United States.

"The average U.S. citizen's rights are being challenged," Baca went on. "The identity card is a prerequisite of a police state. Because of the immigration issue, this police-state measure is finding legitimacy."

Baca was referring to a plan by the Carter administration to issue pass cards to all U.S. citizens. Workers seeking a job would have to show the card to their prospective employers.

"We're not going to sit back and watch our political rights taken away by some federal bureaucracy," Baca concluded.

Jesse Ramirez added his voice in opposition to the stepped-up deportations.

"Every solution of the INS has been 'what's good for business is good for the country,' even when it's at the expense of human rights. We think



human rights should come first."

All three disapproved of pending state and national legislation that would penalize employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers. They pointed out that employers will use these laws to discriminate against Chicanos.

Baca also criticized any partial amnesty program for undocumented residents. "The issue of amnesty should be tied in with a no-deportation policy," he said.

After his return to San Diego, Baca told the *Militant* that Castillo had expressed some dissatisfaction with past INS policies, but that he only spoke in generalities and didn't suggest any specific alternatives.

Castillo admitted, Baca said, that INS statistics in the past had been inflated and exaggerated.

The Chicano leader emphasized that his group wanted "to see deeds, not words," and that the Committee on Chicano Rights would continue defending the Chicano community against the deportations.

Sit-in hits gov't delay on rights of disabled

By Dorothy Dillon

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 150 disabled people and their supporters began a sit-in here April 5 at the offices of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

Demonstrations took place in ten other cities at the same time, including a sit-in at the HEW building in Washington, D.C.

The goal of the actions was to force the federal government to implement laws forbidding discrimination against the handicapped.

Although such a law was passed in 1973—Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act—the requirements to implement it have never been enacted.

Without these rules, 36 million disabled people remain victims of discrimination, in violation of a law the government refuses to enforce.

Millions of children are daily excluded entirely from school or unnecessarily placed in segregated programs.

Millions of disabled adults are de-

nied their right to employment, decent housing, medical care, and transportation.

Although Jimmy Carter made a lot of noise during last year's election campaign about "civil rights and personal dignity" for disabled people, his handpicked choice for HEW secretary, Joseph Califano, has continued to stall on implementing Section 504.

Judy Heumann, a spokesperson for the Center for Independent Living and a leader of the April 5 actions, commented: "We believed in Jimmy Carter. We campaigned for him. . . .

"It is now April. Secretary Califano . . . has been in office for over two months. It is eight months since Jimmy Carter told the disabled of this country he would not delay, he would support our cause, and he would have the regulation signed."

The changes required by Section 504 would cost money. Implementation would mean major changes in public accommodations, sidewalks, and

transportation, for example.

But for Washington the Trident submarine takes priority over the needs of the disabled.

The San Francisco demonstrators won an impressive array of support from handicapped organizations, political groups, and religious groups.

In addition, they were supplied with food from such diverse sources as the Black Panther party and McDonalds.

Government officials refused to allow food for the Washington protesters. Faced with the choice of starving or leaving, the group left the offices.

However, the April 5 actions may be only the beginning of a very long campaign.

"The time is now, not tomorrow, but today. The broad-based coalition represented around the country today will not turn back. Political action will not cease until our goal is achieved: equal rights for citizens with disabilities," declared the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities.

'Gang of four' purge debated in Chicago

By Mike Taber

CHICAGO—Some 400 people filled an auditorium at the University of Chicago here April 3 to hear a panel debate on the question "What Is Happening in China?"

This was the first large public meeting held in the United States to discuss the issues raised by the purge of Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's widow, and three other top leaders of the Chinese Communist party last October.

The meeting was remarkable not only for its size and the intense interest in the issues under discussion—the question period had to be extended from a scheduled one hour to almost two and a half hours—but also for the range of opinions represented.

The panelists were Jack Smith, managing editor of the New York weekly *Guardian*; Les Evans, a contributor to the *Militant* on China and a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party; and William Hinton, a well-known unofficial spokesperson for the Peking government. Hinton is the author of *Fanshen*, an eyewitness account of the Chinese revolution in the late 1940s in a peasant village, and is a former chairperson of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association.

The debate was sponsored by the University of Chicago Student Government Speakers' Committee, and ably chaired by Quintin Young, a doctor on the staff of the university who has visited China as part of a medical exchange program.

Although both the audience and the speakers were sharply divided on the issues under debate, all points of view were listened to with complete courtesy and the meeting stuck to the issues throughout.

Smith's remarks

In his opening remarks Jack Smith made the following points:

"The world was stunned last October, first by the death of Chairman Mao, and then by the arrests of the so-called gang of four.

"These were not just four minor party members or a small faction. They constituted four of the leading six members of the party Politburo. And heretofore, at least, they had been identified as the left wing of the party. All of them in one degree or another owed their elevation to their proximity to Chairman Mao."

The *Guardian's* position on the purge, Smith said, was that "it's a legitimate campaign against left dogmatism, which, if carried too far, could lead to rightist errors."

While giving this general endorsement to the new government, Smith raised some criticisms and questions:

"We find it impossible to believe that high-ranking Politburo members could have behaved in the reprehensible manner that these four are supposed to have behaved, and not to have been chastened by the masses or by Mao or by the party. How could they be pornographers, be rightists, be Kuomintang agents all these years and no one could stop them? To what extent, we wonder, is Mao Tsetung himself being criticized in the current campaign against the 'gang of four'?"

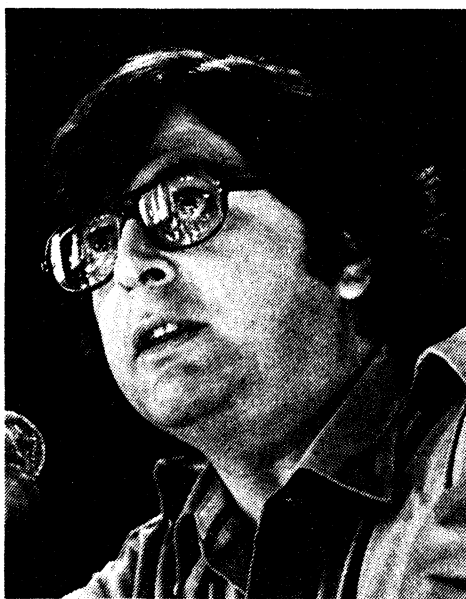
"It is possible that the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution are being overturned. These questions are raised by the nature of the campaign. We find it unbelievable that they were capitalist roaders."

Les Evans said that it was to the *Guardian's* credit that it "has asked for facts and not just for assertions" from China's new government. He asked, if the charge that the supporters of Mao in the government were "capitalist restorationists" was false, and if, as the *Guardian* now admits, the same charge made against acting-premier

Teng Hsiao-p'ing a year before was also false, wasn't this whole concept, put forward by Mao, "a convenient epithet the government uses to cut off debate, to silence and defeat an opposition?"

Evans said that the purge revealed four features of Chinese politics today: 1) an attack on Mao and his policies by the new government; 2) extensive repression of the Chinese masses under Mao, which was continuing under Hua Kuo-feng; 3) "the extent of the privileges, the life-style, of the top leaders of the government, as revealed by the new regime itself in the attacks on the 'gang of four'"; and 4) "the stirrings of mass discontent, as indicated by the Tien An Men demonstration" of April 1976.

Evans cited four criteria Jack Smith had proposed in the *Guardian* last November to judge if the new regime was continuing Mao's policies or breaking from them. Smith had listed the campaign to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the campaign to criticize Confu-



From left: JACK SMITH, WILLIAM HINTON, LES EVANS

cius, the upholding of Mao's claim that a "bourgeoisie is to be found within the party"; and Mao's dictum that "class struggle" is the "key link."

Evans cited recent articles in the Peking press to show that on each one of these issues the new government has openly attacked Mao's campaign and slogans.

Repression

On repression in China, Evans said:

"The Chinese press accuses the 'gang of four' of throwing political prisoners into jail for disliking Chiang Ch'ing's movies. It accuses them of firing workers from their jobs, of deporting people to the countryside, and even torture, murder, executions. It accuses them of stealing from the state treasury for their own benefit.

"These are gross crimes in any country, under any regime. If you take the position that these things are true, then Mao is not guilty of failing to reform these people, as Jack Smith says. He is guilty of covering up before the Chinese masses crimes committed primarily by members of his own personal circle and of his own family.

"Jack Smith does not want to believe the government's accusations. If these things are true, he says, then what do we have to say about Chairman Mao? I agree. I would add, if they are all lies, then what do we have to say about the current government of China?"

Evans granted that Smith was probably correct in his view that the new government was lying to the people of China on many of the accusations against Mao's followers. But he cited the publication in the Chinese press of the names and dates of arrest of many political prisoners by the previous government, and Chiang Ch'ing's revelations to Roxane Witke, recently published in *Time* magazine, on her privileged living standards, as

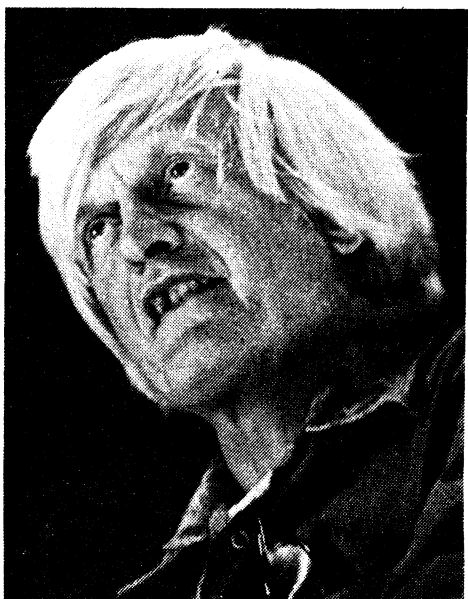
convincing proofs of the repression and privileges that characterized the regime in China under Mao.

Chiang Ch'ing

"Chiang Ch'ing met with Roxane Witke in a private mansion in Canton; she had Garbo films flown in for her amusement; she had a staff of ladies-in-waiting, all dressed in matching silk gowns. . . .

"The question Jack Smith raises is how is that possible? I say that it is possible only on one condition: Only on the condition that it is *generalized*, that it is the common practice of the leadership of the Chinese Communist party.

"The repression that the government describes is the means by which the masses are prevented from changing that. The new government does not permit any discussion or debate openly over its *own* conduct, over its *own* financial disclosure, over the right of somebody now in China to debate its current policy. I think that is endemic



to the regime. I think that it flows from the privileged character of the regime.

"I think that can be changed in only one way. It can be changed when the masses of the Chinese people take the reins of government into their own hands, and do not rely on any wing of the Chinese Communist party to do their thinking for them and to decide for them.

"The future of China lies in a mass antibureaucratic revolution to replace the present leadership of China with a democratic, proletarian government based on Leninist internationalism."

Hinton

William Hinton took the position that "the 'gang of four' developed into a reactionary group, that their exposure and arrest was necessary, and that it does not represent a rightist trend in China, but a solution of a very serious counterrevolutionary trend."

Hinton said the accusations of extreme privilege on the part of the "gang of four" were accurate. "Les has said this is typical of the higher cadres in China. I don't think it's typical. It's a matter of great struggle."

Chiang Ch'ing, he added, "didn't have a private villa; she had the *use* of a publicly owned rest home or resort, but I think she abused this privilege." Mao, he said, had tried to block the four by appointing Hua Kuo-feng as premier in April 1976.

A wide range of questions were raised in the discussion period: the character of Chinese foreign policy, whether Lenin as well as Mao held the idea that there was a "bourgeoisie" in the Communist party, the meaning of the Tien An Men demonstrations, and so on.

The central issue, however, raised in many forms, was workers democracy and whether its absence in China justified calling for the formation of a

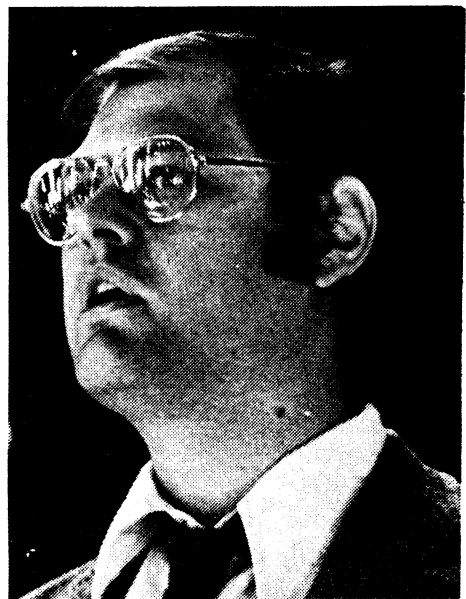
new communist party to overthrow the current regime.

A leader of the New World Information Center, a group friendly to the Chinese government, asked Evans to explain why he considered the formation of a new party in China necessary and realistic. He replied:

Workers democracy

"I think that the question of workers democracy is at the very heart of all of the disputes between the different factions. I think that the way these disputes are carried out reveals precisely the lack of any genuine workers democracy in China.

"You have people who are top leaders of the party. A dispute breaks out over many different kinds of government policy. Some of the accusations involve crimes, but other accusations against the 'gang of four' do not. They involve *alternative* cultural policies, *alternative* economic strategies, etc. These are questions that should be *debated* in China, publicly.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

"You don't have that. In place of that you have the single dominant line of whoever happens to control the press apparatus and the party apparatus. And when that particular group is defeated and jailed and ousted from the party, their line is replaced by a different line. You do not have the participation of the Chinese working class in any serious way in the formulation of national policy.

"The ruling party has shown no indication of correcting that. There is no debate *today*. There is one position: to attack the 'gang of four.' The fundamental belief of Marxism is trust in the masses. William Hinton says the revolution must be secured by being tough.

"The revolution is most insecure when decisions are made in a group of six people and two of them throw the other four into jail and no one knows what the debate is all about."

Smith and Hinton responded that from what they had seen in China, Evans's position was false and slanderous. China, they maintained, was the freest country in the world, where the most wide-ranging debate takes place.

The next question was on the meaning of the Tien An Men demonstrations in April 1976. Both Smith and Hinton said that they believed the demonstrations were a genuine outpouring of popular discontent and of support for Chou En-lai against the influence of the "gang of four" in the government.

Evans commented:

"I think that the Tien An Men events demonstrate very graphically exactly what I said on how decisions are made in China. Today Bill Hinton suggests that this demonstration was a genuine reaction by the Chinese masses. How then do we explain the fact that the press of China reported

Continued on page 30

Hands off Zaire!

Using its French and Belgian junior partners as front men, Washington is masterminding a dangerous escalation of imperialist war moves in Africa.

On April 12 the Carter administration dispatched \$13 million in "nonlethal" military equipment to aid the Mobutu regime in Zaïre. Mobutu is at war with antigovernment forces in the southern province of Shaba (formerly called Katanga).

The U.S. government had already sent Mobutu \$2 million in aid when fighting broke out last month.

Carter's announcement came on the heels of the French government's airlift of 1,500 Moroccan troops to Shaba. Paris also admitted that French military advisers are now in Shaba, supposedly to instruct Zaïrian and Moroccan troops in the use of French tanks and aircraft.

Belgium, Zaïre's former colonial master, is also arming Mobutu.

Washington and its NATO cronies have lost a lot of sleep recently over the paralysis of the Zaïrian army in the face of advancing Katangan troops. Commenting on the French rescue operation, a top State Department official said the airlift "underscores the seriousness of the situation. . . ."

The stakes in Shaba are high for the United States, France, and Belgium. They have millions of dollars invested in the region's rich copper, cobalt, and uranium fields.

These imperialist powers are also eager for any excuse to intervene on the African continent as a show of force against the mounting liberation struggles in Rhodesia, South Africa, and Namibia.

Both President Carter and French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing deny any collaboration in planning the Zaïre intervention. But Washington has a long history of lying to the American people.

Only last year the U.S. government staunchly denied any involvement with South Africa's invasion of Angola or the airlift of American mercenaries to fight in the civil war there. And Washington's record of deceit during the Indochina War is notorious.

The truth is that U.S. imperialism has conspired against the people of Zaire ever since that country—then called the Congo—won formal independence in 1960.

Congressional committees have documented CIA assassination plots against Patrice Lumumba, head of the Congo's leftist government during its first year of independence. In 1961 Lumumba was executed by rightist Congolese forces backed by Belgium and the United States.

During the next several years—this time using the United Nations as its front man—Washington secretly financed mercenaries and military equipment to crush Lumumbist rebels.

So there is no reason to believe Carter's pious denial that he is orchestrating the imperialist intervention in Shaba. His motive was explained by *New York Times* correspondent Graham Hovey April 13.

According to Hovey, White House officials admit that Carter fears that "any deeper American involvement, with memories of Vietnam and the abortive 1975 intervention in Angola still fresh, would provoke a strong reaction from Congress and the country."

Carter knows that antiwar sentiment runs high in the population, and that any direct intervention in Africa would spark an especially outraged response in America's Black communities.

That's why the French and Belgian cover has proved so convenient. As Hovey points out, "there is a strong feeling [in Washington] that Zaire is getting all the heavy military equipment it needs from Belgium and France. . . ."

But this does not lessen the dangers of a full-scale imperialist intervention if the military situation in Shaba continues to deteriorate for Mobutu.

And Washington's assessment of the risks of more open participation could change if it believes that vital U.S. interests are directly imperiled.

Supporters of African self-determination must mount a response to Washington's war moves. Picket lines, rallies, and teach-ins are needed to educate the American people about this threat, and to alert Carter that U.S. aggression will not go unchallenged at home.

The American people must demand that the U.S. government halt *all* military shipments of *any kind* to Zaïre. We must demand an end to Washington's closed-door intrigues with its NATO allies against the African people.

Hands off Zaïre!

DSOC convention

I think a footnote to your excellent account of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee convention [*Militant*, March 25] is necessary.

The term "trade unionist" (as in "a democratic left coalition of trade unionists, the minorities . . .") is social-democratic shorthand for "union official." It includes unpaid officers of local unions, but nobody outside this layer and the porkchoppers above them.

Elizabeth McPike made this very clear when a reporter from another socialist paper asked her why there weren't more unionists at the convention. "The secondary leadership aren't ready yet," was her reply. It never occurred to her the question might have referred to rank-and-file members!

This tells a lot about DSOC. As long as its orientation is toward these "trade unionists" rather than the working class as a whole, it is incapable of any break with the Democratic party.

Tom Condit
Berkeley, California

Southern African stories

I would like to congratulate you on your exclusive articles dealing with white racist oppression in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Never has anyone heard the truth as I did when reading about Tsietshi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo. I had the privilege of hearing Seatlholo speak. Never had my eyes been so opened as after listening to this hero. Keep up the good work.

Tony A. Jones
Indianapolis, Indiana

From a prisoner

Although I'm not a subscriber, I have enjoyed reading your publication. There aren't many papers or magazines that tell the truth about our judicial system. I would like to start getting your paper, but I am in prison and without funds. I'm only paid twelve dollars a month for working. So by the time I buy the things I need, I'm broke. I won't be released until January 1978, and the *Militant* would help pass the time.

I would really appreciate a free year's subscription.
A prisoner
South Dakota

[The *Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.]

NOW debate

The recent dissension within the Twin Cities chapter of the National Organization for Women (*Militant*, April 1) is getting worse instead of better. Members objecting to a task force report published by the chapter were undemocratically prevented from bringing their resolution to retract support of the report before the membership for a vote. This resulted in dissidents calling a press conference to make public their resolution, now to be brought before the national conference.

The reaction of the Twin Cities NOW

board and officers? They passed a resolution written by the president formally reprimanding Gillian Furst and two board members—Jo Vos and myself—for failing in our "duties" as board members to inform the president that Gillian was planning the press conference.

Neither Jo nor I support Gillian's resolution, because we agree with the task force report's recommendations (that the state employ affirmative-action officers with skills to deal with women's unique problems and that the affirmative-action program be conducted by units separate from the ones that deal with the unique problems of racial discrimination).

Nevertheless, we stand in firm and unwavering support of Gillian's right to communicate with the membership and the membership's right to be the ultimate decision-making body on questions of chapter policy.

Sherry Carter
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dobrynin on the ERA

At a National Women's Political Caucus gathering in Washington, D.C., March 30, President Carter said he wanted to make the United States a "rallying point" for human rights. One way to do that, he said, would be to pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

To embellish his point, he told a story about the first time he met Anatoly Dobrynin, Soviet ambassador to the United States. According to the *Washington Post*, Carter recalled that Dobrynin "brought up the subject of human rights. I said my position would not change and he said the United States is not without fault."

What did he mean? Carter asked, and Dobrynin replied, "The United States still hasn't passed the Equal Rights Amendment."

Whether Dobrynin really said this or whether Carter was taking politicians' license with the truth, it is an effective argument to expose the hypocrisy of Carter's "human rights" campaign.

The Communist party USA would no doubt incorporate it into its frenzied effort to discredit Soviet dissidents and their legitimate fight for human rights if it weren't for one little thing: the CP is on record *against* the ERA.

This is one time the CP's *Daily World* didn't rush to hail the latest quotation of a Soviet official.
Nancy Cole
Jersey City, New Jersey

Labor solidarity

United action by Philadelphia supermarket workers won a victory when employers were defeated in their attempts to use the lockout tactic against a meatcutters' strike.

The strike began March 6, when the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America struck the Pantry Pride supermarket chain. It effectively shut down the chain in Philadelphia, parts of northern Delaware, and southern New Jersey.

Employers countered with a "united front" on March 8, as Acme and A & P, in collusion with Pantry Pride, locked out all their workers.

Solidarity was strong from the start as the Retail Clerks union walked off with the butchers. Teamsters also refused to make deliveries.

The Retail Clerks union, which has a

Wage slaves in New Jersey



Following is a guest column by Juan Rodríguez, a member of the Socialist Workers party in Newark.

NEWARK—A class action lawsuit filed by three Puerto Rican farm workers in South Jersey shows how farm workers brought from Puerto Rico are exploited in the United States.

The workers charge that farmers underpaid them for harvesting fruits and vegetables in violation of their contracts.

The South Jersey farmers are members of the Glassboro Service Association, which, on behalf of more than 250 growers, negotiates contracts with the Puerto Rican government. Glassboro has been negotiating such contracts since 1948.

The Farm Workers Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Migrant Legal Action Program are representing the farm workers. They contend that between 1970 and 1975, migrant workers were cheated out of up to \$1 million in wages, both through underpayment of wages and through excessive deductions for food and transportation. Farm workers are demanding an audit of the growers' records to determine the amount owed to them.

In 1976, workers under contract were supposed to get \$2.40 an hour. But only one-fourth of the farm workers are even covered by contracts. So most farm workers get paid less.

Conditions for Puerto Rican migrants are both inhuman and barbaric. Housing is overcrowded. Sanitation facilities in the fields are either inadequate or nonexistent.

In 1974 alone, some ninety-five labor camps in New Jersey were closed for failing to meet minimum government requirements. David Lillesand, director of the Camden Regional Legal Service in 1974, said

migrant housing was "too small, dark, dingy, overcrowded."

Migrant farm workers in New Jersey don't yet have a union that represents them. They receive no overtime pay, no fringe benefits, no unemployment insurance.

Conditions are so bad that in 1974 a crew chief was indicted under a post-Civil War statute for holding four farm workers in slavery.

The Puerto Ricans that brought the most recent legal action—Angel Luis Ocasio, Oscar Cintrón Pérez, and Gabriel Torres Rondón—say that their situation is typical of the plight of 4,000 farm workers who come here under contract each year from Puerto Rico.

The defense attorney for the Glassboro Service Association, Frederick Jacob, says it would be "harassment" to inspect the books of the growers.

Jacob also charges that this and other suits are a "plot" by supporters of farm worker unionism. "If you bring down the farmers' contracting organization because the members can't afford to fight any more suits, you create a vacuum that would be filled by a union."

But even without a union, the prospect of paying more money to farm workers is driving the growers crazy. In the 1977 contracts, farm workers are scheduled to receive a miserable ten-cents-an-hour increase.

Grower mouthpieces warn that prices of fruits and vegetables will skyrocket, and the growers are abandoning hand-picked fruit and vegetables for machine-harvested grain to avoid paying workers the extra dime.

These are the types of answers that Puerto Rican farm workers get from agribusiness in this country. These firms have been exploiting Puerto Rican migrants for three decades, and the workers should be given every cent that is due them.

no-lockout clause in its contracts with the chains, went to court and got an arbitrator to rule the lockout illegal on March 16. This was a considerable victory for all the unions in the Retail Joint Council. Acme and A & P are now under order to pay clerks about \$1.5 million in back wages.

With Acme and A & P now forced to reopen, the pressure is hard on Pantry Pride, which faces a possible permanent loss of patronage to the other chains.

As in the recent newspaper strike here, Philadelphia supermarket workers are demonstrating the power of united industry-wide action as opposed to individual craft union action, in winning today's strikes. *Albert Cassorla*
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Kansas City strike

I thought *Militant* readers would be interested in a report on a recent strike here in Kansas City in which workers faced the joint opposition of the union, the employer, and the courts.

Strikers at Associated Wholesale Grocers were forced to return to work after a three-day wildcat strike. The 500 workers, members of Teamsters Local 955, walked out March 22 to protest several recent firings and the refusal of the union to fight the dismissals.

A federal court order against picketing was served on almost 300 strikers assembled near the plant. The following day 26 strikers were arrested for being in the "vicinity." Twelve were charged with contempt of court and jailed when they refused to comply with the order. At this point the union intervened and posted bond.

The company fired twenty-two workers for allegedly instigating the strike and sent telegrams to the other workers threatening to fire everyone who did not report to work the next day.

Michael Laird
Kansas City, Kansas

Women's arts festival

The Women's Center at Cal State Northridge is organizing a festival for June 6. We hope to make it a major West Coast women's celebration. We want it to be a politically as well as socially stimulating event, bringing together women from different economic and cultural backgrounds.

The festival is especially looking for women who interpret and express the politics that affect our daily lives through painting, music, mime, theater, dance, and puppetry. There will be booth space and a stage.

If you'd like to be part of the festival, or if you want more information, write the Women's Center, CSUN, Adm. 203, 18111 Nordhoff, Northridge, California 91324, or call (213) 885-2780 between 10:00 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. Monday through Friday.

Cathy Thamann
Los Angeles, California

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

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



Who'll clean up?

Why do socialists think that environmental issues are important?

Not everyone agrees that fighting to protect the environment is in the interests of working people. Most trade-union bureaucrats, for example, insist that pollution control simply means a loss of jobs. They dismiss environmentalists as merely a bunch of rich folks—"wine and cheese liberals"—trying to keep their private beaches clean.

And even some radical-minded people go along with such distortions of the goals of the environmentalists.

But the demands raised by environmentalists, far from reflecting only the concerns of an elite few, are in the interest of the overwhelming majority of American working people. In fact, the issues go right to the heart of the profit system.

The simple truth is that unchecked environmental degradation means hundreds of thousands of deaths and illnesses each year. It means inhuman work conditions. It means doctored food that is slow poison. It means oil-fouled beaches and dead trees.

The corporations have been able to get away with doing all this because they haven't had to pay the cleanup costs or the doctor bills. In the jargon of capitalist economics, these costs have been "externalized"—they make the mess and we foot the bill. Society has paid the piper, but the stockholders have called the tune.

The instant response of every corporate polluter challenged to clean up is either, "We'll have to shut down" or "There will be layoffs." Their answers mean only that they don't want to cut into their precious profits.

The truth is that some companies probably have "externalized" so much of the true cost of production that a pollution crackdown *would* make them unprofitable.

But that's not where the matter ends. First of all, the unions can demand to inspect the company's financial records before any shutdown. And if the company

really is unprofitable, let the government nationalize it with the workers themselves in control.

That's the logic of the fight to preserve the environment.

Another important point is the careless way profit-motivated production pollutes. It's not that the capitalists aim to degrade the environment. It's just that they don't care one way or the other, provided they can make money.

Nuclear power plants are a good example. They are designed to create a highly profitable return on their initial investment. But they are extremely dangerous. A single accident could kill thousands of people. Many workers in such plants are exposed to extremely dangerous radiation levels in a very short time.

Who suffers from pollution? It's the asbestos workers, the coke-oven workers, the farm workers. It's Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos forced to live in grim urban ghettos. It's working people who eat food with dangerous chemical additives.

The real victims are the same people who get the short end of the stick all their lives living and working under capitalism.

And that's who will benefit from an environmental movement organized to make the earth safe for people to live on.



I mean, you can have the cleanest air in the world but if you can't manufacture anything what the hell good is it?

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Why not indeed—The dinner tab at the Palace, a posh New York beanery, is usually \$250. As a second-anniversary special, they offered a \$1,000-a-couple spread featuring peacock with the feathers put back on after roasting. Said owner Frank Valenza: "I know people who think nothing of dropping \$1,000 at the craps table. Or losing their welfare checks at the races. So why not \$1,000 for a beautiful feast?"

Be it ever so humble—"Simple and unpretentious," a representative said

of the planned Gerald Ford home near Palm Springs, California. The fifteen-room dwelling will cost an estimated \$500,000.

HEW's Who—Those who've been bad-mouthing HEW Secretary Califano for hiring an office cook for \$12,763 and a bodyguard for \$44,000 should consider if they want to see the secretary neglect his own Health and Welfare. Not to mention how he's Educating the public.

See?—Dr. Daniel Horn of the Cen-

ter for Disease Control reported that recent surveys show that the growth of cigarette smoking has been halted, and it may now be possible to decrease it.

Fast respects—A drive-in mortuary has opened in New Roads, Louisiana. Friends or relatives can pay last respects by driving past a window where the dearly departed is displayed in a casket decorated with a small cross and illuminated by a blue neon light. Said the mortician: "We wanted something for people who didn't have time to dress."

The bright side—Despite all the bleating about unemployment and inflation, Rolls Royce reported record profits for 1976. U.S. sales shot up 42 percent.

Sounds reasonable to us—A California taxpayer claimed a \$1,600 deduction as "a casualty loss due to theft, based on a conspiracy between the government and the oil companies which produced an increase in the cost of living." The U.S. Tax Court rejected the deduction as "without merit." They didn't say why.

National Picket Line

The Black factor

An increase of Blacks in southern industry and the radicalization of the Black population are helping the cause of unionism in the South, and will undoubtedly bring some changes in the union movement in the North as well.

The story of a textile mill in Newberry, South Carolina, and the survival over the years of a small local of the Textile Workers Union of America illustrate both the potential for union growth and the limitations of most unions as now constituted.

This story is told by Bruce Raynor, former TWUA education director, now an official of the merged Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. He writes:

"The TWUA local union in Newberry is one of the oldest operating unions in the South. It successfully survived the 1973 General Strike and has constructed a fine union hall. Traditionally this was a white local union; few Blacks are employed by Kendall. In past strikes the local gave food and financial assistance to the Black strikers while barring them from membership.

"Beginning in 1966, Kendall hired Black workers, who by now constitute 50% of the millhands. Kendall was one of the last textile companies to 'capitulate' to the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

"Many of the older Black workers who had desired union membership for years joined the local in 1964 when admittance first became possible. However, the younger Blacks entering the plant viewed the union as a White institution which

didn't want or deserve their support.

The local's membership gradually dropped to its current level of little more than half the 450 workers employed. Consequently its strength in dealing with the company has eroded to a point of inability to solve many grievances or negotiate contracts beyond the industry-wide pattern."

Reference to "industry-wide pattern" means that wages and working conditions for union members are no different than those of nonunion members in this or any other textile mill. It is hard to convince low-paid workers that they ought to pay union dues when there are no tangible benefits.

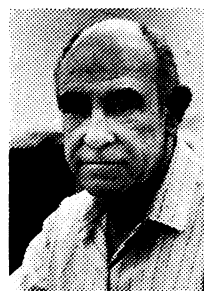
Top TWUA officials recognized that their problem was to find ways to win over the young Black workers, and in 1975 they convened a "labor education institute" for that purpose. "It revealed several underlying attitudes and conceptions that are very informative," says Raynor. He recounts some of what happened there:

"Pinkney Moses, a black millhand who has worked at Kendall since 1948, expressed a feeling that the younger Blacks 'don't feel welcome in the union hall.'

"A longtime union leader named Mattie Lee Mays referred to the 1951 Southern strike when 'we gave you all food and money even though you weren't in the union.'

"'But you wouldn't let me in Mrs. Mays—don't you remember me asking all those times to sign a card?' Moses responded.

Frank Lovell



"Mattie Lee announced, 'But Moses you know that's the way things were down here then, now we want the Colored in and they won't join, I mean except for a few of the good ones like you. What do these young ones have to kick about, they weren't even around then, nobody ever kept them out of the union.'

"Moses had no answer to Mattie Lee Mays' last statement and the discussion ended with a resolve to sign up the young Blacks."

Raynor says, "The importance of these sentiments is that there exists no real understanding among the older Whites or Blacks as to why young Black workers resent the union.

"Therefore," Raynor concludes, "these older workers who view the local as their own property do not feel that they need to change anything to accommodate the younger Blacks except allow them to obtain membership. They view the Blacks' reluctance as ignorance about unionism. Moreover, despite the weakness of the union, as long as it remains they feel no pressing need to change anything or sign up the Blacks. They have accepted the modest improvements won over a long period of time as enough and have very limited ideas towards change."

The fact that this report could be turned in by a top union official is evidence of change. But the big change in the union movement will be made by those young Blacks who are the subject of the report, not by the reporter.

By Any Means Necessary

A long way from Memphis

I was shocked when I read in the *New York Times* that on April 4 the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., had thrown his weight behind Atlanta's Black Mayor Maynard Jackson against striking sanitation workers of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644. Joining "Daddy" King in a news conference to support Jackson's strikebreaking were the Atlanta Urban League and the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, one of the least enlightened institutions in that city.

Even the *Times* couldn't help noticing the irony of the situation:

"Mr. King's stand with the city administration against the sanitation workers came, ironically, on the ninth anniversary of the date on which his son, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was shot to death in Memphis while supporting a strike by that city's sanitation workers."

A genteel way of saying he was dancing on his son's grave.

When King was asked if his stance didn't conflict with that which his son took in Memphis, he replied: "I didn't want to get into the Memphis business."

But the irony runs deeper than that.

Eighty percent of the strikers, fired by Jackson April 1, are Black, veterans of the civil rights protests of the 1960s and early 1970s. Some of Local 1644's leaders worked with King in Memphis and other cities.

It was this struggle for human dignity, fought by Atlanta's sanitation workers and other Black workers and students across the South, that made it possible for Maynard Jackson to even dream of being elected mayor in a southern city.

And, again ironically, it was the votes of Local 1644's membership and the rest of Atlanta's Black population that made Jackson's dream a reality.

Jackson's assault on the sanitation strikers should serve as a lesson to Blacks across the

country. Jackson, like many other Black elected officials, rode to power on the wave of Black protests and demands for Black political power.

But he rode that wave as a candidate of the Democratic party, a party owned and controlled by the very forces seeking to grind Black living standards into the ground. Therefore, in office Jackson uses his power to put the chamber of commerce first and the demand of Black sanitation workers for a fifty-cent-an-hour raise last.

What more could Atlanta's bankers and businessmen ask for? On the one hand they strike hard at Black working people through Jackson the mayor. And on the other hand they obscure their antilabor, anti-Black assault, and gain support for it from Black leaders because Jackson is Black.

Such are the wages of a strategy of depending on Democrats and Republicans—Black or white. It's a powerful argument for independent political action on the part of labor and the Black community.

John Hawkins



Socialists' lawsuit tackles 'Big Brother'

By Diane Wang

"Big Brother" is listening. It's the National Security Agency. And if the government has its way in court, there is nothing anyone can do to curtail or stop this giant eavesdropper.

As might be expected from these supersecret spies, the NSA has topped even the FBI and CIA in its claims to secrecy.

Faced with a \$40 million lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance, the FBI and CIA have tried to withhold evidence with claims that most of their files are "privileged" information or necessary for "national security."

But the NSA goes even further. According to an affidavit by the Department of Defense, the NSA should not be forced into court at all. National security would be endangered, the government claims, if the NSA is forced to answer the lawsuit in court.

Herbert Jordan, attorney for the socialists, answered the government in a legal brief filed March 18. In that brief Jordan explains that the NSA is asking the court to rule, "for the first time in the 200 year history of the republic," that a branch of the government cannot be called to account for its crimes.

Jordan underscored the importance of the court's decision on this issue in a telephone interview with the *Militant*.

If the government wins this battle, he explained, "it would mean the NSA and other government agencies would be free to do what they choose with impunity."

"I don't think any claim of 'privilege,'" he said, "can authorize the executive branch to be protected from legal action when it violates the Constitution."

Jordan's brief quotes Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall, who wrote in 1803, "The very essence of civil liberty certainly consists in the right of every individual to claim the protection of the laws, whenever he receives an injury."

The NSA's objections are especially outrageous in light

of what is known about its crimes against American citizens and what little nonpublic information is asked for by the lawsuit.

One of twelve federal agencies being sued, the NSA was made a defendant primarily on the basis of information revealed by the congressional probes into illegal political spying.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith
HERBERT JORDAN:
Socialists' attorney challenges
giant eavesdropping agency.

The NSA was set up in 1952. It collects all communications that go over the air—from the world's radio and television broadcasts, to airborne telephone calls, walkie-talkies, and radar, military, and diplomatic communications.

The government claims that the NSA narrows its field by making sure that either the sender or receiver of the intercepted message is overseas. But that is an open question.

Since the NSA intercepts electromagnetic waves to get its information—and long distance calls inside the United

States use those electromagnetic waves—there is no guarantee the calls are not also collected.

After it is gathered, all information is put into the NSA's computers to be sent to the FBI, CIA, army, and so forth. All information not immediately usable is stored.

Taxpayers shell out something more than \$1.2 billion a year for the NSA to do this. It employs more than 20,000 people.

The Senate committee that recently investigated intelligence agencies reported that between 1967 and 1973 the NSA compiled a "watch list" for a program called "Project Minaret."

During that six-year period the names of at least 1,200 U.S. citizens appeared on the list.

Names mentioned in an intercepted communication were sorted out by the NSA computers and sent to the FBI and CIA.

What was so dangerous about these 1,200 blacklisted people? Among the reasons the NSA officials gave was that the targets were "involved in civil disturbances, anti-war movements, demonstrations. . . ."

The Senate committee reported that the individuals on the watch lists "ranged from members of radical political groups, to celebrities, to ordinary citizens involved in protests against their Government."

What is asked

The only NSA secret the socialists' suit has asked so far is whether members of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance were on those watch lists. Since the socialists were active in the anti-Vietnam War movement and in struggles for Black civil rights and women's liberation, and since the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, is high on the CIA's list of targets, it is virtually certain they were NSA targets.

But the government claims that answering that question "would severely jeopardize the intelligence collection mission of NSA by identifying present

communications collection and analysis capabilities."

The NSA made the same objection in the lawsuit filed by antiwar leader Benjamin Spock against government eavesdropping. Spock has charged that the NSA eavesdropped on his conversations. The government contends the NSA cannot answer in court.

In Spock's case the issue has been argued in U.S. district court and a decision is pending.

Bill of Rights

The NSA's nonanswer in court clearly challenges the First Amendment—the right of citizens to petition the government for the redress of grievances.

The agency's giant eavesdropping operation also seriously attacks the Fourth Amendment—the right of citizens to be protected against unreasonable searches.

Jordan's brief points out that previous court rulings have not given "national security" more importance than the Fourth Amendment.

In 1976 the courts ruled that the Constitution protected American citizens from "foreign intelligence" gathering work by U.S. agencies. Other rulings have held the Fourth Amendment to be valid even if U.S. citizens are overseas. People do not lose the protection of the Constitution just because they cross the borders.

The government is now trying to overturn all those safeguards to Americans' rights in its claims for NSA secrecy.

Moreover, the government is doing this behind the backs of the public.

Normally, attorneys for opposing sides debate their positions before court. But the NSA claims that even its legal arguments must be kept secret from the socialists' attorneys for the sake of national security.

So the government's attack on the First and Fourth Amendments has been submitted only to the judge for what is called *ex parte* consideration.

Only after attorneys for Benjamin Spock objected vigorously to such a one-sided legal

debate did the Department of Defense (parent agency of the NSA) provide an affidavit that supposedly gave a public version of some of its arguments.

When the socialists demanded some public presentation of the NSA's secret legal arguments, the government gave them the same affidavit it had submitted for the Spock case.

As Jordan's legal brief points out, this procedure is dangerous for more than one reason. Since attorneys for the socialists cannot see the government's arguments, they cannot really have a chance to answer them.

Further, Jordan warns the judge, since the NSA is charged with serious crimes, "the government has every motivation to make self-serving assertions which may depart somewhat from reality."

After the Pentagon papers and Watergate, there is little reason to take the government's word when it talks about national security in such hushed and reverent tones.

Finding out the truth

While the spotlight has been put on FBI and CIA crimes, relatively little has come out about the NSA.

Yet the NSA's daily eavesdropping affects everybody. With what we now know about FBI and CIA disruption programs, not to mention the NSA's own Project Minaret, there is no reason to trust the goodwill of these political spy agencies.

Jordan's brief concludes with a comment on national security that sums up what is at stake in the case:

"In fact, powerful government agencies which violate the law and then seek to immunize themselves to judicial process pose a far greater threat to the security of this nation and its citizens than could possibly be posed by disclosure of the information involved here. Hence, if the national interest has any bearing on this motion, it militates in favor of plaintiffs, not the government."

Forcing the NSA to answer for its attack on civil rights in court will be an important defense of the Bill of Rights.

Old McDonald had some guns

By Diane Wang

Remember U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald?

He's the John Birch Society leader who is always sounding off in the *Congressional Record* with hysterical red-baiting tirades about socialists, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, and civil liberties lawyers, among others.

McDonald's the one who charged that the demonstration for Puerto Rican independence last July 4, called by the Puerto Rican Socialist party, was "planned by terrorist front groups."

He's the one who talked about a Chicano group's "penchant for violence."

He complained that "several violence-prone groups of Iranian nationals operate in this country."

And, of course, McDonald has been one of the FBI's most vocal mouthpieces in saying the Socialist Workers party is part of a "world-wide Trotskyite terrorist apparatus."

While McDonald was always short on proof for his charges, there is now genuine evidence that somebody is getting prepared to unleash some real violence.

After a six-month investigation, the *Atlanta Constitution* discovered that McDonald has been stockpiling huge amounts of illegally obtained weapons.

According to one witness, reported in the *Atlanta* paper, McDonald had as many as 200 weapons—mostly high-powered handguns and rifles—stored in an attic.

The law says that people who buy such weapons must register them. It seems that McDonald did not want to have the guns traced to him, so he found a way around the law.

Representative McDonald is also a doctor. In fact, he brags about his honorable profession and has a poem on his office wall proclaiming, "The physician . . . is the flower of our civilization."

Being a doctor is handy if you need

legal-looking forms signed.

A former leader of the John Birch chapter in Georgia said in a sworn affidavit that McDonald told him "he used dying patients, including dying Laetrile patients, to get guns which could not be traced to him."

(Banned by the government, Laetrile is touted as a cancer remedy. McDonald used it on cancer victims and as a result has been sued for \$3.5 million.)

One patient told the *Constitution* McDonald had asked him to witness some papers for him. McDonald took the man to a store and had him sign a small stack of forms.

McDonald's hidden gun supply is probably less dangerous than the slanders he spouts about those he disagrees with. But at least the arsenal shows that when the right-wing congressperson rages about violent and dangerous terrorists he probably is projecting his own ideas on others.

A "flower of our civilization"?—more like a poisonous weed.

'Nothing to negotiate' with AFSCME

Jackson's vendetta against Atlanta strikers

By Lynn Henderson

ATLANTA, April 13—Mayor Maynard Jackson declared yesterday that the city administration is no longer interested in negotiating with American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644 for a settlement of the two-and-a-half-week-old strike of municipal workers.

Jackson unilaterally announced that he considers the strike over and that nothing remains to be negotiated.

Local 1644, whose membership is 80 percent Black, struck the city on March 28 demanding a fifty-cent-an-hour wage increase.

Atlanta's municipal workers are among the lowest-paid in the country. Their average wage is \$3.55 an hour and they haven't had a cost-of-living increase in almost three years.

From the beginning of talks with Local 1644, Jackson has maintained that the city has no money and that no wage increase is negotiable this year.

Jackson's response to the strike was to fire more than 1,000 municipal employees and to hire hundreds of scabs in their place.

He also announced that anyone who had not reported to work by noon on April 12 could only be rehired as a new employee at minimum beginning wage with loss of all seniority, accumulated sick days, and accumulated vacation time.

In yet another move to crush the union the city announced a \$95 bonus for all nonstriking employees. In March 1976 AFSCME negotiated \$500

per worker in bonuses although the city refused to pay a wage increase. The bonuses were to be paid out of federal aid as the funds became available.

The workers have only seen a fraction of their \$500, but now in the midst of the strike some of these funds have suddenly become available for nonstriking workers only.

Jackson's campaign to smash the strike has taken its toll. On April 12, for the first time since the strike began, the city got all sanitation trucks out to make their rounds. The city claims 80 percent of the striking workers have returned to work.

Joseph Turner was one of six pickets at Maddox Park sanitation substation yesterday. About 300 people work at Maddox Park. Turner estimated that all but about 25 have returned to work.

"I don't care how much they threaten me," he said. "I'm not going back. I can't live on what the city pays me."

Turner has a wife and four children. He has seven years' seniority with the city. He makes \$32.80 a day.

"You know how much that is?" he said. "After all the deductions my check comes to about \$122 a week. If they beat us, I'll take the money I've got in the pension fund and buy me a piece of a truck. Me and the kids can collect enough bottles and papers to make almost what the city pays."

AFSCME has done almost nothing to try to mobilize the Black community and other unions in defense of the strike. Traditionally AFSCME has

relied on "friends of labor" in the Democratic party instead of mobilizing its own strength and the strength of its potential allies in the community.

AFSCME's leaders were major supporters of Maynard Jackson, a Black Democrat, in his campaign for mayor in 1973. Union leaders hustled votes for Jackson as a friend of working people.

The union's false strategy has left Jackson free to organize his own coalition of Black leaders who joined with Atlanta's Chamber of Commerce in denouncing the strike and supporting mass firing of striking workers. Those who have sided with Jackson against the workers include Martin Luther King, Sr., Atlanta NAACP, Baptist Ministerial Alliance, and Atlanta's Urban League.

Bill O'Kain, secretary-treasurer of Local 1644, has consistently opposed AFSCME's policy of support to and reliance on Democratic politicians.

"Jackson has opened up an attack on the very right of AFSCME to exist and bargain collectively in Atlanta," O'Kain said.

"The only way to turn back this attack is to mobilize the community opposition to these vindictive reprisals against workers whose only crime is their refusal to quietly submit to starvation wages.

"We have to organize the kind of demonstrations Martin Luther King, Jr., organized in support of striking Memphis sanitation workers," O'Kain urged.

N.Y. state strike set

By Walt Snyder and John Singleterry

ALBANY, N.Y.—State government workers in New York are set to shut down state offices and institutions from Buffalo to New York City on April 18.

Negotiations broke down in March between the state and the Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA), which represents 145,000 state employees.

Since then Gov. Hugh Carey, elected in 1974 as a "friend of labor," has rejected the proposal of state fact finders for a 5.5 percent raise on April 1 and another \$350 next January.

While prices have risen 33 percent since April 1973, state employees have received only one raise—5.5 percent in 1974. The union is demanding 12 percent with a \$1,200 minimum.

Two thousand state workers met April 7 at the World Trade Center in New York City to hear a report from CSEA President Theodore Wenzel. Those at the meeting—one of many held throughout the state—were angry and seemed ready to strike.

Milwaukee teachers solid in one-day walkout

By Tony Prince and Alexandra Topping

MILWAUKEE—Some 7,500 teachers, teacher aides, and substitute teachers went out on a one-day strike here April 7.

The contract of the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association (MTEA) expired January 1 and the

Tony Prince and Alexandra Topping are members of the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association.

school board has refused to negotiate seriously toward a new contract.

The board is on a campaign to "restore management rights." It wants to end the union shop and lengthen the school day in secondary schools with

no corresponding increase in pay. The board refuses to discuss reduced class sizes.

The MTEA is asking for a 6.2 percent pay increase, which would barely keep up with inflation. The board offers 4 percent, not retroactive to January.

The one-day strike came the day before spring vacation but is likely to continue April 18 when classes are scheduled to resume.

Both sides viewed the walkout as a test of strength. Overall, the teachers won this test. About 90 percent stayed out. At a number of schools, students picketed along with their teachers.

School desegregation has been a major issue affecting the negotiations. The board has tried to justify many of its attacks on the MTEA by citing the need to desegregate the schools. It hopes to turn the Black community against the MTEA.

The board's stance is completely hypocritical. It has fought school desegregation for more than ten years. Even now it is appealing a court-ordered desegregation plan to the Supreme Court, seeking to water down the plan as much as possible.

The MTEA, however, has not taken the board up on this issue. It has failed to take a consistent and forthright stand defending school desegregation. It has not proposed an alternative to the board's proposal for "specialty schools," a variation on the ineffectual "magnet school" idea of school desegregation.

Most important, the MTEA's plan for faculty desegregation is completely voluntary, meaning desegregation might not take place for many years . . . if ever.

In the April 5 school board elections, the MTEA endorsed some of the most hardened and vocal opponents of school desegregation.

By its failure to champion the rights of the Black community, the MTEA has forfeited much-needed community support and divided its own ranks.



Milwaukee teachers and students picket April 7

A number of Black MTEA members have formed a Black Teachers' Caucus and raised demands to increase the percentage of Black teachers. Only 11 percent of Milwaukee teachers are Black, while the student population is nearly 50 percent Black.

The Black Teachers' Caucus is also pushing for a mandatory backup plan for faculty desegregation in case the voluntary effort does not work. The MTEA leadership has failed to respond to the caucus's demands.

Because of the union leadership's inaction, the caucus decided to cross picket lines during the strike. Only about 150 of the 800 Black teachers followed the caucus's call.

The caucus's decision is a serious mistake. By weakening the strike, the caucus cuts itself off from the majority of Black teachers—who support the strike—and from many white teachers who might support its demands.

Although the policy of the MTEA

leadership reflects racist attitudes of many white teachers, these teachers can be won to support Black rights when they realize that only by doing so can teachers be united.

The Black Teachers' Caucus has put itself in an isolated and vulnerable position. The board will use it as much as it can to weaken or break the strike. But once the strike is over, the board will throw the Black teachers' demands into the wastebasket.

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

Teachers here face a bitter fight, but the recent example of Racine, Wisconsin, where teachers struck for seven weeks to win a contract, shows that militant and united action can defend the union.

Kansas City teachers arrested

By Michael Laird

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—More than 150 striking teachers were arrested here April 7. They were charged with disorderly conduct and refusing to obey police orders as they marched outside four high schools opened by the school board.

American Federation of Teachers Local 691 has been on strike since March 21.

Eleven teachers have been arrested and found in contempt of court for violating an order prohibiting the strike. They can be jailed for up to thirty days if they do not resume teaching—that is, scab.

On April 6 the Greater Kansas City Central Labor Council expressed its "wholehearted support for our union brothers and sisters" and pledged "organized labor's assistance and backing."

Introduction

by Jack Barnes

The first copies of *Teamster Bureaucracy* by Farrell Dobbs will soon be printed, bound, delivered, and available for sale. This event is a milestone for the socialist and labor movements. It completes Dobbs's four-volume history of the rise—and defeat—of a revolutionary union and tells the political history of a powerful class-struggle tendency among Midwest Teamsters from 1934 to 1941.

In *Teamster Rebellion*, Dobbs told of the hard-fought strikes in 1934 that broke the back of the open-shop in Minneapolis and won union recognition for General Drivers Local 574 (later 544).

Under the leadership of Dobbs and other revolutionary socialists of the Communist League of America (forerunner of the Socialist Workers party), the Teamsters went on to consolidate union power in Minneapolis, extend class-struggle unionism throughout the North-Central region, and carry out a victorious eleven-state organizing campaign among over-the-road drivers. Dobbs told the story of those battles in *Teamster Power*.

Teamster Politics described the rich experience of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party and the efforts of left-wing unionists to transform it into a labor party that would champion the needs of the workers

and all the oppressed.

That volume also told how the Teamsters fought FBI frame-ups, organized the unemployed, and established a self-defense force against fascist attacks.

In the preparations for World War II and then during the war itself—with its wage controls, War Labor Board, and no-strike pledge—the momentum of the 1930s upsurge was broken and the union bureaucracy reestablished its grip.

Teamster Bureaucracy is the story of how the Minneapolis Teamsters fought to preserve their traditions of militancy, solidarity, and democracy against the combined forces of Roosevelt's Justice Department and FBI, city and state police and politicians, and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters bureaucracy headed by Daniel Tobin.

The culminating battle—the infamous 1941 Smith Act trial of twenty-eight socialist and union leaders—is recounted in full detail in the new volume.

Farrell Dobbs writes as a participant and leader of these struggles. Because of his role in the 1934 strikes, he was elected an officer and staff director of Local 574. He was the key strategist of the over-the-road organizing campaign, and became a general organizer on the IBT staff.

Dobbs has been a central leader of the revolutionary socialist movement for more than four

decades. In 1940 he resigned from the Teamsters staff to become labor secretary of the Socialist Workers party.

Dobbs was one of those framed up and jailed under the Smith Act for his opposition to the imperialist war.

He ran for president four times on the SWP ticket, and served as national secretary of the SWP from 1953 to 1972.

The first three books by Dobbs are already serving a growing number of young workers as handbooks of union organization. They are more and more used as a strategic aid in the developing fight

against the labor bureaucracy for union democracy and class-struggle policies on the economic, social, and political planes.

These books are the best guide available to socialist strategy and tactics in the union movement.

In this special feature, the *Militant* is printing Dobbs's afterword to the *Teamster* series. In it he generalizes the lessons of the Minneapolis experience and applies them to the struggle for a socialist America.

Dobbs's conclusions are invaluable for the new generation of militants seeking to inspire and lead the labor movement.



Farrell Dobbs with Leon Trotsky in Mexico City, 1940. The exiled leader of the Russian revolution closely followed the development of the Minneapolis Teamsters struggles. In earlier discussions with American Trotskyists about the transitional program for socialist revolution, he stressed the need for American workers to learn to 'think socially and act politically.'

Farrell Dobbs on Socialist strategy in the labor movement

In its transitional program for socialist revolution the Fourth International asserts: "All talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet 'ripened' for socialism is the product of ignorance or conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. It is now the turn of the proletariat, i.e., chiefly its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."

Verification of the latter statement will be found in the history of the Minneapolis Teamsters. The leadership problem confronting labor today is pinpointed by the contrast between the opening and closing phases of the General Drivers Union's story.

In 1934, at the outset of the period covered in my four-volume account of developments within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, workers throughout the country were becoming radicalized under the adverse pressures of a severe capitalist crisis. Combative moods were growing in intensity among them, and they were ready for organized action on a massive scale in defense of their class interests. The way was thus open to build strong trade unions. These could serve both as direct instruments of struggle within industry and as a base from which to launch independent labor political action on a national scale in a fight for supreme power.

Relationship of forces

In Minneapolis an unusual situation existed at the time of the upsurge in labor militancy. Locally, there was an exceptional relationship of forces

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between the main radical tendencies. Among the Trotskyists expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 had been the most capable trade unionists in its Minneapolis branch. When the potential for mass action developed later on, those seasoned fighters took the initiative in helping the workers conduct effective strikes in support of their demands upon the bosses; and in doing so they were able to beat the Stalinist hacks in a direct contest for leadership of the city's key labor contingent, the trucking employees.

We had a similar advantage over the social democrats. Many had previously left that tendency in Minnesota to help form the Communist Party in 1919. Since then the social democrats had remained quite weak in the state, especially in Minneapolis; and as the Teamster struggles unfolded, most of the militants among them were won over to the Trotskyist party.

With the Trotskyists thus constituting the dominant force in the radical movement locally, it was possible for us to play a decisive role in the broad ranks of labor. We mobilized the trucking workers of the city for action on the basis of our class-struggle line.

Both the local AFL officialdom and the IBT bureaucracy were outflanked through development of the combat momentum needed for the union ranks to brush aside all internal obstacles standing in their way. The trucking employers were defeated in battle, and a strong Teamster organization was consolidated in Minneapolis. After that our class-struggle course was extended into the surrounding area by means of a campaign to unionize over-the-road drivers.

On the electoral plane, when the Stalinists and right-wingers made a shambles of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota we pushed for reorgani-

zation of independent mass political action, by steps that could lead to the development of a labor party based on and controlled by the trade unions.

Revolutionists & union democracy

Those accomplishments were made possible through the interplay of two basic factors. One of these was the skillful and considerate leadership of the workers by revolutionary socialists. The other was our championing of trade union democracy. Full membership participation was encouraged in the organization's internal affairs. Freedom to express all points of view was upheld, as was the workers' right to set policy by majority vote.

As successes in the fight against the employers were achieved through this combination of able leadership and internal union democracy, the workers acquired increasing awareness of their great strength in class unity. They also began to get a better notion of what was needed to defend their interests.

But variations existed in their grasp of class relations under capitalism and of the bosses' inherent antagonism to organized labor. Perceptions of that basic issue ranged from only elementary trade union consciousness in most instances, across intermediate stages of class-struggle understanding reached by more limited numbers, to attainment of a revolutionary socialist outlook by a few.

This unevenness in levels of development presented no serious obstacle to progress, however, so long as labor generally remained in a state of upsurge. Workers who had become more advanced could take advantage of the existing struggle momentum to activate their lagging comrades. Step by well-timed step, in accord with the pace of events, effective forces could thereby be mobilized for action in the

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trade union and political spheres.

The concrete manner in which the situation was handled at each stage of developments within the Teamster movement has been detailed in my four volumes. These were written to provide something more than a description of the events that transpired. I have attempted to place the reader in the position of the revolutionists who guided the union ranks—retrospectively looking over their shoulders, so to speak—as they assessed each successive problem and decided how to deal with it. My purpose was to help find clues to ways and means of transforming labor's potential class power into a dynamically active force in the continuing struggle against the capitalist exploiters.

Concrete situation

The reader should keep in mind, of course, that both the precise strategy and specific tactics set forth in the books on the Teamsters were attuned to a concrete situation at a given time and place. For that reason the methods then employed cannot be applied mechanically under new and different conditions. But an imaginative interpretation of the fundamental concepts we translated into action during the 1934-41 period should be helpful to militants in grappling with today's problem of labor leadership.

In addition, material dealing with the roots of present leadership defaults in the trade unions will be found in the series on the Teamsters. The main threads of the analysis presented there can be summarized briefly as follows:

Nationally, the relationship of forces on the left was unfavorable to the Trotskyists during the 1930s. We were a small propaganda group. Our activities had to center on assembling the initial cadres for the reconstruction of a revolutionary socialist party in the aftermath of the Stalinization of the Communist Party.

The advantageous position of the Minneapolis comrades was, therefore, unique. Elsewhere in the country our movement did not have the required strength and opportunity to play a leading role in labor struggles to the extent that we found possible in the Teamsters.

Nationally, both the Stalinists and social democrats had us outnumbered; and those tendencies—each representing a particular form of reformism—acted more or less in concert with the business unionists who constituted the labor officialdom. As a consequence, the workers of the nation lacked leadership of the kind needed to help them safeguard and promote their class interests.

Labor upsurge blocked

The misleaders were able to prevent the labor upsurge from going beyond the unionization of the unorganized mass production workers into the CIO, although much more was possible at the height of its energies. They managed to tie the new industrial union movement to the Democratic Party, beginning with the 1936 national elections, thereby keeping the workers mired in capitalist politics.

By mid-1937, class-collaborationist norms were reestablished to a large extent in setting trade union policy. Reliance on help from the Roosevelt administration was substituted for use of the union's full power, and a staggering setback resulted for the CIO with the defeat of the Little Steel strike.

Because of those leadership defaults the combat momentum of the insurgent masses was crippled and eventually broken. Even though strikes continued to occur episodically, the tide of battle had turned.

A change in mood came over the union ranks. Militants found it more and more difficult to draw reluctant elements into action. Cautious attitudes became more pronounced, and a more conservative climate developed. To an increasing extent the best fighters found themselves swimming against the stream, except during those interludes when new struggles flared up briefly.

In that changed situation the bureaucrats took one step after another toward restriction of the democratic and fighting spirit in which the CIO was born. Consolidation of their control over the organization proceeded at the same time that dictatorial rule was being reimposed within the AFL. Bit by bit, such rank-and-file democracy as had been established during the upsurge was undermined. The unions were gradually brought under the domination of an officialdom ready to act in "partnership" with the employing class.

Imperialist war policy

Roosevelt took advantage of the opportunity provided by these developments to implement the imperialists' key objective at the time. He lined up the labor bureaucracy in support of preparations for

war, and, as a necessary corollary, he launched a witch-hunt against militants who resisted his foreign policy.

This was made all the easier for him by labor's previous failure to take the independent political road, which left the capitalists in unchallenged control of the government. He had a free hand to use a wide range of repressive devices, including assignment of the FBI to a primary role as political police.

Such were the circumstances in 1941 under which General Drivers Local 544 clashed with IBT President Tobin over the war issue. By then adverse developments nationally had thrust us into a position where we had few reliable allies and many enemies.

Under FBI guidance, opportunists within the local union had organized a clique which acted in collusion with Tobin and with various governmental agencies in attacking the democratically elected leadership. Tobinite goons, aided by hacks from the national AFL, joined in the assault. Those reactionary forces were backed up by the city administration, the county courts, and the state government. On top of that, Roosevelt moved against us on three more fronts: through the National Labor Relations Board, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Department of Justice.

Faced with so formidable a combination of foes, an isolated local union had no way of successfully defending itself. We were reduced to fighting a rearguard action, doing so as skillfully as possible in an effort to minimize the losses suffered in our defeat.

Larger tragedy

Local 544's victimization was the prelude to a larger tragedy. From then on the workers collectively have paid a heavy price for the class-collaborationist policies imposed upon the trade unions by the bureaucracy's betrayal. Included in the cost were U.S. entry into World War II and subsequent wars in Korea and Vietnam. So long as monopoly capitalism exists, the danger of further imperialist attacks on other countries will continue, along with the threat of nuclear holocaust.

Here at home, meanwhile, the boss class has imposed harsh restraints upon the trade unions through antilabor laws, court injunctions, outrageous fines, and frame-ups of militants. Inflation and unemployment have reduced living standards, eroded job security, and thrust many into poverty.

Oppressed nationalities, especially, have suffered from deprivation of their economic, social, and democratic rights. Women continue to face discrimination on every level. The masses generally have experienced attacks on their civil liberties as efforts to organize in defense of their interests have been disrupted by the FBI, CIA, and other agencies of the political cops. In addition, capitalist greed has led to dismantling and decay of social services, rape of the environment, and other crimes against the people.

One of the major factors preventing effective struggle against economic and social deterioration has been accelerated degeneration of the labor officialdom since World War II. Right after the war, from 1945 to 1947, bureaucratic control over the trade unions was temporarily shaken by a massive resurgence of working-class militancy. But once again the misleaders of labor succeeded in preventing the formation of an independent labor party and thus kept the workers tied to capitalist politics. Since that time they have moved, one step after another, toward intensified subservience to the ruling class.

Union bureaucrats

So far as officials in the upper strata of the union bureaucracy are concerned personally, capitalism works fine. Huge salaries, expense accounts, and other emoluments enable them to maintain high living standards. Job security—for themselves—is implicit in their control over the workers' mass organizations, as is assurance of lavish pensions when they retire. For those reasons the union bureaucrats, like the bosses, consider anyone who wants to change the existing system an "irresponsible radical."

But there is one catch in this otherwise ideal situation for the labor skates. An illusion must be maintained that they are effectively representing the workers in collective bargaining. Without that false face their basic role as de facto agents of the bosses would be exposed, and a majority in the union ranks would begin looking for a way to do a housecleaning job on them.

To avoid that danger they must get occasional concessions for the membership from the employers. On balance, these must be sufficient to convince a considerable section of the workers that the class-collaborationist line followed by the bureaucrats is

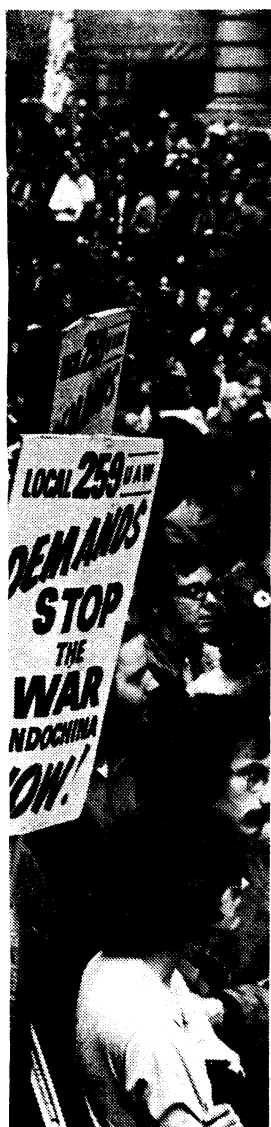


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UNDOCUMENTED WORKER. Carl Skoglund, Swedish immigrant without papers and leader of the SWP, was president of Teamsters Local 544. Federal officials tried to make him turn state's evidence in 1941 trial by threatening to deport him.

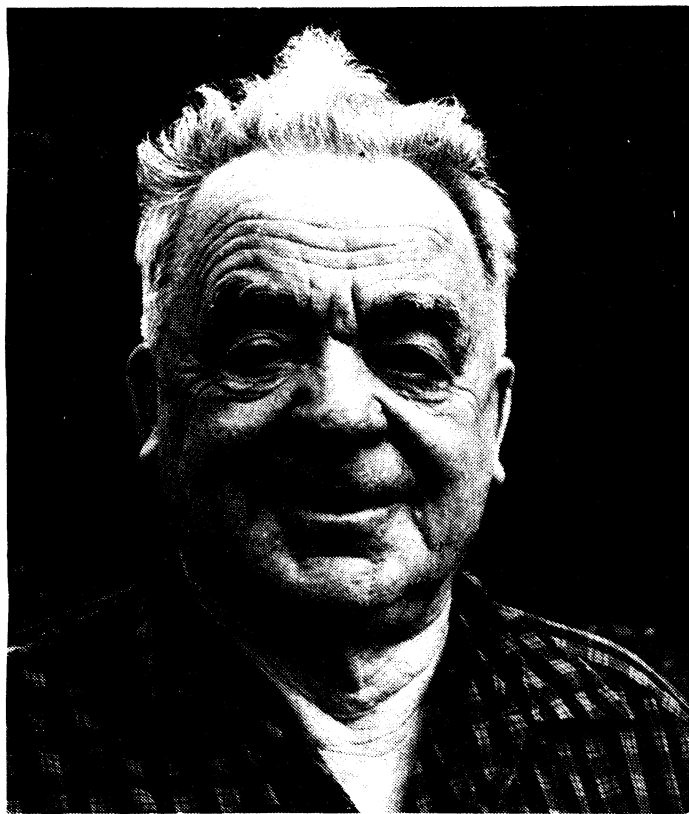


SOLIDARITY. Changing composition of labor force highlights necessity for labor movement to think socially and act politically. For the first time in history women, oppressed nationalities, and workers under twenty have become a majority of the American work force. Organized labor must champion their demands if unity of the exploited masses is to be attained.



LABOR & WAR. Key reason for government assault on Minneapolis Teamsters in 1941 was fear that they could become a center for rallying union opposition to imperialist war. Decades later, organized labor needs to learn from example set by anti-Vietnam War movement and aid the victims of U.S. imperialism abroad.

OLM X. Union bureaucracy is quick to capitalist-class hatred toward such promising fighters for rights of the sed.



Militant/Mary Hendrickson

acceptable. In that way, so long as the economy is on the upgrade, a relatively stable component within the union membership can be maintained for use in suppressing internal revolts.

If the bureaucracy mobilized the ranks for struggle to win the needed concessions from the bosses, however, a climate would be created in which its control over the unions would be jeopardized. So another course has been taken. The top labor officials have supported the ruling class on most social and political policy questions, hoping to get in return at least minimal employer responses to the workers' economic demands.

Collusion with capitalists

These officials have gone a long way toward converting the trade unions into auxiliary instruments of repression acting in collusion with the capitalist authorities. Among the consequences has been the clamping of collective bargaining into an iron vise. One jaw consists of restrictions imposed upon organized labor by the bosses' government. The other takes the form of bureaucratic controls within the unions themselves. Through this combination of repressive forces the workers have been subjected to steadily intensifying exploitation at the hands of the capitalists.

An equally reprehensible situation exists concerning struggles by doubly oppressed layers of society, such as oppressed nationalities and women. Those movements are largely ignored, or at best given little more than lip service, by the trade union bureaucracy. If, however, the ruling class shows open hostility toward a particular oppositional tendency—as it did in the case of Malcolm X, for example—the labor fakery are quick to oppose that tendency as well.

In the sphere of capitalist foreign policy, especially, the top union officials play the role of lickspittles. That has been illustrated most fully in the criminal support given by George Meany and his cohorts to the brutal assault on the Vietnamese by the U.S. imperialists and in their reactionary opposition to the American antiwar movement.

Up to now the labor bureaucrats have gotten away with this treachery. But new trends are developing that will undermine their control over the workers' movement. U.S. imperialism is falling into increasing difficulties at the center of the developing world capitalist crisis. Under these circumstances the labor bureaucracy's class-collaborationist practices will have less and less success in obtaining collective-bargaining concessions from the employers. And, at the same time, the ruling class will move in devious ways—as in New York City's contrived financial crisis—to protect capitalist profits by driving down the workers' living standards.

Combateness of union ranks

As these trends persist and worsen, the workers are bound to become more combative, more disenchanted with official union policy, more rebellious.

The top bureaucrats, whose domination over the unions will thus become threatened, are certain to react viciously. They will intensify the present use of red-baiting and violence against internal oppositions; and, parallel with such actions, their self-serving alliance with the employers and the capitalist government will be further tightened.

As that contradictory situation unfolds, opposition to the present official union policies can be organized on an expanding scale. Large numbers of workers can be brought, in stages, toward adoption of a class-struggle program required to defend their interests—if the left-wing forces in their midst proceed with the necessary patience and astuteness.

It would be unwise, for instance, to begin with efforts to vote incumbent officials out of office so that correct policies might be instituted forthwith by a new leadership. The bureaucrats could normally counter such a move rather easily at the present juncture. They would need only to direct an appeal to the more backward sections of the union membership, claiming no more was involved than the "outs" trying to dump the "ins."

Since arguments in favor of new policies would seem rather remote to many workers upon first hearing them, the reactionaries could easily fog the issues. There would be no real prospect of immediately ousting the incumbents, and a false impression could be created that they are immune to removal through an election contest.

Changes in leadership

If the rebel forces proceed, instead, by pressing at the outset for official adoption, or at least tolerance, of policies that will enable the workers to fight off the capitalist assault on their living standards, better results can be obtained.

As things get worse under the present officers, broadening layers of the membership will become

more open-minded toward new ideas and methods of action. Awareness will grow that organized labor is on the wrong track programmatically. Pressures will mount for a major shift in line. When the incumbents fail to respond adequately, more and more workers will come to recognize that the leadership personnel must be changed, and they will be ready to act accordingly.

Moves toward reconstruction of the leadership in the foregoing manner will very likely become possible mainly at the local union level during the first phase of developments. But action at that level will in itself serve to put heavy pressure on the lower echelons of the general bureaucratic structure.

Instead of the bureaucracy splitting the workers to maintain its sway, the workers will be able to split the bureaucracy in their fight for rank-and-file control over the unions.

Efforts toward that end can be set into motion along the lines followed in bringing William S. Brown, Patrick J. Corcoran, John T. O'Brien, and other union officials over to the workers' side in the fight during the 1930s to build a more effective Teamster organization. (See *Teamster Rebellion*, chapter 4, and *Teamster Power*, chapters 13 and 17.)

A recent positive example was the 1977 Steelworkers Fight Back campaign of Ed Sadlowski, who is a district director, and other staff members and local officials of the United Steelworkers against the encrusted, class-collaborationist I.W. Abel bureaucracy.

Transitional method

The relevant elements of the class-struggle program needed by the trade unions should be introduced realistically on a transitional basis. In that way the unfolding labor radicalization can be guided from its present stage toward higher forms of development along the following lines:

Proposals for immediate action should center on problems involving the workers' urgent material needs and the defense of their democratic rights. It is also important that the fight around those issues be attuned to the existing levels of consciousness in the union membership. Then, as significant forces are set into motion through that approach, several things take place.

Rank-and-file militancy rises.

Increasingly sharp clashes with the bosses result, during which the workers begin to shed class-collaborationist illusions and acquire class-struggle concepts.

Lessons thus learned during industrial conflicts can prepare the union ranks for an advance toward action on a political plane.

In short, a foundation is laid from which to initiate transformation of the trade unions themselves into instruments capable of developing far-reaching revolutionary perspectives.

As the transitional process from where they are to where they should be continues, the workers' attention can be focused on broad questions which go far beyond day-to-day issues on the job. They will learn in that way to generalize their thinking in class terms, and the development of a conscious anticapitalist outlook will follow.

If, during the course of their experiences in struggle, the labor militants are helped to analyze the causes of the social and economic ills facing them; if they are aided in perceiving the essence of an outlived capitalism—they will learn that the existing problems are not incidental and episodic at all, but the consequence of a deep structural crisis of the system. They will then see why governmental control must be taken away from the capitalists by labor and its allies.

Transformation of unions

Basic to such a rise in the workers' class consciousness is understanding that a fundamental change must take place in the role of the trade unions, which constitute the existing form of mass organization among the workers in this country. These broad instruments of struggle must be turned away from reliance upon so-called friends among the capitalist politicians. They must break off the self-defeating collaboration with the bosses' government, that has been imposed by bureaucratic misleaders.

The unions must be transformed into mechanisms for independent and militant action by the workers all along the line.

Restrictions on the right to strike must be vigorously opposed and freedom to exercise that right firmly asserted.

Internal union democracy must be established so that all questions can be decided on the basis of majority rule.

Then, and only then, will organized labor manage to bring its full weight to bear in confrontations with the employers at the industrial level.

Whenever conflicts of significant magnitude erupt

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

within industry today, the government intervenes on the employers' side; and this interference is bound to intensify as capitalist decay gets worse. From this it follows that trade union action alone will prove less and less capable of resolving the workers' problems, even on a limited basis.

Objectively, industrial conflicts will assume more and more a political character, and even the most powerfully organized workers will be faced with an increasingly urgent need to act on the new and higher plane of politics.

Break with capitalist politics

Therefore, efforts to build an effective left wing in the trade unions will run into insurmountable obstacles unless the workers move toward resolving the problem of political action. A vigorous campaign must be conducted to break the labor movement from subordination to capitalist politics and to launch an independent labor political organization.

This campaign will have to focus initially on educational propaganda for a change in labor's political course, but it should not be conducted in an abstract, routine manner. Ample opportunity will be found to concretize the propaganda by drawing the lessons of setbacks caused by the misuse of labor's inherent political strength. This can lay the basis for an advance, as soon as it becomes realistic, to an agitational campaign designed to convince the ranks of the urgency of forming a labor party.

In the process of creating their own mass party, based upon and controlled by the trade unions, the organized workers can draw unorganized, unemployed, and undocumented sections of their class into a broad political alliance. Labor will then be in a position to act both in a more unified manner and through advanced forms of struggle.

The workers will learn to generalize their needs, as a class, and to address their demands on a political basis to the capitalists, as a class. Political confrontation of that kind—for example, the nationalization of a given industry under workers' control—will raise labor action as a whole to a higher plane and at the same time impart new vigor to the continuing trade union struggles.

Increased militancy within industry will serve, in turn, to reinforce activity in the political sphere. In that way interacting processes will develop through which the workers will attain greater class consciousness, more complete solidarity, and, hence, mounting ability to outfight the bosses.

Champion demands of oppressed

Before unity of the exploited masses can be attained, however, still another of organized labor's existing policies must be thoroughly reversed. The labor movement must champion and give unqualified support to the demands of the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and other oppressed national minorities, and of women and youth.

As Leon Trotsky insisted in discussions during the 1930s, the American workers must learn to act politically and to think socially if they are to attain the class consciousness and solidarity needed to defeat the exploiters. This is the opposite of the narrow class-collaborationist course pursued by the labor bureaucracy and the privileged layers they reflect.

Thus, as a matter of principle, the trade union movement must use its power to actively fight for

such progressive demands as affirmative action programs against racial and sexual discrimination on the job, in hiring, housing, health care, and education.

If unconditional backing of that kind is given, the labor movement will be helping itself in a double sense. The strengthening of anticapitalist struggles on other fronts will make it harder for the employing class to concentrate its fire on the trade unions. The greater the scope of mass confrontations with the bosses' government, the more effectively will labor be able to involve its natural allies in the development of independent political action on a massive scale. This was true in the 1930s and it is even truer today, when women, oppressed nationalities, and workers under twenty have become the majority of the American work force and a substantial component of the union movement.

Lessons of antiwar movement

In addition, the experience of the Vietnam War holds an important lesson for the trade union movement. The labor bureaucrats sided with the imperialist aggressors in that conflict, against the welfare of people in the U.S. and in violation of the rights of another nation.

But many in this country, who had the insight and courage to uphold the democratic principle of self-determination for colonial peoples, opposed the assault on the Vietnamese. Taking to the streets in vast protest demonstrations, they organized one of the most powerful mass movements in U.S. history. This domestic resistance made it politically untenable for the U.S. capitalists to proceed at all hazards with their attempt to conquer the people of Vietnam, who defended themselves heroically and effectively. In the end the imperialists were frustrated and defeated. The intended victims established the right to manage their country's affairs as they may choose.

Here at home, all who are fighting for their own democratic rights, for changes in social and economic policies, acquired new struggle momentum from the setback dealt to the U.S. imperialists abroad.

Organized labor can profit by following the example set by the antiwar movement. If trade unionists aid the victims of U.S. imperialism in other countries—and at the same time back all progressive causes within the United States—they will earn extensive support for their own struggles. An anticapitalist united front can thus be built, both nationally and internationally, and, as it grows in strength, the relationship of class forces will be changed to the decisive advantage of the workers and their allies.

Fascist violence

During the advance toward attainment of those goals yet another vital problem must be kept in mind. History shows that, as mass resistance to the capitalist exploiters grows, they will supplement the government's repressive role with extralegal forms of attack on those in rebellion.

Some aspects of that trend have already become a familiar part of industrial and social struggles in this country: use of hired thugs and vigilantes against strikers, for instance, and of Ku Klux Klan-type terrorism against oppressed nationalities. Those are only forerunners of even harsher measures to come as the social crisis gets more

acute.

The most diabolical of the extralegal onslaughts will take the form of a fascist movement—heavily financed by monopoly capital—which will try to smash the trade unions and other protective organizations of the oppressed masses.

In looking for means of defense against such assaults, it would be fatal to rely on the bosses' government, no matter how liberal its face. Capitalist politicians in public office are themselves tools of the ruling class, which instigates the legal and extralegal violence used to keep the masses in line. Therefore, these Democrats and Republicans will do nothing effective that cuts across the needs of their masters, which means they can be expected to shield and abet the repressive forces—surreptitiously, if not openly.

If those who become targets of capitalist violence are to protect themselves, they must prepare for self-defense, as required at each new stage of the class struggle. It is the duty of the trade unions, especially, to show initiative in this respect, and all potential victims of extralegal attacks should be drawn into a united defense movement on the broadest possible scale.

Revolutionary party

At every juncture in the unfolding social conflicts, the workers and their allies need guidance from a revolutionary socialist party. That is the reason for the existence of the Socialist Workers Party. Its scientific analysis of the class struggle provides in fullest measure the political consciousness and program that the anticapitalist movement must have. Therefore, it is uniquely qualified to shape the basic proposals, broad strategy, and tactical steps required for the most effective mass action.

In the course of events, increasing numbers of militants who come to recognize those facts will be ready to join in building such a party on an expanding scale, as they did in Minneapolis during the 1930s. As members of the revolutionary party, they will learn fundamentals involved in the fight against capitalist exploitation as well as lessons of past class struggles on a world-historical scale. Through that education they will become better equipped to apply valid principles in today's conflicts. Their capacity will become enhanced to exert helpful influence within the broad mass movement in ways that will add to its efficiency in action, to its prospects for ultimate victory.

Such growth in the numerical strength and influential role of the revolutionary socialist party is, in the last analysis, decisive for the acquisition of supreme power in the United States by the workers and their allies; for only that kind of politically advanced formation, geared for combat in a scientific way, can lead the masses successfully in defeating the capitalists and their repressive apparatus.

It will then be possible to assume governmental power through assertion of majority rule, after which economic and social relations can be reorganized on a rational basis. An enlightened society can be constructed along socialist lines, in which there will be peace, freedom, equality, and security for all.

As the Teamster story demonstrates, the principal lesson for labor militants to derive from the Minneapolis experience is not that, under an adverse relationship of forces, the workers can be overcome; but that, with proper leadership, they can overcome.

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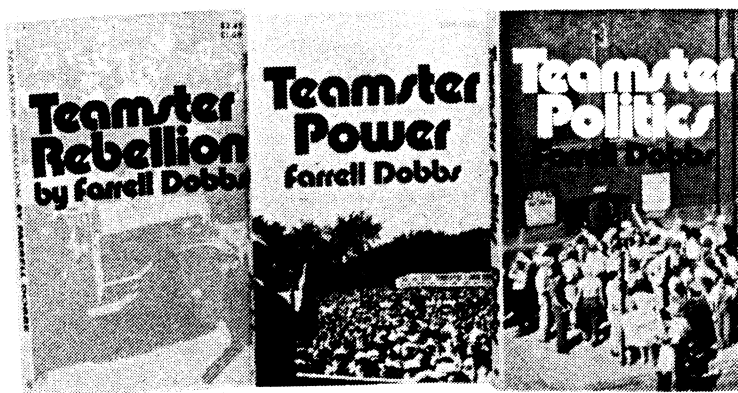
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World Outlook

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

APRIL 22, 1977

For the legalization of all workers parties in Spain!

[The following statement by Jordi Jaumandreu of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria¹ appeared in the March 12-18 issue of the Spanish weekly magazine *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

An attempt is being made to build a strong "democratic" state, one with a few limited, tightly circumscribed freedoms and a state apparatus that, in essence, preserves certain institutions of the dictatorship—especially its tattered repressive organs. The aim is to impose on the workers the *social pact* the capitalists consider necessary to revive the economy. All the decisive sectors of the capitalist class, although with different variations and nuances, are lined up behind this plan.

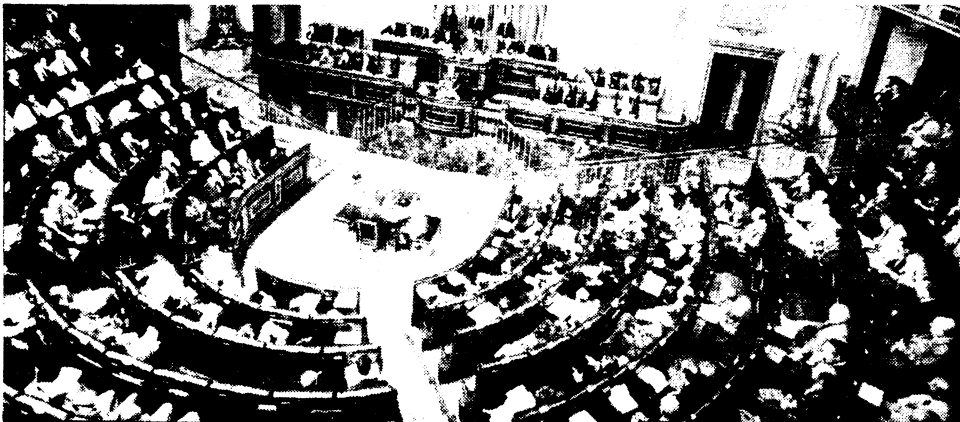
The plan has also gained credibility through the confidence the dominant workers organizations have expressed in it. Some of these organizations find themselves in the bizarre situation of offering conditional support to the

same government that has kept them illegal.

In the short run, the plan to move toward the establishment of a strong state requires an electoral victory by the democratic sectors of the bourgeoisie. To achieve this it is necessary to divide and disorient the workers by means of a "prudent" dose of legality for the workers parties. Such an electoral victory, whose preparation we are now witnessing, will take place through a process of confronting and dividing the workers. The government's decision to treat the PCE² and other working-class organizations as if they were illegal is a basic element of that strategy.

That is why the fundamental fight today for the workers and mass movement has to be to establish immediate legality for all the workers and mass parties and organizations, as well as for the revolutionary nationalist organizations of the various nationalities in Spain. This is not only because without that legalization not even the facade of a democratic regime can exist. It is also, above all, because the legalization of all organizations—bar none—is the best way to prevent the government and the bourgeoisie from

1. Revolutionary Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain.



Informations Ouvrières

SPANISH PARLIAMENT: government is trying to use elections this spring to divide workers movement.



Demonstration demanding amnesty for political prisoners. Revolutionaries in Spain are calling for a united slate of workers candidates to fight for this demand in upcoming elections.

succeeding in these divisive maneuvers.

In this regard, the working-class forces that have been granted legal status—especially the PSOE³—(whose legalization we hail and consider an important advance for the workers movement) must be alert so as not to fall into the divisionist trap the government has set. They must be the first to demand that legal status be extended to all workers parties. The best way to fight for freedom for others is to take up that struggle *starting right now*, without awaiting the results of the elections.

Today it is necessary and possible to launch a united campaign to force the granting of legal status for all workers and mass organizations. There is strong sentiment among the Spanish masses for that demand. What is involved is mobilizing on the basis of that sentiment to win a victory for everyone, because legalization is not going to be the product of gratuitous concessions. That is why we feel that the current inactivity of the PCE, which is anxious to present an image of "order" and "stability," is an incorrect response to the situation. Exactly one month after their "demonstration of responsibility" on the occasion of the funeral of their com-

rades who were killed on Atocha Street,⁴ the government still has not seen its way clear to legalize the PCE.

Such a united campaign would be the best response to the government's attempts to sow division in the workers and mass movement. In face of the small dose of legality and the disorientation this can produce, a united campaign for legalization would *in practice* help more than anything else in the forging of class unity.

Such a united campaign would also be closely tied to a correct position on the elections themselves. The best way to prevent the elections from becoming a means of "democratically" legitimizing the strong state is to present a common front of the workers and mass movement. Our proposal on this is to establish a *united slate of workers candidates* on the basis of a program that provides answers to the political problems of the day.

Such a program would champion the following demands: total amnesty and full democratic freedoms; the right of the nationalities to self-determination; opposition to the social pact; free elections to a constituent assembly that would proclaim the republic.

The common front, in which each party would have total liberty to publicize its own political views, would be the best way to counteract the bourgeoisie's divisive maneuvers while meeting the demands so often shown to be those of all the workers of Spain.

2. Partido Comunista de España (Spanish Communist party).

3. Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers party, the main Social Democratic formation).

4. See *Intercontinental Press*, February 14, p. 124.

Protests condemn political repression in Argentina

More than 100 prominent individuals signed a statement, published in the March 27-28 issue of *Le Monde*, calling for an end to political repression in Argentina.

Condemning the military junta that seized power one year ago, the signers demanded:

- "An immediate halt to the kidnappings, torture, and murder.
- "The immediate publication of a complete list of the political prisoners and their release.
- "The return of the trade unions to the workers; the restoration of the right to strike and other trade-union rights.
- "The restoration of constitutional rights, including the right of option (the right of untried prisoners to leave the country).
- "The resumption of functioning of

the democratic institutions and of activity of all political parties, without exception."

Among the signers were Nobel Prize winner Laurent Schwartz, Simone de Beauvoir, Italian CP head Enrico Berlinguer, Spanish Popular Socialist party head Enrique Tierno Galván, Spanish singer and composer Joan Manuel Serrat, Swedish Royal Academy member Gunnar Myrdal, Lord Brockway of the British Labour party, Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget, and Israeli civil libertarians Felicia Langer and Israel Shahak.

Four days earlier Amnesty International had announced that the Argentine junta was holding between 5,000 and 6,000 political prisoners, and that torture and summary executions were still common occurrences under the military dictatorship. The Amnesty

report also said that "between 2,000 and 5,000 people have disappeared without trace" since the March 1976 coup.

In Argentina itself, two actions were reported in protest of the February 1977 disappearance of Oscar Smith, the leader of the Light and Power Workers Union in Buenos Aires.

On March 7 leaflets appeared at the gates of electric plants in Buenos Aires. They had a picture of Smith on them, along with statements such as "Your union demands your release," and "They kidnapped him because he found solutions."

Four days later in downtown Buenos Aires a demonstration by Light and Power Workers demanding Smith's release was broken up by the federal police.



SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR

Czechoslovak dissident's appeal

Why revolutionaries should support movement in

[The following appeal for support to the Charter 77 human-rights movement in Czechoslovakia was issued in Prague March 3 by Petr Uhl. We have taken the text from the March 31 issue of the British Trotskyist newspaper *Red Weekly*. The translation is by Mark Jackson. Subheads were added by the *Militant*.

[A student leader at the time of the Prague Spring in 1968, Petr Uhl was one of a number of members of different radical currents who came together around the magazine *Informacny Materialy*.

[After the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, some participants in this group tried to form a Marxist opposition group called the Revolutionary Socialist party. In 1971, Uhl was put on trial for belonging to the RSP, convicted, and sentenced to four years in prison. He was described at that time by the bureaucracy as a "Trotskyist," and continued to be characterized as such in the official press.

[Uhl has come under attack most recently as a signer of Charter 77.

[Uhl's appeal is addressed to the following organizations and individuals:

[Revolutionary Communist League of Spain; Revolutionary Communist League of France; International Communist League of Portugal; International Communist Organization of France; the organizations grouped around Proletarian Democracy in Italy; Socialist Workers party of Great Britain; Socialist Workers party of the United States; Communist party of Australia; Movement of the Revolutionary Left of Chile; Socialist Bureau of Hamburg, West Germany; Communist party of [West] Germany; Communist party of [West] Germany (Marxist-Leninist); International Marxist Group of West Germany; and all the national and international organizations of the revolutionary left, and the press of these organizations.

[Also to Alain Krivine, Pierre Broué, Ernest Mandel, Jean-Paul Sartre, Jacob Moneta, Ernst Fischer, Rudi Dutschke, Sybille Plogstedt, Wolf Biermann, Livio Maitan, Leonid Plyushch, Ivan Hartl, and Karel Kovanda, with the request that they bring this letter to the attention of their comrades, friends, and the public.]

* * *

Comrades!

The revolutionary left, especially in the bourgeois democratic countries, often displays an aversion to the defence of civil rights and democratic freedoms which flows from their opposition—often justified—to the reformist movements whose first and sometimes only aim is to achieve at least partial improvement in the area of social relations, most frequently through a so-called dialogue with the state power.

We well know that the free development of society, based on the free development of each individual, is realisable only in a classless society, and that this is the result of a long process of the development of democracy opened up by the proletarian social revolution. But it is the common belief of all of us Marxists and revolutionary socialists that already the first revolutionary phase of communist development must bring to every member of society more rights and freedoms than can be assured by even the best bourgeois democracy—especially in the light of a critical analysis of those proletarian revolutions which have taken place up until

now, and all aspects of their degeneration.

This opinion—if using other phraseology—is shared with us by all the reformists and recently by their latest component, the Eurocommunists. In distinction from them, however, revolutionaries do not suffer from the illusion that socialism and the liberation of man and society can be achieved through the gradual democratisation of bourgeois society, retaining capitalist relations of production, or with their gradual removal. Neither do they suffer from the illusion that a fascist or any other totalitarian power is likely to concede any extension of civil rights or democratic freedoms, or will be ready to engage in a dialogue on this theme.

Revolutionaries & democracy

But we can also understand that many of those who struggle for human rights against regimes of an autocratic kind or military, bureaucratic or other dictatorships are as aware as us that their efforts cannot lead to the results that they publicly demand. At the same time, however, they know that the *demands themselves* for democratic freedoms and civil rights which cannot be realised under dictatorships can arouse the working class and other important layers of the working population, can heighten their fighting power, and shake the very foundations of the dictatorship. The example, near to us all, of Spain, is proof of this.

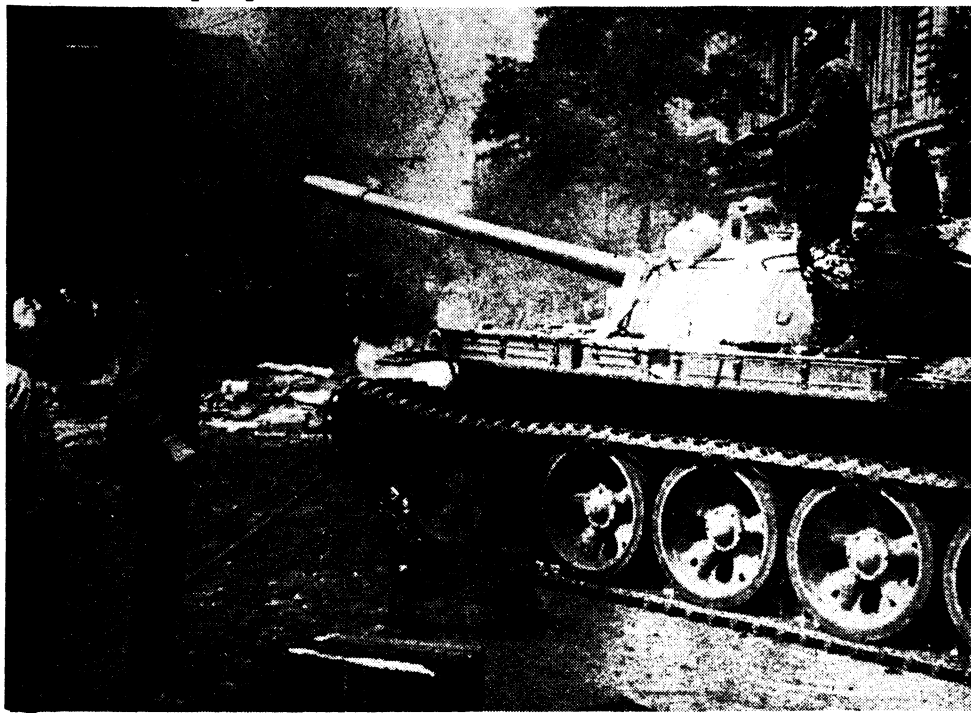
The pro-capitalist illusions and reactionary myths that may guide this struggle initially weaken to the extent that the self consciousness and self confidence of the working class are raised. I think that the role of revolutionaries is to stand at the head of this struggle, to fight against illusions and myths and at the same time always remember that no struggle for human rights, even if it is led by the Communist Party of Spain, can replace the revolutionary activity of the masses, transforming social relations from the bottom up, as history demands.

A struggle for human rights, however, is one of the roads that leads to revolution; it is one of the ways in which the subjective preconditions for the social and political revolution can be created. While it is certainly possible to doubt that such a strategy is suitable for the countries of bourgeois democracy, it is evident that it is useful and sometimes the only strategy under military and bureaucratic dictatorships and fascist regimes.

Everyone in the milieu of the revolutionary left recognises this when it is a question of evaluating a struggle for civil rights in the countries which belong to the so-called Western sphere of influence. They have reservations if they are evaluating such a movement in the countries of Eastern Europe. It seems to me that the difference, and sometimes confusion of the approach of the West European and American extreme left to this problem flows from a different, often superficial or even wrong, analysis of the social and political systems in this part of the world.

Charter 77

I can well understand, as an opponent of parliamentarism and other junk of bourgeois democracy, that the Charter 77 appeal—and Charter 77 is in deadly earnest and I identify myself with it—can have a repellent effect on Marxists when it sets as its one aim the effective introduction of principles contained in international agreements about civil, political, social, economic



SOVIET TANK IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1968: 'The workers' attitude towards bourgeois democracy proceeds from their own experience of Stalinism.'

and cultural rights, and that these pacts, ratified, legally enacted and published by the Czechoslovak state power—are the basis and starting point of its activity. (A side remark: The Czechoslovak workers do not have such a firmly negative attitude towards bourgeois democracy as I would like; in this they proceed from their own experience of Stalinism and the autocratic regime.)

It might also put people off that the rights codified in both pacts are insufficient, aimed rather at the interests of intellectuals than workers; that both pacts have only a declarative value, as was the case with the old Universal Declaration of Human Rights; that they are expressions of efforts towards class reconciliation and of such a conception of peaceful co-existence as temporarily enables the survival of social and political formations doomed to destruction by history, involving not the peaceful co-existence of peoples but of state formations and confederations.

I would have liked to have written more about this, also about my opinions on the social and political system in Czechoslovakia, but the problem is that if I were to write something untrue, or rather something which the authorities found to be untrue, I could be imprisoned for it for up to 3 years. And if you do not believe me, comrades, look at article 112 of the Czechoslovak criminal code. And precisely because of this, I think that both pacts have their significance for the workers of Czechoslovakia and other countries and that it makes sense to refer to them since they have been legally enacted and published by the state power.

I do not see this significance in the

fact that in a year or two I will be able to write without risking imprisonment—then I will still not be able, but in the fact that collective 'legal'—the quote marks because you cannot visualise what such 'legality' is like—struggle for the realisation of the principles contained in both pacts arouses the workers, who can see their own interests contained in this activity, and raises their self consciousness and self confidence.

But I have already written about this, when I evaluated the struggle for civil rights and democratic freedoms under military and bureaucratic dictatorships. For reasons which I have mentioned, I am, of course, far from designating Czechoslovakia as a bureaucratic dictatorship.

Charter 77 is not a political opposition, nor does it wish to become one. It is too politically heterogeneous for that, and its aim—to struggle for civil rights and democratic freedom on the basis of international pacts, which are part of the Czechoslovak legal regulations—is too narrow. It is nonetheless the most significant move in this country in recent years and has had significant resonance amongst the workers. It expresses their interests, even if not fully or directly.

Working class

The clause in the pact on social, economic and cultural rights which says that workers should have the right to build trade union and other organisations in defence of their interests without any hindrance, and that they should have the right to strike could perhaps be the starting point of the road which leads to the emancipation of the workers, which they will achieve *themselves* by means of *their*



WELFARE LINE IN UNITED STATES: 'It is not possible to accept the idea that the publication of information about the deprivation of human rights in Eastern Europe distracts attention from the universal crisis of capitalism.'

defense of Charter '77

own organisations.

When I say the starting point, I am thinking of the subjective preconditions of that road, and I do not share any illusions about a reformist 'dialogue' or even some spontaneous way leading to the achievement of these rights. And as to what that road might be if it is not the road of reformism, a revolutionary Marxist, burdened as he is by the threat of 3 years—in this case in fact 10—must not mention. The active and passive support which is shown in one way or another to Charter 77 by workers—mainly by young workers—is the promise of this road.

It is likewise not possible to accept the idea that the propagation of the ideas of Charter 77 and the publication of information about the deprivation of human rights in the countries of Eastern Europe distracts attention from the economic crisis, unemployment and other problems of the universal crisis of capitalism. The apologists of bourgeois society certainly try to divert attention from these problems—and will use anything for the purpose—but the supporters of socialism and progress have quite different

and sympathy, as information about serious problems of the capitalist world.

Nobody complains that this distracts attention from domestic problems, whose very essence frequently remains hidden. The time will certainly come when the Czechoslovak workers will not only be better informed, but will have the same or other problems to solve along with the workers of the European and other countries.

Solidarity

For these reasons, I ask all comrades to help Charter 77 and to solidarise with it in whatever way you can. It is clear that the international problem of human rights and their infringement, or the existence of countries where the fight for democratic freedoms in the framework of the system brings serious and immediate consequences, is a matter of concern to us all, revolutionary Marxists, Christians, Humanists, and reformists; I know that it is also the concern of Charter 77 which is at this moment fighting for its very existence, to acquaint the Czechoslovak workers with the problems of the infringement of civil rights in capital-



1971 NEW YORK CITY PICKET IN DEFENSE OF VICTIMIZED CZECH DISSIDENTS: 'The fight for human rights is a matter of concern to all.'

motives for solidarity with the struggle for human rights in Eastern Europe.

There is only one world, and the boundaries of class and the class struggle pass across every society without paying any attention to the borders of states, and there are good reasons why it is not possible to offer the arrangement of Czechoslovak society as a model to the workers oppressed by capital. To be silent about the problems of Czechoslovak society would mean to be silent about the rich experience which the Czechoslovak workers have accumulated over the past 30 years.

Only truth is revolutionary, lies and the concealment of facts are counter-revolutionary. And just an aside: nobody in Czechoslovakia complains when the official press publishes long articles about unemployment, the crisis and the infringement of human rights in the West. Even if the majority of foreign news is made up of such articles—which was not the case before 1 January 1977—even if they are distorted and tendentious—if for example a lot is written about a particular social and political conflict, but when it works out well for the workers then only a little or nothing at all is written—even if sometimes they are downright funny when compared to Czechoslovak reality—as for instance concerning the possibility of controlling the secret service in West Germany—the Czechoslovak workers accept this information with interest

ist countries.

Help can be very concrete. Three signatories of Charter 77 have been in prison since the middle of January of this year; a spokesman for the Charter, writer Vaclav Havel, another writer Frantisek Pavlicek, and a journalist Jiri Lederer. With them in prison is the director Ota Ornest.

Even though they are accused of other political crimes of a verbal character—I have already shown you the Czechoslovak legal code—it is clear that their imprisonment is a direct, and until now the most vicious act of repression against Charter 77. The cases of two young technicians are analogous: Vladimir Lastuvka from Decin and Ales Machacek from Usti nad Labem, who are also imprisoned in connection with the Charter 77. Only international solidarity can help here.

As in other similar cases each will choose their own forms of protests and measures, according to their possibilities and being basically confined to verbal protests, and even these are very risky. In countries where workers are organised in trade unions and political organisations, which are independent of the state power, the forms of solidarity and protests can be more effective.

Free Vaclav Havel, Frantisek Pavlicek, Jiri Lederer, Ota Ornest, Vladimir Lastuvka and Ales Machacek!

Free the Czechoslovak political prisoners!

Israeli dock strike

Dock workers in the ports of Haifa, Elath, and Ashdod called off a week-long strike March 28 after the Rabin government agreed to reopen negotiations on a new wage agreement.

The strikers walked off the job March 21 at the height of Israel's citrus export season. A government order forced them back to work three days later, but upon returning to work they continued the job action by loading only one-third the normal amount of cargo. Millions of crates of oranges sat rotting in warehouses.

The workers were demanding a substantially higher wage increase than the 2.5 percent allowed under their current contract. A victory for the dock workers would further undermine the Rabin government's wage policies, already under attack from other sections of Israel's labor movement.

The dock workers' action had been opposed by Israel's General Federation of Labor until the strikers agreed to lower their wage demands to fit into the framework of the federation's target of 4-to-5 percent increase for production workers. At that point the Israeli cabinet agreed to enter negotiations, ending the walkout.

Beethoven rehabilitated in China

Three years ago a visit by the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra to China touched off a tirade against Western music in the Chinese press. Classical compositions, especially by Beethoven and Schubert, along with some modern works, were denounced as degenerate and reactionary. A subsequent tour by the Vancouver Symphony was canceled after the orchestra refused to submit to prior censorship of their program.

Tastes seem to have changed, however. A Canadian brass quintet that recently visited China playing everything from Bach and Beethoven to pieces by contemporary Canadian and American composers won unqualified critical acclaim from the Peking press.

Soares adds 'shock team' to cabinet

Prime Minister Mário Soares shuffled his government March 25, portraying the move as an attempt to revive Portugal's sagging economy. The Socialist party chief announced that managerial and other "experts" would take over five posts in his twenty-member cabinet, as well as replace officials in eight lesser slots.

"Our principal challenge is to get the economy moving again now that we have restored the authority of the state and political liberties. Now we have to curb inflation, attract new investments, and create jobs, and so I have brought in a shock team," Soares told reporters.

British students protest tuition hikes

Upwards of 100,000 students have joined protests against tuition increases and education cutbacks proposed by Britain's Labour government.

Students occupied more than thirty-five campuses for several weeks in March, and thousands pressed their demands in massive street demonstrations. The largest action occurred March 9, drawing 40,000 students and trade unionists to rallies in London, Glasgow, Leeds, and Exmouth.

The National Union of Students is calling on the government to abolish financial eligibility tests for student grants and to roll back fee hikes that hit foreign and part-time students particularly hard.

Shirley Williams, Labour's secretary of state for education and science, has replied that education must accept its share of cutbacks under the government's austerity program.

Brazil dictator dissolves Congress

President Ernesto Geisel, Brazil's military dictator, dissolved Congress for an undetermined period April 1, after opponents blocked the passage of a government bill on judicial reform.

The Brazilian Democratic Movement, the parliamentary opposition, mustered enough votes to prevent the two-thirds majority needed for passage. They had objected to the measure because it failed to restore the right of habeas corpus for political prisoners or guarantee the independence of judges from government pressure.

Geisel told the nation in a speech that the suspension of Congress would be brief and that he intended to pass the controversial bill by decree. Asserting that the minority opposition party had "transformed itself into a dictatorship in Congress," Geisel told a gathering of military officers:

"I say we live in a democracy. We live in liberty. And I repeat what I have said many times before—that there is no liberty only for those who want to use it to destroy our nation."

New Polish rights group founded

A new human rights organization announced its formation at a press conference in Warsaw March 27. The eighteen initial members of the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights of Man said they hoped to work in cooperation with Polish authorities, not in confrontation with them. Their stated aim is to seek changes in Polish laws to bring the country into compliance with United Nations covenants on human rights ratified by the Polish government.

Spokesmen for the group said they will have broader and more long-term goals than the Workers Defense Committee, the organization set up to defend Polish workers who were victimized after last June's protests over increased prices.

Behind Jimmy Carter's Middle East maneuvering

By David Frankel

It took Jimmy Carter about ten days to apply to the Middle East his familiar campaign ploy of speaking on every side of an issue. When he was finished, the desired result had been achieved. The drive for negotiations between the Arab regimes and Israel has once again been invested with an aura of seriousness, as if it might produce significant changes in the Middle East—perhaps even a genuine peace settlement.

Carter began on March 7 by calling for an agreement that would guarantee Israel "defensible borders"—the Israeli code words for annexation of large chunks of the Arab territories seized during the 1967 war.

Two days later, he reversed himself. He insisted that only "minor adjustments" should be made in the 1967 borders, although he also suggested that Israeli "defense lines may or may not conform in the foreseeable future to those legal borders."

Finally, on March 16, he made a third statement on the issue of borders. "That is a matter to be negotiated between the Arab countries on the one side and Israel on the other," he said.

In the end, the operation left the desired vague impression that Carter wanted to overcome the impasse in Mideast negotiations, and that he was putting pressure on both sides to achieve progress. It was the same technique of creating the expectation of change that won Carter the 1976 presidential election.

Palestinians

Carter danced around the Palestinian question with similar fancy footwork. First, he made a series of moves designed to give the impression that he was leaning in the direction of recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and even of backing the formation of some type of Palestinian state or "homeland."

On March 15, the White House cleared the way for an invitation to the PLO to attend a reception for Carter at the United Nations. According to a report in the March 16 *Washington Post*, American officials said the decision was made at "the highest levels" in Washington, and with "full awareness" that an invitation to the PLO was involved.

The following day, White House press secretary Jody Powell went through the motions of denying the obvious. Powell claimed that U.S. officials were in "no position to dictate the guest list" at Carter's reception, even though the PLO has been excluded from all previous American diplomatic functions.

Also on March 16, Carter himself spoke out on the Palestinian issue, substituting the word "homeland" for the traditional phrase used by American diplomats—"the legitimate interests" of the Palestinians.

The Palestinians, Carter said, "have never yet given up their publicly professed commitment to destroy Israel. This has to be overcome."

"There has to be a homeland provided for the Palestinian refugees who

have suffered for many, many years. . . ."

This statement was calculated to fan hopes that Carter would support the formation of some type of Palestinian state if the PLO would recognize Israel. But on March 17, Carter suggested that the Palestinian "homeland" he had in mind could be King Hussein's Jordan—a position favored by the Israeli regime. "I think some provision has got to be made for the Palestinians. In the framework of the nation of Jordan or by some other means," Carter said.

Crucial concession

Finally, Carter made it clear that the crucial concession would have to be made by the PLO before discussions could even begin. He told reporters after his UN reception that there would be no further contact between his administration and the PLO "until the PLO changes its attitude toward Israel."

Meanwhile, the Israeli regime continues to hold to its hard line. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin declared March 13: "Without any qualification, Israel will not return to the lines that existed before the 1967 war."

Zionist settlements in the occupied territories continue to grow, and new outposts are being established. *Washington Post* correspondent H.D.S. Greenway pointed out in a March 7 dispatch from Jerusalem:

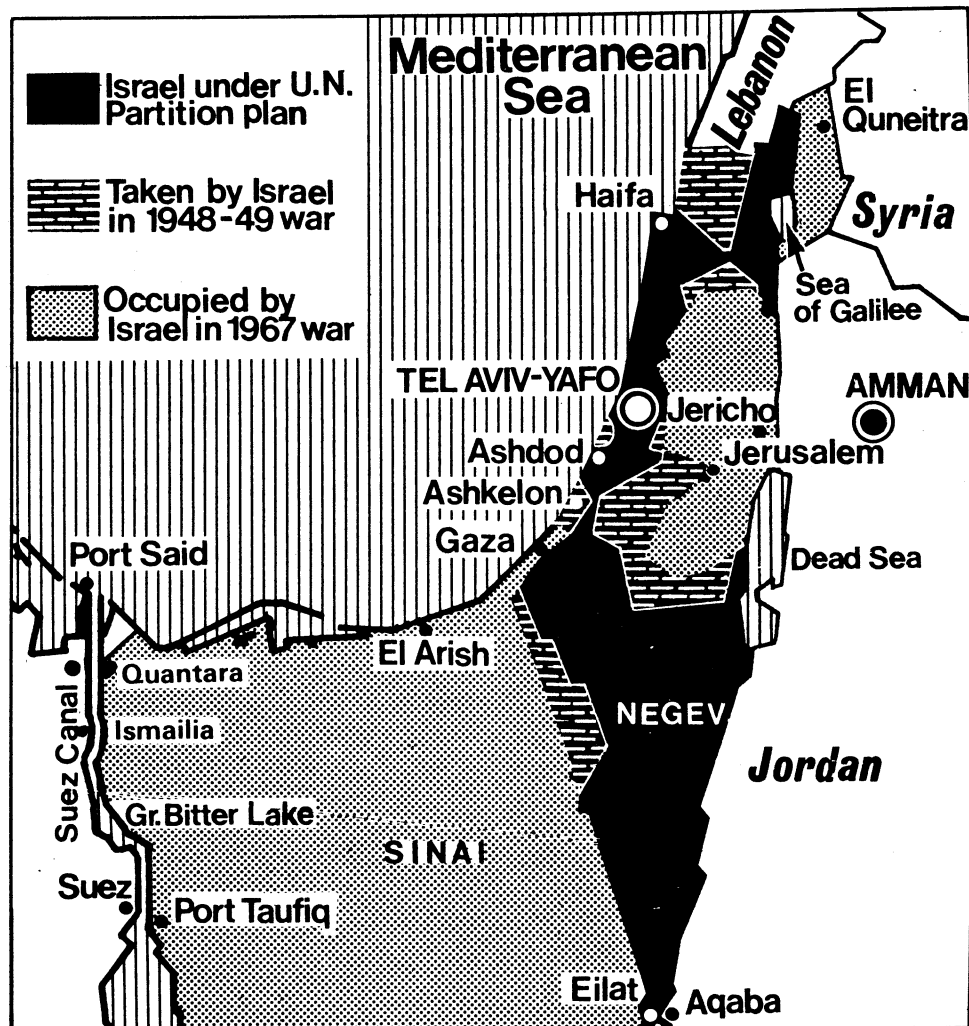
"There are advisers to the Israeli prime minister who view the next decade as a time of maximum pressure on Israel but, they argue, if Israel can hold fast, the West's dependence on Arab oil will begin to lessen by the 1980s as new sources of energy are developed. Meanwhile, Israel can buy time by reaching limited agreements with the Arabs. . . ."

Debate on Israel

Will Carter put pressure on the Israelis to change their intransigent stance? The Arab capitalist regimes are relying on this, and Carter, like Kissinger before him, is clearly encouraging this belief. *New York Times* columnist James Reston suggested March 18 that Carter was going so far in putting pressure on Israel that "the lines are being drawn for what promises to be a bitter debate, both between the Executive and the Congress, and between Washington and Jerusalem."

It is a fact that a debate among American foreign policy experts already exists on this issue. Former Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, for example, has strongly urged Washington to "insist" on Israeli withdrawal in return for recognition by the Arab regimes.

In contrast, the former senior Middle East intelligence analyst for the Air Force, Joseph Churba, said in an article in the February 28 *New York Times*: "The proponents of an American-authored comprehensive settlement have maintained since the 1967 war that the Arabs are growing more impatient, that the Palestinians are desperate, that the region is a powder keg. However, there need be no



Carter calls for 'defensible borders' for Israel. This is Zionist code word for annexation of large chunks of Arab territories seized during 1967 war, shown in map.

explosion if Israel is strong, and so perceived by the Arabs and Russians, and as long as we do not allow ourselves to be stampeded into precipitous actions."

Regardless of these differences of opinion in some imperialist circles, however, American policy has not wavered up to now. Ambiguous hints have been dropped to encourage the Arab regimes, Rabin has been denied one or two weapons that he would like to buy, and an occasional well-publicized reprimand from Washington to Tel Aviv has made headlines. But in the meantime, billions of dollars in American aid each year maintain Israel's absolute military superiority in the region and enable it to hold on to its conquered territories.

Stability

What the American capitalists want in the Middle East is stability. They rely on Israel as a bulwark of counter-revolution even more than in the past, in light of the instability of the Sadat regime in Egypt. This means that Carter must continue to pump arms and money into Israel. A public campaign for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories would have the drawback of endangering support in the United States for that huge aid package.

By dangling in front of the Arab regimes the promise of putting pressure on Israel sometime in the future, Washington has succeeded in getting them to lean heavily on the PLO. The most obvious result so far has been the widely publicized reconciliation between PLO leader Yasir Arafat and King Hussein of Jordan. Hussein was responsible for the slaughter of at least 10,000 Palestinians during the September 1970 civil war in Jordan.

The PLO is also under strong pressure to change its call for a Palestinian state to replace Israel, thus giving de facto recognition to the Zionist state. The fact that the recent meeting of the Palestine National Council—the PLO's parliament in exile—refused to change its position on this was an important indication of the continuing militancy in the ranks of the organization.

However, this fight is far from over. *Washington Post* correspondent Tho-

mas W. Lippman quoted one delegate who described the decision as maintaining a posture of militancy "until a suitable offer is received."

Recognition by the PLO would be of incalculable value to the Zionist state, which is currently viewed by most of the world's people as being in the same league with the apartheid regime in South Africa. As things stand now, the PLO is being urged to recognize Israel in order to gain a place in the negotiations. Such recognition would undercut the only real leverage the PLO has—its ability to mobilize the Palestinian masses.

Nor would such recognition assure the PLO a seat at the negotiations. Both the American imperialists and the Israeli regime would prefer to bypass the PLO and deal directly with the Arab governments. If the PLO discredits itself sufficiently among its own militant supporters by pursuing the mirage of a compromise with Israel, it will be that much easier for the governments involved to ignore it.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad has already raised the possibility of a Geneva conference convened without the PLO in attendance. But whether the PLO attends or not, one thing is certain: such a conference will not bring peace.

No matter what type of agreement is reached, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians will be left living under Israeli rule. They will continue to struggle for their rights and their repression will continue to outrage the rest of the Arab world.

Moreover, Israel will continue to intervene in the countries that surround it, just as it did by invading Egypt in 1956 and 1967, by threatening to invade Jordan when King Hussein's rule was in danger in 1970, and by supporting the rightists in the Lebanese civil war.

There is no escaping the fact that Israel was established through the dispossession of a whole people. No agreements with the Arab rulers can suppress this reality. It will continue to reassert itself until the original cause of the Mideast conflict is removed, and a single Palestinian state in which both Jews and Arabs can live is established.

'Post' continues drive to jail 15 unionists

By Lee Oleson
and Marc Strumpf

WASHINGTON—The *Washington Post* is still trying to put fifteen members of press operators Local 6 in jail. The trial is scheduled to open April 18 in D.C. superior court.

A demonstration in support of the fifteen unionists has been called for April 16.

Sponsoring the demonstration is the Local 6 Legal Defense Committee, which has been trying to win new support for the press operators. If convicted, they face a combined total of 268 years in jail.

Three other Washington unions are sponsoring the April 16 demonstration: Local 72 of the Service Employees International Union, Local 1 of the International Printing and Graphics Communications Union, and the D.C. American Postal Workers Union.

The press operators are charged with grand larceny and rioting stemming from their 1975 strike against the *Post*. The strike was provoked by *Post* management in a deliberate drive to break the union.

In its campaign to force a confrontation with the union, the *Post* used tactics intended to demoralize its workers. Safety conditions in the pressroom were allowed to deteriorate. Many press operators suffered hearing losses or serious bodily injury. One press operator lost his hand, as management coolly informed workers that safety equipment cost too much.

The trial was originally set for early



Members and supporters of Local 6 demonstrate against the vindictive attempt of the 'Post' to jail fifteen press operators.

December, but was postponed when the 161 prospective jurors were dismissed because of alleged improper investigating techniques by the defense.

The allegations came from the use of the National Jury Project (NJP) to help gauge the extent of pretrial publicity and to study jurors' backgrounds. According to the NJP, 75 percent of Washington residents have already decided that the press operators are guilty.

The most flagrant attempt by the

Post to convince its readers of the press operators' guilt came when the *Post* nominated reporter Robert Kaiser for the Pulitzer Prize for his stories about the strike.

In a letter to Pulitzer Prize officials, the Local 6 Legal Defense Committee had this to say about the *Post* coverage:

"The *Post* used its news columns to sway public opinion against the pressmen with distortions, hysterical charges, and calculated mendacity.

The clearest example of distortion appeared in stories charging the pressmen with a violent riot which destroyed the pressroom. Damage by *Post* claims ran as high as one million dollars, and one editorial equated the pressmen and airplane hijackers, snipers and political assassins. Many of these claims of violence and damage ran in news articles by Robert Kaiser.

"Several journalists in Washington and Chicago were quickly able to ascertain that the actual replacement costs for the pressroom ran around \$13,000, less than one-tenth of one percent of the value of the presses. It soon became clear that the damage to the presses was insignificant compared to the damage being done to journalist ethics and the public's trust by a corporation using its newspaper to help break a union."

Recent endorsers of the campaign to have the charges dropped include: Ed Sadlowski of the United Steelworkers of America; Washington Teachers Union President William Simons; Harry Patrick, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America; Sara Nelson, national coordinator of the Labor Task Force of the National Organization for Women; Rep. John Conyers; Dr. Benjamin Spock; author Studs Terkel; and Geraldine Boykin of the DC Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

The April 16 demonstration will assemble at 12:00 noon at fifteenth and K streets NW in Washington.

Threats force wage freeze at D.C. 'Star'

By Steve Bride

WASHINGTON—After three months of heated negotiations and management threats to shut down the paper, union employees of the *Washington Star* have voted to accept a wage freeze for the remainder of the year.

Members of the ten craft unions at the *Star*, which bargain jointly on economic issues, also agreed to accept three-year contracts containing no cost-of-living provision. Previous contracts had been for two years.

The contracts provide for an average twenty-dollars-a-week pay increase in 1978 and another twenty dollars in 1979.

The agreement, which represented the company's "final offer," came after an orchestrated effort to intimidate the unions by creating the impression that the financially troubled *Star* might go under or be sold at any moment.

In early February, publisher Joe Albritton ordered his name removed from the editorial masthead. Later, company officials said there would be no further purchases of newsprint unless the unions agreed to the take-it-or-leave-it offer.

Members of the Newspaper Guild at the *Star*, meeting early in March, voted to go on record as accepting the contract offer by a margin of one vote. This was intended as a protest to

signal displeasure with the company ultimatum.

In December 1974 the guild proposed, and the company accepted, a four-day workweek with a 20 percent cut in pay as an alternative to the large-scale layoffs management was demanding.

When the full five-day week was resumed in late 1975, the company again demanded layoffs or early retirement with cash incentives for 200 of the 1,700 union employees in the plant. The union reluctantly went along, accepting a one-year wage freeze in the bargain.

Meanwhile, at the *Washington Post*, guild members have been working

under a contract that expired March 31, 1976. Encouraged by its success in defeating the 1975 press operators strike, the company has been dragging its feet on negotiations, while carrying out reprisals against guild supporters of that strike.

These reprisals include arbitrary firings of union members. The guild has been spending an estimated \$100,000 a year in litigation against these and other unfair labor practices.

Last summer, management sponsored a campaign to decertify the *Post* guild unit in favor of a thinly disguised company union. This attempt was narrowly beaten back by guild activists in a jurisdictional election.

Suicide strategy of building-trades bureaucrats

By Ed Mattos

WASHINGTON—The building-trades unions are in decline and retreat across the country as open-shop contractors account for an ever-growing majority of construction work.

The rejection by Congress last month of the common-site picketing bill crushed the major hope of the union officialdom for a political deal that would guarantee the survival of these hard-pressed craft unions.

Ed Mattos is a member of Ironworkers Local 201 in Washington.

The present experience of Washington-area construction workers highlights the other prong of the suicide strategy of the craft union leadership. The wages and working conditions of thousands of workers here are threatened by a proposed "project agreement" between building-trades unions and the George Hyman

Construction Company.

Hyman, one of the largest employers of Washington building-trades unionists, has been awarded a contract for the initial phase of a huge new residential and commercial "redevelopment" of D.C.'s West End area.

Hyman reportedly threatened to hire nonunion labor unless the unions agreed to cutbacks in overtime pay, work rule changes, and no-strike provision for the eight-year duration of the project.

Union leaders have hailed the agreement. Its approval, they imply, will mean a return to high employment after an especially hard winter.

Many workers fell for this line, especially the part about winning back conditions "after we prove ourselves."

The agreement has received near-unanimous approval. Only two unions have rejected it—the painters and Local 201 of the ironworkers. It appears that any work done in the West End will be under the West End project agreement.

There has been opposition to the agreement among many rank-and-file unionists. They realize that giving up contract provisions to Hyman makes the union's position untenable in negotiations with other contractors. "If we give in to Hyman, we give in to all of them," is a common sentiment.

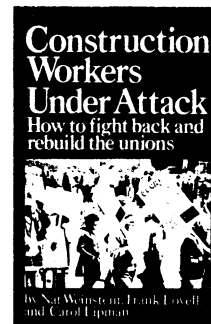
Such sacrifices of union wage scales and working conditions are aimed at convincing the contractors to return to their old cozy relationship with the craft union officials. This is a losing proposition.

Technological advances in building materials and techniques mean the contractors are no longer dependent on the craft unions for skilled workers. Union concessions only encourage the employers to demand more, and discourage workers from looking to the unions to defend their interests.

The construction unions cannot survive as job trusts for a narrow layer of white male workers. The unions will either overcome their old craft di-

visions and organize the construction industry or they will be crushed.

The building-trades unions will regain their strength only when they undertake to organize and mobilize workers, and give up trying to organize the bosses and capitalist politicians.



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SWP: 'Make New Orleans a union town!'

By Jane Boudreaux

NEW ORLEANS—"Mayor Aber?" That's how the *Courier*, a weekly newspaper here, headlined its account of the launching of the Socialist Workers party campaign of Joel Aber for mayor.

Aber, thirty-four, is a science teacher at Booker T. Washington High School. He is a building representative in his union, the United Teachers of New Orleans.

The *Courier* reported Aber's opposition to "a city government run in the interests of bankers, shipping and oil magnates, and big hotel owners. . . .

"The specific local issues in his campaign," the *Courier* continued, "will include police brutality, repeal of the 'right to work for less' law, abolition of the death penalty, and freeing [Black frame-up victim] Gary Tyler."

The *Times-Picayune* featured Aber's call "to make New Orleans a union town." The paper reported the candidate's demands for "free health and dental care, free or low-cost housing, higher teachers' salaries, and outside investigations of police brutality. Such programs would be paid for 'through taxing the corporate rich.'"

The reporter for the New Orleans *States-Item* asked the socialist, "Wouldn't the corporations say they don't have the funds to pay for such expensive programs?"

The paper noted Aber's answer: "It is always found that when people

organize for change the money can be found.' He cited cases of successful public employee strikes."

This media attention spotlighted what the *Courier* noted was the "first declared socialist candidate for mayor" to challenge 100 years of Democratic party rule in this city.

During these 100 years, Aber told a group of his supporters at a March 26 open house campaign kickoff, "Democrats protected the profits of the rich, just as Mayor Moon Landrieu does today."

Aber stressed that the Democrats' profits-first rule has always been linked to racist discrimination. "When the Democrats first took office in 1877," he said, "they did so as the political voice of the Ku-Klux-Klan-style White Leagues that had once staged a successful military coup against the elected Reconstruction government."

Aber sees his campaign, however, as the political voice for the long struggle by Blacks and other working people against New Orleans's "tradition of racism and reaction, poverty, and the subjugation of the worker to the capitalist."

The socialist candidate urged his supporters to draw their inspiration from these struggles: "The countless unrecorded slave rebellions. The mass marches of Blacks that desegregated the streetcars and public schools here in the 1870s. (For seven years in the



Militant/Mike Alewitz

New Orleans SWP mayoral candidate Joel Aber at South Africa protest.

nineteenth century New Orleans schools were more desegregated than they are today!) The two victorious general strikes led by dockworkers in 1892 and 1907."

And the socialists candidate matches his words with action. Earlier

on the day of his open house, Aber and his supporters took part in a march of 400 angry people protesting the police murder of Wayne Smith. Smith, a Black youth, was beaten to death by a New Orleans cop during a Mardi Gras parade.

The day before, Aber marched in a picket line at the Southern African consulate demanding "U.S. out of Africa!"

An activist in his union, Aber stresses the importance of the struggle to repeal the antilabor "right to work" laws and make New Orleans "a union town."

"To win the struggle to organize the South," he says, "we need new political tools. The labor movement needs to break with the Democratic party and form its own party. We need a labor party that is responsible only to working people."

"Until we have our own party," Aber stressed, "we will be stymied by the government every time we try to organize the unorganized. So the campaign to make New Orleans a union town is tied to the need for a labor party. A vote for the SWP in the October 1 election is a vote for the trade-union movement to take this giant step forward by organizing its own party. That's another reason why you should vote for the socialist alternative to 100 years of racist, antilabor Democratic party rule in New Orleans."

Vote socialist in Berkeley elections

By Anne Chase

BERKELEY, Calif.—On March 7 the Berkeley Federation of Teachers (BFT) met to hear the candidates in this city's April 19 elections to fill two seats on the school board and four on the city council.

Among the school board contenders present was David Warren, candidate of the Socialist Workers party. A former Berkeley high school counselor, Warren was laid off last fall—one of the victims of the board's retaliation against teachers who struck in 1975 to halt proposed layoffs and cutbacks in the public schools.

Warren talked about the kind of political action he believes the union needs to defend itself against the board's antilabor policies.

Warren's ideas have stirred interest in the BFT. "The issues which I went out on strike for have never been resolved," Berkeley teacher Linda Statz explains. "I personally feel that David Warren speaks to these."

Warren says the unions need to stop relying on the Democratic party. At

the March 7 meeting he documented the betrayals of one liberal Democrat, Louise Stoll, who campaigned successfully for school board, claiming she was a "friend" of teachers.

"Stoll's actions show that what teachers really need," Warren said, "is not Democratic party 'friends' but our own candidates who are directly responsible to us."

"Our strike should convince you," he went on, "that it makes no sense to fight for victories on the picket lines and then give them up by voting for the very Democrats and Republicans whose antilabor policies force us into struggles for wages and jobs in the first place."

Warren's campaign received nine votes for endorsement when the union executive board met to consider recommendations. The candidate with the most support received sixteen votes.

BFT executive board member Phyllis Callech explains that "some of us in the union wanted to field our own candidates. I think several of the teachers who voted to endorse Warren

did so because he has campaigned for the idea that we as teachers should have our own political representatives, that we as working people should create our own party."

After a lively discussion, however, the union finally decided not to endorse any candidate. The discussion centered on how teachers felt they had been tricked too many times before by liberal candidates they had backed.

Warren welcomed the serious discussion his call for independent labor political action received. He urges teachers to vote for him April 19 as a vote for that perspective. "This is the road we'll have to take," he says, "if we want a union that can fight for an end to cutbacks and layoffs, lower class size, quality and free child care, and affirmative-action programs for Blacks, Chicanos, and women."

Julie Simon is campaigning alongside Warren as the SWP candidate for city council. Simon is a second-year law student at Golden Gate University.

Since she began her campaign in early February, Simon has been speaking out on the need for the socialist alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

On February 25 she addressed a teach-in of more than 1,000 people at the University of California at Berkeley against the *Bakke* decision. That court ruling is aimed at rolling back affirmative-action programs.

On March 17 she was a speaker at a "U.S. Out of Africa" rally, also on the Cal campus. She blasted the city council for its \$1.5 million investment of city funds in U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa. "The more than \$48,000 that the city's investments yield each year are made directly from the racist oppression of South African Blacks," she said.

Simon also spoke at a rally of 300 in San Francisco April 5 demanding that Health, Education and Welfare Department Secretary Joseph Califano enact proposed new federal regulations barring discrimination against the handicapped.

Ariza: 'N.J. workers need a party of their own'

By Bobbi Medoff

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.—A special state convention of the AFL-CIO was held here March 25 to discuss backing a gubernatorial candidate in the primary elections.

The 850 delegates voted overwhelmingly not to make any endorsement at this time. This does not, however, represent any change from the unions' support to the Democratic party.

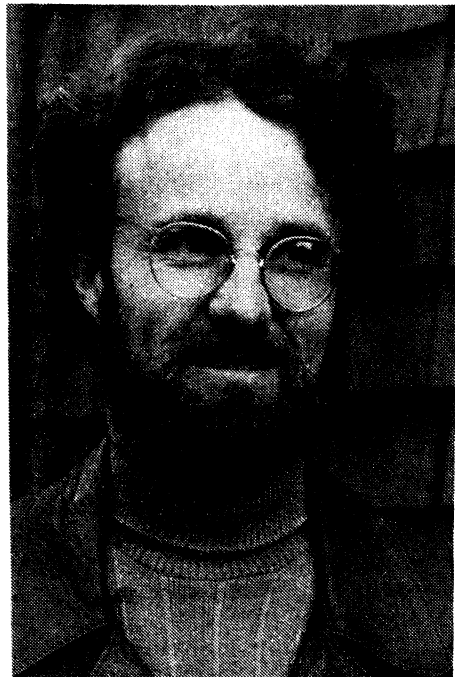
State AFL-CIO President Charles Marcianite called the convention in hopes of winning endorsement for Joseph Hoffman, the first gubernatorial candidate to file for the Democratic primary. During the week before the convention, several other candidates had filed, each of whom had support among the delegates.

It appeared that no candidate could win the 67 percent of the vote needed for endorsement, and this motivated the "wait and see" position taken by the convention.

Marcianite summed it up after the vote by saying that Democrats Hoffman, Robert Roe, and James Florio are all "good labor candidates."

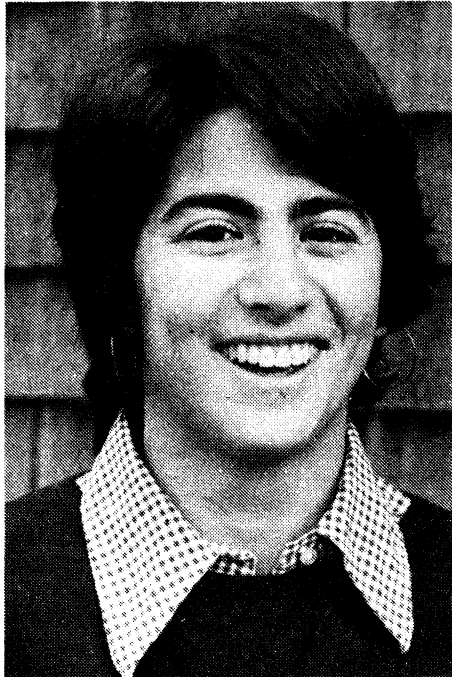
Rich Ariza, Socialist Workers party candidate for governor, distributed an open letter appealing to the delegates not to endorse any Democratic or Republican candidates.

"It doesn't make sense," Ariza argued, "for labor unions to strike against the boss one day, and then vote for his party the next. . . . This convention should be discussing ways to organize workers to fight back against attacks on our living standards . . . including running our own, independent labor candidates for office."



Militant/Penny Warren

DAVID WARREN



Militant/Dave Warren

JULIE SIMON

SWP candidate hits bosses' parties

600 hear Brasky in Chicago mayoral debates

By Pat Grogan

CHICAGO—More than 600 people heard Dennis Brasky, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, at three debates leading up to this city's April 19 primary election.

On March 29 Brasky participated in a candidates' debate sponsored by the Edgewater Community Council on the far northside. The audience of about 200 mostly older, white people was receptive to the socialist railroad worker's appeal for independent political action by Chicago's labor movement.

"We do all the work in this city,"

Brasky said. "We should make the decisions. Our unions should put their time, energy, money, and votes into a party that would run railroad workers, steelworkers, office workers, and unemployed workers for office."

At Malcolm X College on the predominantly Black westside, 350 people jammed in to hear the candidates. They booed former state's attorney and Democratic primary mayoral contender Edward Hanrahan off the stage.

Hanrahan is being sued for his role in the December 4, 1969, murder raid on Black Panther party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

There are three Black candidates in the mayoral primary race—two Democrats and one Republican. None are making an effort to build an ongoing movement in the community for real Black power. Instead, the three are urging Blacks to put their hopes in the two racist parties of big business.

But, Brasky explained, it is hopeless to expect the party of Hanrahan and "shoot to kill" Daley to fight for Black rights.

"Do you remember what Malcolm X said about Democrats?" Brasky asked the audience. "'Show me a Democrat and I'll show you a Dixiecrat!'"

"One of Malcolm's strongest arguments," Brasky noted, "was that Blacks have gotten nowhere by depending on the parties of their enemies."

"Forty percent of this city is Black," he continued, "yet Blacks have no real political power because they're in the hip pocket of the Democratic party."

"Malcolm pushed the idea of Black political action independent of the Democrats and Republicans. My party supports that idea."

The audience applauded socialist Brasky when he said, "Ed Hanrahan wants the Democratic party to put him in city hall. I'd like to see a Black party put him in jail."

On April 4 the candidates were invited to the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle campus, on the near



Militant/Nancy Cohen

SWP mayoral candidate Dennis Brasky speaking at Malcolm X Community College meeting where racist Democrat Edward Hanrahan was booed off the stage by Black students.

Petition drive



Militant/Nancy Cohen

Chicago voters signing up to help put Brasky on the ballot.

As of April 11, supporters of the SWP collected 21,400 signatures to put Dennis Brasky, their candidate for mayor, on the ballot. Chicago's Board of Elections requires parties other than the Democrats and Republicans to gather 20,000 signatures by April 18 to achieve ballot status in the June 7 election. The board had originally set a 66,000-signature requirement, but was forced to retreat under pressure from an SWP legal challenge.

westside. Circle's administration has recently proposed a tuition hike and a "selective index" that aims to weed out so-called unqualified students. Together these changes would make Circle a predominantly white, elitist, ivory tower.

Seventy-five students, mostly Blacks and Latinos, came to hear the candidates. The students were angry about the administration's moves and wanted to know what the candidates would say about them.

Acting Mayor Michael Bilandic did not show up for this debate or any of the others. He believes he has the Democratic party nomination in the bag.

State Sen. Harold Washington, a Black Democrat, and Alderman Roman Pucinski spoke. Longtime loyalists of the Daley machine, neither said much more than "education is important." Neither opposed the "selective index."

Brasky attacked the index. "Due to the miserable quality of the segregated Chicago public schools," he said, "remedial programs are a dire necessity. Yet the Democrats and Republicans in the state legislature say there is no

money. But there is money to build the crosstown expressway. There is money to pay Panther defendant Hanrahan's attorneys' fees so he can stay out of jail. These are the warped priorities of the parties of big business.

"We socialists have different priorities," Brasky continued. "Working people should not be forced to make sacrifices for the profits of the wealthy. We have to struggle to defend our rights."

"Mobilize your potential allies—the labor movement, the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, other college and high school students," Brasky urged the audience. "Bring 50,000 people to city hall and the state capitol saying, 'Education is our right! Then you'll have some action.'"

Brasky finished as he had in other debates. "On election day, the SWP, a voice of working people, will be on the ballot again. Seventeen thousand people voted for the fighting alternative presented by our 1975 mayoral candidate Willie Mae Reid. Their votes for the SWP were votes for themselves, not the bosses. In 1977, we're urging you again to vote for us and join us. Our party is your party."

Stalinists find a 'good' Daley Democrat



STATE SEN. HAROLD WASHINGTON

By Steve Clark

"Chicago state rep bucks the machine," reported the headline in the March 31 *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist party.

"Unity among progressives aids Chicago drive for a Black mayor," proclaimed another *Daily World* headline March 3.

"Two things point to a possible victory for forces supporting State Senator Harold Washington for Mayor in the April 19 Democratic primary," the *World* explained. "The first is unity of the Black community. The second is workingclass unity, including progressive sectors of labor and the liberal, independent movement."

Washington's major opponent in the primary race for the late Boss Daley's throne at city hall is Acting Mayor Michael Bilandic.

The *Daily World* has reported extensively on the developing coalition around Washington's candidacy. He has been endorsed by the Independent Voters of Illinois, the local affiliate of the liberal Americans for Democratic Action; by a coalition of twenty-five Black labor officials in Chicago; by prominent white Chicago liberals such as former Alderman Leon Despres, State Rep. Robert Mann, and State Sen. Dawn Clark Netsch; and by Black Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana.

The *World* noted March 31 that "some Northside white liberals, however, continue to 'sit it out' on the grounds that no one can beat Acting-Mayor Michael A. Bilandic. . . ." The *World* is particularly peeved at former Alderman William Singer, whom the CP backed in his primary challenge against Daley in 1975.

Illinois-Iowa district CP Chairperson Ishmael Flory has expressed his concern that "The developing coalition [around Washington] understand the necessity to end monopoly rule and rip-off of the

masses of working people by the bi-partisan machine inside the Democratic Party."

Washington's years as an Illinois politician make him an unlikely general for Flory's war against the "bi-partisan machine inside the Democratic Party."

The record shows that Washington is a longtime cog in Daley's Democratic party machine. And Washington himself would be—and is—the last to deny it.

When the weekly *Chicago Reader* asked Washington, "In your previous campaigns, you've run under the banner of the Machine," he answered, "Yes."

"Would you describe yourself as being anti-Machine?" the *Reader* continued.

"No. No, I wouldn't," Washington replied. "The Machine is not all bad. It operates on different levels in different areas. It's more good than bad—but where it's bad, it's bad. I'm not anti-Machine, I don't know what you're talking about."

Need political alternative

The problems facing Chicago working people require far more than the usual election-year promises from Democratic politicians such as Washington. Unemployment in parts of the city runs as high as 40 percent. Twenty percent of Chicago adults are on welfare.

Chicago real estate interests—with the active help of city, state, and federal officials—have herded Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans into deteriorating ghettos and barrios, sharply cut off from all-white neighborhoods.

And despite one of the most segregated school systems in the country, Chicago is still not under any busing order that could even begin to remedy these racist inequalities.

Washington offers no solution to these problems.

Continued on page 30

McCutcheon blasts antibusing bigots

Black socialist in Boston school committee race

By Lisa Potash

BOSTON—Hattie McCutcheon is one of the militant young Black leaders who have come forward during the bitter struggle to desegregate this city's schools.

On April 6 she told a packed news conference that she will campaign for a seat on the Boston School Committee.

McCutcheon, a member of the Socialist Workers party, was a national staff member of the National Student Coalition Against Racism during 1976. She was the coordinator of a demonstration by 300 people against United States complicity with apartheid held March 26 in the Boston Common.

In contrast to the antibusing members of the present Boston School Committee, McCutcheon pledged to campaign for "complete, total, peaceful desegregation" of the Boston public schools.

The socialist candidate explained that the Black community here has "won some important victories in our fight for desegregation. But we cannot stop now. All of the schools, at all levels, must be desegregated. Attacks on Black students must cease. Boycotts by white antibusing students and parents must cease. People violating the desegregation orders are criminals. They must be arrested and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law."

But, McCutcheon warned, in order to defend and extend the gains of the

Black community, a powerful movement must be built. "We need a political party based on and responsible only to the Black community," she said, "if we are to break out of the racist stranglehold the Democratic and Republican parties now maintain over Boston."

"My campaign as a socialist for Boston School Committee," she added, "will offer a positive alternative to the anti-Black, antibusing, anti-everything-this-city-needs campaigns of the Democrats and Republicans."

"In this election," McCutcheon predicted, "the Democrats and Republicans will falsely say that this is a nonpartisan campaign. But my campaign is openly partisan. I am for busing. For desegregation. For Black rights."

"I am against racist violence and school committee obstruction of the just law of the land that upholds equal education for Black and Puerto Rican youths."

"I am for the full funding of the schools by taxing the big corporations. I am against cutbacks in city employees, schools, and services. I support the struggles of the Boston Teachers Union to defend jobs and wages."

"I am a socialist. I believe that a vote for the socialist alternative in '77 is a key way to deal a blow against the rich racist rulers of Boston."

A high point of McCutcheon's news

conference was her release of previously secret FBI files turned over to the SWP as a result of the socialists' \$40 million lawsuit against the FBI and other government police agencies.

You could hear a pin drop as reporters from one television station, five radio stations, and four newspapers eagerly scanned the documents.

The files gave the names and facts about how several Boston media personnel had collaborated with FBI



Militant/Maceo Dixon

HATTIE MCCUTCHEON

disruption campaigns against Boston's antiwar movement.

They showed that the FBI gave materials to Boston *Herald* free-lance writer Gordon Hall to help him prepare a May 23, 1965, red-baiting article aimed at undercutting support for an antiwar demonstration scheduled for the next Saturday.

The FBI also fed materials to WBZ-TV for a five-part red-baiting series on the student movement in April 1967. This attack was also timed to take place during a week of nationally coordinated antiwar activities.

McCutcheon asked if the FBI is manipulating the media again today as part of its campaign of harassment against the probusing forces in this city over the last two years.

"Why do the daily incidents of racist, anti-Black harassment that continue to this day go unreported by Boston's media? Is the FBI still using journalists in their attempts to smear political activists in Boston?" she asked.

McCutcheon concluded, "The government has tried to avoid discussing our politics and resorted to FBI manipulation, harassment, and illegal activity instead. But our struggles for basic change are living movements with genuinely widespread support. They cannot be broken by lies and intimidation. A big vote for my campaign will help send that message to the racists in city hall, the statehouse, and Washington."

Seattle SWP wins round in disclosure fight

By Karen McKnight

SEATTLE—The Socialist Workers campaign committee here has won a round in its fight against this state's campaign disclosure laws.

On April 6 Thurston County Judge Gerry Alexander ruled that the Socialist Workers campaign did not have to turn over the names of its contributors to the Washington Public Disclosure Commission (PDC).

The judge's decision is an important civil liberties victory.

The Washington Socialist Workers campaign began its legal challenge to the state disclosure laws in 1974.

A separate \$40 million lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the government's secret police agencies has

revealed that burglaries, vandalism, anonymous letters to landlords and employers, and other criminal acts are all used against the socialists. The Seattle police department has also admitted using the names, addresses, and workplace information of socialist campaign supporters for similar purposes.

The SWP challenge to the disclosure law said it is unconstitutional to require the party to turn over a ready-made "enemies list" to the government's dirty tricksters.

The party asked for an exemption from the disclosure requirements under a hardship clause in the Washington law.

The PDC granted a hearing on the socialists' request in 1974. At that time the commission agreed that the social-

ists were harassed, but refused to grant an exemption.

During the 1976 campaign, the socialists again went before the PDC and asked for a hardship exemption. This time, the PDC granted a partial exemption. It said the socialists did not have to turn over the names of the contributors who gave less than fifty dollars during the course of the entire campaign.

Judge Alexander's ruling says this partial exemption did not go far enough in protecting the socialists' constitutional rights.

Margaret Trowe, the SWP candidate for mayor of Seattle, hailed the judge's decision in a statement released on April 7.

Trowe denounced the public disclo-

sure law as an "infringement on First Amendment rights of freedom of association. They don't limit big-business control of the electoral process," she said, "but instead have limited the rights of parties other than the Democrats and Republicans."

Trowe said the socialists will continue their "fight to end undemocratic campaign laws." She cited proposed state law Senate Bill 2032 as another obstacle to the socialists' fight for ballot rights. This law would make it very difficult for smaller parties to qualify for ballot status.

"Undemocratic election laws such as SB 2032," Trowe said, "are undisguised attempts to limit voter freedom of choice and eliminate from the electoral arena forces seeking social change."

YSA teams: traveling for socialism

By Peter Archer

In the early 1900s members of the Industrial Workers of the World—Wobblies—traveled across the United States to spread their message of socialism and industrial unionism.

Today, this tradition of socialist soapboxing is being carried on by members of the Young Socialist Alliance. Teams of young socialists are

Peter Archer is national coordinator of the Young Socialist Alliance's traveling teams.

traveling to college and high school campuses around the country to recruit new fighters for socialism.

Steven Marshall, big, soft-spoken, with a pleasant southern drawl, is captain of the YSA team currently touring the South. He told me about a problem the team ran into at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge.

"The administration gave us some hassles. They said we didn't have the right to sell books and papers on campus. We contacted a lawyer from the American Civil Liberties Union, and he said he'd help us fight the restriction."

"When an administrator came along with some cops to make us take down our literature table, the lawyer sat down on the table and told them, 'If you move this table, you'll have to move me too.'"

As students gathered around, Marshall gave a speech on civil liberties and the right of free speech. The administrator, seeing that sentiment was against him, left the area.

Sales of the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist*—the newspaper of the YSA—have been brisk. When Mitchell Rosenberg, captain of the Mid-Atlantic team, called me at the YSA national office in New York last Saturday, he reported that the team sold 239 *Militants* that week on the campuses in Raleigh, North Carolina.

I asked him what interested people about the *Militant*. "Well," he replied, "there was the cover story on the new facts about the assassination of Martin Luther King. A lot of people were interested in that. But mostly I'd just tell people it was a socialist newspaper, and they were interested to hear what we had to say."

Since their tours began, the teams have sold more than 2,500 copies of the *Militant*, 1,600 copies of the *Young Socialist*, and nearly \$2,000 worth of

socialist literature.

As a result of their efforts, fifteen people have decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance. The team in the deep South helped set up a chapter of the YSA in Baton Rouge, and the team touring the Southwest organized a YSA chapter in San Juan Capistrano, California.

Ron Maxton of the Northern California team reports that the team spoke to a class of high school students about socialism. "It was real interesting," he said. "We and some of the students were defending socialism and the rest of the class was questioning it. We were supposed to just speak for fifteen minutes, but we ended up staying there an hour and a half."

The teams have helped organize actions against racism in southern Africa on some campuses they visited. The East Great Lakes team, for example, helped support a picket line in Morgantown, West Virginia, against U.S. complicity with the racist white minority regimes.

Students are not just interested in talking about socialist ideas; they want to do something. And many more will join the Young Socialist Alliance before the socialist soapboxers come home.

DANGER: CANCER AT WORK

By Kendall Green

In 1775 Dr. Percival Pott noted that English chimney sweeps were prime targets of scrotal cancer. Dr. Pott suggested that the cancer was caused by body contact with chimney soot.

Today, some 200 years later, it's hardly a shock anymore when scientists announce that thousands of workers have been exposed on the job to high cancer risks. We've been stunned too often by the news—asbestos, nuclear radiation, coke ovens. There seems to be a new one every week.

In some cases early findings have led to minimal safety precautions. But in general, neither industry nor government has shown much interest in protecting workers in even the most hazardous occupations.

No records

More than 350,000 people died from cancer in this country in 1973. No one knows how many cases were job-related.

Since human cancer often takes twenty or more years to develop, it is difficult to pinpoint specific causes. Many factors must be taken into account, such as the level and duration of exposure to a carcinogenic—that is, cancer-producing—substance and the impact of exposure to multiple sources.

This is complicated by the failure of public or private agencies to study and keep track of necessary information.

Nonetheless, several things are known:

- More people in cities get cancer than those in rural areas.

- The death rate from cancer doubled between 1950 and 1965, following a rapid expansion in the size of the industrial work force.

- According to the National Cancer Institute, 70 to 90 percent of all human cancers can be traced to environmental factors on and off the job.

So it's clear that hundreds of thousands of working people are exposed to cancer-causing materials every day.

Yet, both industry and government have failed to protect workers from this deadly hazard.

Asbestos

Take mesothelioma, for example, an extremely rare form of lung cancer—rare, that is, unless you are among the 250,000 people who work around asbestos.

More than 85 percent of all mesothelioma is caused by asbestos fibers. This rare cancer causes 7 percent of all asbestos workers' deaths.

Airborne asbestos fiber has been recognized as a carcinogen for more than twenty years. Right now virtually everyone who works with or near asbestos is regularly exposed to a potentially cancerous dose.

The first maximum exposure level was set in 1972 by the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). OSHA ordered a reduction in airborne fibers to 2 million per cubic meter of air, but generously gave the industry four years to comply. This standard wasn't even aimed at cancer, but at a respiratory disease called asbestosis.

Now, however, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) says that the 1972 standard is still at least ten times too high to be safe.

"It's not possible to establish a safe exposure level for the carcinogenic activity of asbestos," says Dr. John Finklea, NIOSH director.

But the NIOSH recommendation of a lower standard hasn't been adopted yet.

Coke ovens

The steel industry is particularly hazardous to workers' health. One of the worst jobs is around the coke ovens.

Coke is coal that has been heated as high as 28,000 degrees for up to twenty hours. It is essential to the production of steel.

The 20,000 coke-oven workers know just how hot and dirty a job it is. And they develop lung cancer two-and-a-half times as often as the general population. Those coke-oven workers subjected to the heaviest fumes suffer a cancer rate ten to fifteen times normal.

Because the job is so dangerous, Black workers and women workers are tossed right into it when the companies—under pressure—finally agree to hire them.

A standard limiting coke-oven emissions took effect in February 1977. The new rule cuts maximum emissions by 25 percent. This is "essentially meaningless," according to one engineer.

Even this modest standard, however, was bitterly



Working around nuclear reactors may expose you to a high cancer risk.



Coke plant. Coke-oven workers get lung cancer two-and-a-half times as often as the rest of the population.

fought by the steel corporations, who complained that the cost would be prohibitive.

In a revolting display of insensitivity to human life, the federal Council on Wage-Price Stability also opposed the new standard. The council's economists calculated that every steelworker's life saved by the new standard would cost \$4.5 million. This, they argued, would be inflationary.

OSHA held lengthy hearings before setting the coke-oven standards. Unfortunately, the officialdom of the United Steelworkers of America allowed OSHA's decision to pass with hardly a whimper.

USWA President I.W. Abel refused to mobilize the ranks of the union to fight for an effective health standard. This is typical of Abel's "cooperative" approach to labor/company relations.

There are several immediate steps that could be taken to clean up the coke ovens. Improved maintenance of existing ovens would help.

An alternative method of coke burning used in many other steel-producing countries could eliminate nearly all harmful emissions. However, U.S. steel corporations have shown little or no interest in changing their operation.

In short: Steel-plant operators aren't concerned with the cancer risk coke-oven workers run. The government has failed to act effectively. And the bureaucratized USWA leadership has allowed both government and industry to run roughshod over the interests of steelworkers.

Cooperation in cover-up

The government has regularly cooperated with industry in trying to downplay the dangers of job-related cancer. Nowhere has this cooperation been more cynical than with the nuclear industry.

The nuclear industry has blitzed us with an expensive propaganda effort to convince us that atomic energy is as safe as Ivory Snow.

Government standards dictate the maximum radiation dosage to which a worker may be exposed. Exposure below this level is supposed to be safe.

But a recently published study suggests otherwise.

Three scientists investigated the deaths of 3,883 atomic workers who had been employed at the federal nuclear facility at Hanford, Washington.

According to the study, most of the Hanford workers were subjected to less than one-tenth the maximum allowable radiation.

But the workers had 74 percent more cancers of the bone marrow, 10 percent more breast cancers, and 64 percent more lung cancers than the population as a whole.

Thousands of workers are exposed every day to harmful levels of radioactivity because of this inadequate safety standard.

What is the solution to the problem of occupational cancer? One obvious answer is for the government to ban any substance that causes cancer—and not allow a four-year "grace period," as it did with asbestos.

Companies whose profits depend on exposing workers to dangerous chemicals will howl that they can't afford safe substitutes. The nuclear industry will complain that it can't afford to provide adequate shielding from radioactivity.

These excuses aren't good enough. Working men and women have been needlessly exposed to cancer far too long.

Bureaucrat backs bosses on ban

By Arnold Weissberg

Although working women and men are the heaviest victims of industrial carcinogens, the bureaucratic officials of their unions too often refuse to fight to ban dangerous substances.

In fact, at least in one case, some labor tops agreed with the chemical industry on the need to retain sixteen cancer-causing chemicals.

A bill introduced into the New Jersey legislature last December would ban a group of chemicals that have been identified as cancer-producing.

New Jersey has the highest cancer death rate in the country. The state is also a center of chemical manufacture. It is sometimes called "Cancer Alley."

But Charles Marciante, president of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO, doesn't seem to be worried about this.

According to Marciante, the chemical industry is actually doing New Jersey workers a favor.

Testifying against the ban at a legislative hearing, Marciante asserted that banning the cancer-producing chemicals might bring on "a new dark age of economic devastation."

Representatives of the chemical industry

agreed with Marciante.

Marciante and his ilk—who claim to represent working people—could not be more shortsighted. It does workers little good to hold down a job for thirty years just to die from cancer before they retire.

Union members' families are also endangered. These sixteen cancer-producing chemicals are a hazard to anyone in New Jersey who breathes.

The union bureaucrats seem to think that working women and men should be grateful for any crumb the bosses throw their way—even a poison one. This is typical of their greater concern for the bosses' profits than for the health and safety of union members.

Instead of kowtowing to the corporations, the unions should demand to see the corporate books to reveal just what kind of profits the chemical companies are raking in from the manufacture of carcinogens. If the corporations threaten that safety and health procedures will force them to close down, these companies should be nationalized and placed under the control of the workers themselves, who have a stake in guaranteeing that their workplace is not their graveyard as well.

'Undercover Years in the KKK'

My Undercover Years with the Ku Klux Klan by Gary Rowe, Jr. Published by Bantam Books, New York, 1976. Paper, \$1.75.

It was by chance and coincidence that I first came across Gary Rowe's book, *My Undercover Years with the Ku Klux Klan*, last summer as I headed for Birmingham, Alabama. This is the city where I had been almost fatally beaten on the first Freedom Ride in 1961 by a Klan mob of which Rowe was a part.

In fact, my purpose in going to Birmingham last summer was linked with the Freedom Rides—to spotlight their relationship, in terms of nonviolent protest, with the 1976 Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice, in which I was a participant.

I had nothing to read on the plane and no particular book in mind as I browsed around one of LaGuardia airport's bookstores. Suddenly, I spotted Rowe's book, on whose cover is a photo of the author, masked (the Klan has threatened to assassinate him), as he testified in Washington in December 1975.

Books

That testimony was the basis for a \$400,000 suit against the FBI that I had filed March 2, 1976, in New York. (I had been so badly beaten that I required fifty-three stitches in my head.)

A similar suit—for \$1 million—was filed by Walter and Frances Bergman on January 4, 1977, in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Walter had been so badly beaten that he suffered a stroke, became paralyzed, and has been in a wheelchair ever since.

Rowe's testimony was that, as an undercover agent in the Klan mob, he had notified his superiors three weeks in advance about the planned assault



JIM PECK: Freedom Rider beaten by Klan.

on Freedom Riders, but that no preventative action had been taken. On the contrary, the FBI collaborated with the Klan and with "Bull" Connor's local police, who had agreed to absent themselves from the bus station for fifteen minutes after our arrival, giving the Klansmen free rein to clobber us.

So, my interest in Rowe's book was more than casual. I bought it without even paging through and started reading immediately as I awaited boarding. Looking at the chapter titles, I noted that chapter eight was "The Freedom Riders." But rather than turn to that immediately I started at the beginning because I was anxious to get the whole perspective.

Was this a worthwhile book, even though admittedly ghostwritten, or was it just a fast-buck operation capitalizing on timeliness?

I found the content *definitely* interesting. Rowe reveals how hate, suspicion, and violence dominate—not only the Klansmen's attitude toward Blacks—but their attitude toward each other in their personal, everyday lives.



GARY ROWE: FBI's Klansman

In reading the book you get to know a number of Klansmen as if you had met them personally. All of them seem totally devoid of human warmth or sense of humor.

Their prime thrill, which mounts to a sex-driven hysteria, is assaulting *inter-racial* couples. Rowe was in the car with two Klansmen, Collie Leroy Wilkins and William Orville Eaton, as they assassinated Viola Liuzzo at the conclusion of the Selma-Montgomery March of 1965.

As Rowe describes it, Wilkins says upon spotting the car in which "the driver was a blonde white woman in her mid-thirties, wearing glasses, and in the front seat with her, a colored man: 'I'll be damned. We've finally caught two of the bastards together. Let's take 'em.'"

When they came abreast of the car, according to Rowe:

"Wilkins fired two shots at her head. I saw the man beside her lean forward, look at us, then throw his hands over his face, grab the side of his head, and fall over against the dashboard. His body slumped sideways toward the

woman's lap, and then her body leaned over his. Then all I could see was glass cracking and splintering and all I could hear was gunfire. As we passed the car, Wilkins and Eaton emptied their guns at the windshield.

"A hideous certainty enveloped me—the woman was dead. I felt nausea, horror and then fear as Wilkins leaned over and looked in my face.

"Wilkins slapped my leg and said: 'Bro', I don't miss. Ain't that some damn good shootin'?"

"Relax," he said. 'You're in the big time now. We wanted you here for years but we were scared of you (suspicious that Rowe was an FBI agent).'

"A few minutes later he slapped my shoulder and asked: 'How you like that for shootin'?' And all the way to the capital (Montgomery) he repeated: 'I'm the best shot you ever saw.'"

What impelled Rowe to take a job as FBI undercover agent? In the final chapter he explains: "I suppose there are many answers to that question, one of which must surely be, 'Just for the hell of it.' I have always sought excitement and danger, and even when I didn't win a fight I enjoyed it.

"Perhaps another reason I undertook this work was that all my life I have been interested in law enforcement and I hate to see a mockery made of it."

He did "see a mockery made of it," he testified in Washington, when, at the risk of his life, he reported to his superiors in the FBI about the planned assault on the Freedom Riders, and they didn't even transmit his report to FBI national headquarters in Washington.

—Jim Peck

Jim Peck has been a member of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) for seventeen years and is a staff member for the War Resisters League. He is the author of 'Freedom Ride,' 'We Who Would Not Kill,' and 'Underdogs Versus Upperdogs.'

Caucasian Chalk Circle

The Caucasian Chalk Circle written by Bertolt Brecht. Directed by Fritz Bennewitz at the La Mama Experimental Theater Club, New York City.

La Mama Experimental Theater Club recently produced *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* under the direction of Fritz Bennewitz, head of the National Theater of Weimar in East Germany.

The play was written by Bertolt Brecht in 1944 after ten years of exile from Nazi Germany.

The style—witty, sardonic, biting—is very like his more famous *Threepenny Opera*. Brecht retells the old fable of the Chinese chalk circle, but what

"evil times make humane feelings a danger to those who have them." This is the plight of Grusha, a palace servant who rescues the governor's child, abandoned by its mother, when the governor is deposed in a putsch. The rulers flee, and the old system crumbles.

Ongoing narrative is provided by the Singer (excellently played by Ernest Abuba), as if Brecht himself were speaking to us. "Terrible is the temptation to do good!" he says as Grusha decides to care for the child. She's no heroic rescuer—she's just stuck with the child.

Bennewitz's production cut a number of scenes from the first half of the play, apparently in an attempt to move it more swiftly. I think it succeeded only in making Brecht's points a little more difficult to understand. The part of Grusha was played sweetly by Cecile Guidot, but with a touch too much melancholy, so some of the irony didn't come across. This added to the slow pace of the play's first part.

But in its second half the play takes off in a fast-moving, witty account of how the poor, cynical, subversive-minded scribe, Azdak, is installed as judge.

With complete contempt for the "law" and with sympathies only for the oppressed, Azdak dispenses his own brand of justice, traveling through the country with his wine jug and "seat of justice"—a privy with a book of law to sit on.

But the days of the judge are numbered. The old rulers begin to return. Azdak looks through his law book to see what they might try to pin on him. "I've connived with paupers, that will cost me dearly," he declares as he flips through the pages. "I've helped poverty up on its rickety legs, they'll hang me for

drunkenness; I've looked into rich men's pockets, they'll get me for blasphemy."

When the governor's wife returns to claim her little boy from Grusha, Azdak—still judge—must decide who shall get him.

The case for the prosecution: Blood is thicker than water. Motherhood is an instinct. It's only *natural* that the child be returned to the biological mother. In addition, of course, there is the small matter that possession of the child is necessary for the deceased governor's wife to reclaim the estates.

The case for the defense: Grusha simply declares, "He's mine, I've brought him up."

Azdak is big on little "tricks" to show people the seriousness of the law because, he says, the law itself is so stupid. In this case he invokes the test of the "chalk circle." Each woman takes one arm of the child and pulls. Won't the *real* mother have the strength to pull the child from the circle?

Grusha fails the test twice. "I raised him!" she cries out. "Do you want me to tear him to pieces? I can't."

Azdak declares the real mother of the child must be Grusha.

The play returns to the present. The Singer underlines the moral: "Things should belong to those who do well by them."

Unfortunately La Mama's production only ran for a week, so readers won't be able to take it in. But such efforts may generate more interest in works by Brecht. Certainly the Ralph Manheim and John Willett edition published by Vintage—which contains the uncut play upon which La Mama's production was based—is vastly superior to the abridged versions. —Heidrun Rosenfreund

Theater

comes through is his own class-conscious view of society.

La Mama's production added an ironic twist to the "Caucasian" story as most of the actors were Asian, Black, Latino, or other minorities.

Brecht threads through the play the theme that

'Accomplices in Apartheid'

Accomplices in Apartheid by Ernest Harsch. Published in four installments by Intercontinental Press, Post Office Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, New York 10014. Can be ordered for \$2.50.

"Accomplices in Apartheid" tells how a vast network of foreign investments and loans transformed South Africa from an agricultural economy into the strongest capitalist power in Africa. The study is currently being published in four installments in *Intercontinental Press*, a socialist weekly specializing in political analysis of international events.

Ernest Harsch is a staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. He is coauthor with Tony Thomas of *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War*.

Why did banks and corporations pour billions of dollars into the South African economy? Harsch's answer: for the tremendous profits that are extracted from the toil of millions of low-paid Black workers.

The discovery of the world's largest gold deposits in the 1880s brought large-scale foreign investments to South Africa.

Magazines

Early investments concentrated on exploiting the gold deposits. Harsch shows, however, that they later served a more pressing need—expanding and diversifying the economy.

Harsch answers the arguments of South Africa's backers that investments improve the economic situation for Blacks. He explodes this myth by examining the wages of Africans. He found, for example, that in 1973 only one U.S. company, IBM, paid its African workers even the *minimum subsistence level*.

Under pressure from international public opinion and the struggles of Black workers, some corporations have raised wages. Actually, the companies have simply shifted white workers up the job ladder at increased pay and turned the former jobs over to Black workers at lower pay. This maneuver actually increases the gap between white and Black wages.

Harsch cites a survey done in Durban in 1943-44 that found 24.8 percent of African households had incomes below the starvation level, the Poverty Datum Line. He compares that to 1970 statistics that show about 80 percent of urban African households in South Africa earned less than the poverty line.

The difference in profit rates tells the story. Harsch discovered that "in 1970 alone, U.S. manufacturing firms earned 16 percent in South Africa, but only 9.4 percent worldwide."

The capitalists have collected superprofits from the brutal exploitation and oppression of twenty-two million African workers.

In 1976 U.S. corporations accounted for about 16 percent of foreign investments in South Africa—second only to Britain. The racist regime holds U.S. investment in very high esteem since it ties the racists to the world's strongest imperialist power.

The 1976 book value of U.S. companies' direct investment in South Africa was \$1.6 billion. Indirect investment in loans from U.S. banks was more than \$2 billion—twice what it was in 1975!

Harsch estimates that much of this huge investment is held by only a dozen corporations.

U.S. corporations are most heavily involved in mining equipment sales, automobile and related production, and oil refining. This gives U.S. corporations the dominant role in some of South Africa's most important economic sectors.

The auto industry was Pretoria's chosen instrument for developing and diversifying its economy. Not only does that industry develop advanced production techniques; it also spurs growth in the rubber, glass, steel, and petroleum industries.

Oil is the second area of massive U.S. influence. Since South Africa has no known oil deposits, it must import 90 percent of its oil needs.

Harsch also discusses the Carter administration's backing for foreign investments in South Africa.

"Accomplices in Apartheid" is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature on the economic underpinnings of the South African regime. It is another weapon in the arsenal of activists fighting to end U.S. complicity with South Africa.

—Omari Musa

APRIL 15

Where your money goes

By Dick Roberts

"Income taxes are so progressive that wealthy Americans support a proportionally larger share of the government than workers. . . .

"Corporations are penalized because they pay a 48 percent tax rate, much higher than personal taxes. . . .

"And the government in Washington spends huge amounts to guarantee incomes for the poor, unemployed, old aged, and otherwise needy. In fact, 'welfare cheats' are bankrupting the government. . . ."

So go the right-wing myths. They are wrong on every count. U.S. taxation is stacked against workers in favor of the wealthy.

A study by former Sen. Walter Mondale, now the vice-president, found that in 1974, the tax benefits for the richest 15 percent of American taxpayers, with incomes above \$20,000, amounted to 53 percent of all the benefits received by taxpayers in that year.

The wealthiest 1 percent group, with incomes of \$50,000 or more, got 23.1 percent of the benefits from tax laws—almost a quarter.

The actual sources of government tax income and the things it spends the money on can be found in the detailed annual *Economic Report of the President*. In 1975 the government received \$281 billion from the following main sources:

Miscellaneous taxes (excise, estate and gift, customs, etc.): \$31.5 billion, 11.2 percent;

Corporate income tax: \$40.6 billion, 14 percent;

Social security tax: \$86.4 billion, 30.8 percent; and

Personal income tax: \$122.4 billion, 43.6 percent.

Clearly individuals pay a much higher percentage of total taxes than corporations. This trend has increased in the past decade. In 1967, for example, corporate income tax amounted to 22.7 percent; social security tax was 22.3 percent; and personal income tax was 41 percent. As social security taxes have grown as a proportion of federal income, the share of the total paid by corporations has decreased.

1975 budget

In 1975 the government *spent* \$324.6 billion, \$40 billion more than it received.

The two biggest items on the 1975 budget were:

"National defense": \$86.6 billion, 26.7 percent; and

"Income security": \$108.6 billion, 33.4 percent.

These figures are supposed to bolster the conten-

Tax the rich!

"The Ariza formula: no tax on incomes below \$30,000 a year, and a graduated income tax beginning at \$30,000 and reaching 100 percent at \$50,000."

That's how the *New York Times* reported Socialist Workers party candidate Rich Ariza's stand on taxes. Ariza is running for New Jersey governor, and in New Jersey—as across the country—taxes are a major concern of all working people.

Socialists believe that workers should not have to pay in any way for the capitalist government that polices their wages, refuses to give adequate support to the needy, and spends the biggest part of the budget on military hardware.

The huge sums necessary for effective social welfare programs should come from eliminating the mammoth war budget and from a 100 percent tax on war profits.

Furthermore, a moratorium should be declared on using our taxes to pay billions of dollars to bankers for interest on the public debt. In the 1976 taxes just paid, this interest was a whopping \$34.8 billion, the third largest item on the U.S. budget.

—D.R.

tion that the government spends more on personal income support than anything else—and "federal welfare is sinking the system."

But a closer look at the budget shows that the military expenditures are actually much higher, for they also include these categories:

"International affairs" (U.S. aid, primarily military, to friendly foreign regimes): \$4.4 billion;

"General science, space, and technology" (overwhelmingly, military-oriented research): \$4.0 billion; and

"Veterans benefits and services": \$16.6 billion.

If these three categories are added to "national defense," the military budget came to \$111.6 billion in 1975, which was higher than the amount spent on "income security."

Social security

But there's more to it. For most of "income security" is paid directly out of social security taxes.

The *Economic Report of the President* gives the

Continued on page 30

Myths and realities about federal taxes

• **Personal income taxes are progressive, with the poor paying as little as 14 percent and the rich as much as 70 percent.**

That's what the income tax forms say, but in reality the gradation is much narrower. According to *Christian Science Monitor* financial reporter David Francis, "As it is now, the 10 percent of the population with the highest incomes pay an effective tax rate of only 21.1 percent. . . .

"This 21 percent rate is not much different from the 16 percent rates paid by those in middle-income brackets.

"Indeed, on average even multimillionaires pay only 33 percent of their income in federal taxes." (*Christian Science Monitor*, September 27, 1976.)

• **Well, at least social security taxes are progressive.**

No. They're regressive. "The Social Security tax is blatantly regressive," says syndicated columnist Sylvia Porter, "because the low-income worker pays the same rate—5.85%—as the highest level executive. This means the \$7,600 worker pays a far bigger proportion of his income in this tax than the \$500,000 tycoon." (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 18, 1977.)

• **But there's not much bite in social security taxes.**

That was in the past. Today social security taxes are rising so fast that they undercut pay increases. "According to Labor Department figures, the average worker in private industry supporting a family of four is currently paying

23.4% more in federal taxes than he paid a year ago. . . .

"The figures include Social Security payroll taxes, which went up sharply at the beginning of the year. . . .

"The upshot is that the average worker's buying power has actually declined even though pay raises have exceeded the climb in the CPI [Consumer Price Index] over the last year." (*Wall Street Journal* editorial, October 5, 1976.)

• **Corporations are taxed at 48 percent of profits.**

Again, that's what the forms say. But when corporate tax accountants get finished, the pay into the government is much less. Rep. Charles Vanik (D-Ohio) conducted a survey of 1975 corporate taxes that was reported in the *Washington Post*.

"Vanik . . . said the effective rate paid last year by the 148 major corporations he included was 21.6 per cent. . . .

"Last year this rate was 10 per cent for the largest oil companies, 24 per cent for the largest chemical companies, 11.7 per cent for steel, 17.6 per cent for timber, 15.3 per cent for utilities and 5.3 per cent for railroads."

According to the Vanik survey, Ford Motors paid zero taxes in 1975. Other major U.S. firms paying no taxes that year included Manufacturers Hanover and Chemical Bank in New York; Delta and Northwest Orient airlines; Western Electric; Bethlehem Steel; and Lockheed Aircraft. (*Washington Post*, October 14, 1976.)

—D.R.

Calendar

BERKELEY, CALIF.

THE FIGHT FOR CHICANA LIBERATION.

Speaker: Anna Nieto Gómez, Presenting a slide show on Chicana liberation. Fri., April 22, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 653-7156.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Fri., April 29, 8 p.m.: *State of Black America*. Speaker: Thabo Ntweng, SWP National Committee. Sat., April 30, 1 p.m.: *The Fight for Democracy in the Trade Unions*. Speaker: Andy Rose, staff writer for the *Militant*. 3 p.m.: *Women's Fight for Equality*. Speaker: Trudy Hawkins. 7 p.m.: reception. 8 p.m.: Socialist mayoral campaign kickoff rally. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1 per session; \$3 for entire weekend. Ausp: Cleveland Socialist Workers 1977 Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

THE BLACK STRUGGLE: U.S. TO SOUTH AFRICA.

Speakers: Rev. Emmanuel Cleaver, chairperson, Kansas City SCLC; Pat Wright, SWP National Committee. Thurs., April 21, 7:30 p.m. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

MIAMI

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.

Speaker: Derrick Morrison, SWP National Committee. Mon., April 18, 8 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. (at 22nd Ave.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Speaker: Harry Ring, *Militant* Southwest Bureau. *The Trotskyist Movement in the 1930s: Personal Recollections*. Part 1: Fri., April 22, 8 p.m. Part 2: Sat., April 23, 11 a.m. *The Ideological Struggle in the SWP in the 1940s*. Part 1: Sat., April 23, 2 p.m. Part 2: Sun., April 24, 12:00 noon. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. (at 22nd Ave.). Donation: \$1 on Friday; 50¢ for each class on Saturday and Sunday. Ausp: Militant Forum.

MILWAUKEE

THE STRUGGLE FOR BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL EDUCATION.

Speakers: Tony Baez, bilingual parent coordinator for MPS; two bilingual education teachers from South Division High School; a Latino high school student; representative from the SWP. Fri., April 22, 8 p.m. Guadalupe Center, 3rd and Washington. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 442-8170.

NEW ORLEANS

'WOMAN TALK': A series of monologues about women, by women. Featuring Kathy Kendall & Betty Hugh. Fri., April 22, 7:30 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK

CRISIS IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN TODAY.

Speaker: Tariq Ali, member of the political committee of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International; recently toured Pakistan. Fri., April 22, 8 p.m. Third St. Music Settlement, 235 E. 11th St. at Second Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: New York City Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6461.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.) Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

PITTSBURGH

THE HYPOCRISY OF U.S. SUPPORT TO HUMAN RIGHTS—UGANDA, IRAN, SOVIET UNION.

Speakers: Fr. Augustus Taylor; Jonathan Harris, professor of political science, University of Pittsburgh; Martha Harris, SWP. Fri., April 22, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

SAN DIEGO

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.

Fri., April 22, 8 p.m. Speaker: Sam Manuel, 1977 SWP candidate for mayor of Los Angeles. Sat., April 23, 11 a.m.: *Women's Evolution*; 1 p.m.: Speaker: Fred Halstead, plaintiff in SWP suit against the government. UCSD, Student Center, North Conference Room. Donation: Conference, \$1.50; Fri. only—\$1; Sat. only—\$1. Ausp: YSA. For more information call: (714) 234-4630.

SEATTLE

GROWING OLD IN AMERICA: INSULT & INJURY.

Speakers: Stephanie Coontz, author of *What Socialists Stand For*; Dawn Steere, co-coordinator, NOW Women & Aging Task Force. Fri., April 22, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TACOMA, WASH.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND.

Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, SWP National Committee. Fri., April 22, 8 p.m.: *History of Blacks in the Labor Movement*. Sat., April 23, 2 p.m.: *Civil Rights Movement*; 4 p.m.: *History of Black Nationalism*.

1022 South J St. Donation: \$1 for each class. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and SWP. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

...China

Continued from page 9

afterwards that the Politburo met and *unanimously* voted to condemn this as a 'counterrevolutionary incident'?

"There was no public debate over that. Nobody had a chance to write even a letter to the editor or make a speech anywhere or protest the government's decision. Hundreds of people were arrested at the end of the demonstration. A number of people were killed by the troops. Their lives aren't going to be brought back by the fact that after the 'gang of four' are in jail, a year later, the government *may* decide—it hasn't done it yet—that Bill Hinton was right, and it really wasn't a counterrevolutionary incident after all.

"This shows how decisions are really made in China. And it shows something about the explosive character of a mass movement, or just simply people in the streets, who have to submit to that."

...CP

Continued from page 25

"In the area of housing," he told the *Reader*, "well . . . I think that with the right attitude and lots of giving and taking, we could arrive at some solutions."

Washington is equally vague on school desegregation, refusing to be pinned down in support of busing.

And on jobs, even the *Daily World* reported that "some workers have expressed concern . . . over a recent statement by Washington that he would create jobs by giving tax breaks to big business. . . ."

But to the Communist party, such "details" seem to have no bearing on Black political independence. Reporting on a Chicago meeting for Black CP leader Claude Lightfoot, the March 23 *Daily World* said, "Dr. Lightfoot described Black political power in the South and its coming of age in the North. He gave Detroit and Los Angeles as examples. . . ."

These examples provide some insight into what the CP really means by "Black political power."

Take Detroit, for example. The March 15 *Daily World* carried an article on "the fight of Black incumbent Mayor Coleman Young for re-election."

"Mayor Young is already the target of attack by ultra-Right forces. . . ." the article reported. "'Crime in the streets' is the main slogan of the anti-Young groupings."

The *World* failed to mention, however, that Young has been Detroit's most vocal "crime in the streets" scare-monger, using it as an excuse to hire more cops. The article also ignored Young's opposition to the city's court-ordered busing plan and his doing nothing approach to the massive joblessness among Motor City workers, the great majority of whom are Black.

In Los Angeles the CP urged "progressives to mobilize independent pressure in the coming primary election April 5 to defeat the attempt of reactionary forces to regain control of City Hall. . . ."

In the *Daily World's* special vocabulary, "mobilize independent pressure" clearly meant, "Vote for Mayor Thomas Bradley," the incumbent Black Democrat and former L.A. policeman.

In this case, at least, the *World* was slightly more critical. An April 1 article pointed out that Bradley "has retreated under pressure on the busing controversy. . . ." The full truth is that Bradley is an *outspoken opponent* of "massive crosstown busing" in Los Angeles.

Another Black Democrat whose election the CP backed is Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, who has just fired more than 1,000 striking sanitation workers—most of them Black—in a vicious union-busting effort.

It's no coincidence that all these Black Democratic mayors—whatever their campaign promises—end up attacking the interests of Blacks and other working people. That's what the party they serve was set up to do.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties are controlled by big business. Both are racist, anti-labor organizations run in the interests of bankers, brokers, and wealthy corporate stockholders.

When these parties put up a token Black for office, it is only to better disguise their attacks on the oppressed and exploited. Since 1967, for example, the number of Black elected officials in this country has risen from fewer than 100 to around 3,500. But conditions in the Black ghettos continue to decline.

The CP's support to Democrats such as Washington, Bradley, and Young has nothing to do with "Black political power." In fact, the CP has a long history of supporting white liberal Democrats.

In the 1975 Chicago mayoral race, for example, the CP backed white Alderman William Singer's primary challenge to Daley. Yet, in the general election, the CP refused to support the only Black independent—Willie Mae Reid, candidate of the Socialist Workers party.

And the CP has recently supported many other Democratic liberals—from Ramsey Clark and Bella Abzug in New York, to Tom Hayden in California, and Paul Soglin in Madison, Wisconsin.

The only candidate in the Chicago mayoral election who is putting forward the perspective of real political independence from the big-business parties is Socialist Workers party candidate Dennis Brasky. "Only Black and labor political action independent of the Democrats and Republicans can defend our democratic rights and living standards from the attacks both parties are carrying out," Brasky is telling Chicagoans.

This stands in stark contrast to Washington, who says, "My purpose is to reform the Democratic Party, not to dismantle it or destroy it."

The CP's support to Washington—and its failure to even mention Brasky's socialist campaign—should give pause to those who may have been taken in by the Stalinists' empty rhetoric about political independence.

CP General Secretary Gus Hall told the party's national committee last November, "For a long time we have been talking about mass breakaways from the two-party system, and the need to build a broad, meaningful alternative to the two old parties."

From their showing in the important municipal elections this spring, they are evidently still just talking.

...taxes

Continued from page 29

following breakdown of government expenditures for all the major federal income security programs for 1975:

Social security: \$62.6 billion;

Supplemental security income (SSI—age or disability income): \$5.5 billion;

Aid to Families with Dependent Children: \$8.6 billion;

Food stamp: \$4.4 billion;

Unemployment compensation: \$13.0 billion;

Medicare: \$14.1 billion; and

Medicaid: \$13.1 billion.

These figures reveal that in 1975 social security tax income (\$86.4 billion) was \$23.8 billion *higher* than the amount of social security the government paid out. What happened—and still happens—is that a considerable amount of the income taken in in social security taxes, which goes into the "social

security trust fund," is spent by the government in other categories, such as weapons.

It is hard to figure out exactly what constitutes a "welfare cheat" in the confused right-wing mind, but it probably does not include recipients of social security. This minimal payment to older people is crucially necessary for the subsistence survival that it provides. Look at the figures.

In 1975, a year of bitter economic slump, workers received \$62.6 billion in social security. The president's report gives the average of \$206 per month per recipient. That keeps social security "benefits" at the poverty level pure and simple—less than \$2,500 a year.

The unemployment benefits of \$13 billion were paid to an average of 16 million workers a month in 1975—or \$68 per month per worker.

The government spent more than eight times as much money in its 1975 military program as in its 1975 unemployment relief program.

"Welfare cheats"? Perhaps that is supposed to include the parents and children who receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). In 1975 there was an average of 11.1 million people receiving AFDC per month, coming to about \$65 per individual. The 1975 military expenditures were thirteen times as high as AFDC.

"Food-stamp cadillacs"? The average monthly benefit here, in 1975, was \$21 per person. Washington's military budget was twenty-five times higher than its food-stamp relief program.

Similar figures could be put down for Medicare and Medicaid.

The point is plain.

Military requirements get the top priority in U.S. government expenditures. The government gives only minimal aid to working people. And whenever a choice must be made, social welfare programs are cut, military programs are increased, and workers are asked to pay higher taxes.

...TFWU

Continued from back page

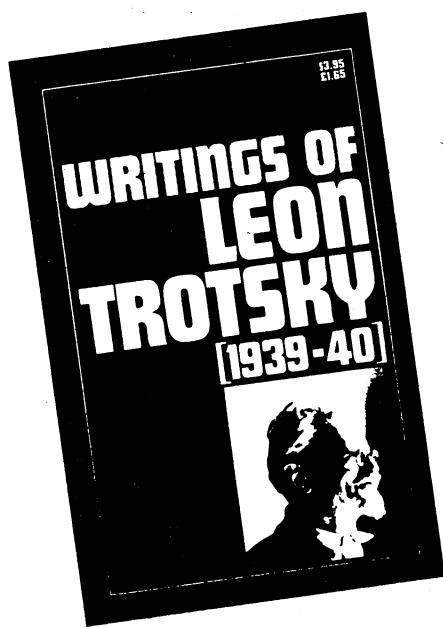
provision that makes it mandatory for a newly hired farm worker to join the union after five days. Therefore, the ALRA is a direct challenge to the antiunion "right to work" law.

Farm workers in Texas have an average yearly income of \$3,000. Frequently, minimum wages, child labor, and the eight-hour day are not enforced.

The Austin rally demonstrated that the Chicano community strongly supports the *campesinos*. One of the main supporters of the farm workers is the Raza Unida party. Several Mexican-American legislators spoke at the rally, including the sponsors of the ALRA, as did Hector Garcia of GI Forum and Santiago Anaya of the Alianza, the land-grant movement in New Mexico.

TFWU President Antonio Orendain introduced the speakers.

Speaking on behalf of the RUP, José Angel Gutiérrez offered the *partido's* support to the effort to pass the ALRA. He blasted Gov. Dolph Briscoe's hypocritical ploy of pretending to listen to farm workers' needs, when Briscoe is a staunch opponent of the rights of farm workers.

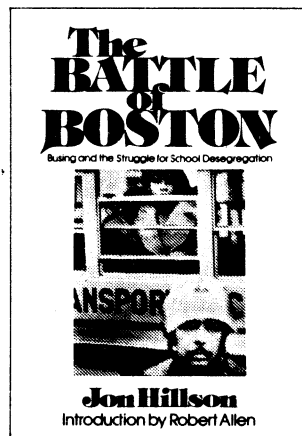


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THE MILITANT

2,000 march against death

By José G. Pérez

ATLANTA—They came from Salt Lake City, Miami, Houston, and New York. They also came from Winona, Minnesota, and Dawson, Georgia.

All told, 2,000 people came to Atlanta and marched April 9 as part of the Easter weekend Witness Against Executions.

The march stepped off shortly after twelve noon from the Martin Luther King, Jr., Community Center. At the head of the march was a huge banner followed by a death-size replica of an electric chair.

Marching silently behind the chair were several hundred people, many carrying posters with the names of death row prisoners on them.

"Death row must go! Death row must go!" You could hear the insistent shout a block or more away from the crowd of more than a thousand that made up the second half of the march.

The march reached Georgia's capitol and protesters settled down for what turned out to be three hours of speeches and songs.

Rev. Ralph Abernathy, an associate of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, spoke first, and close to twenty others followed. Like Abernathy, many stressed religious or moral opposition to the death penalty.

Viva Lamb's son, Randall, is on Georgia's death row. With tears in her eyes she appealed to the crowd to help save his life.



Militant/Sid Finehrsh

Wilbert Lee is a Black man who was released from Florida prisons in 1975 after serving twelve years—nine on death row—for two murders he did not commit. "The same shoes that were on my feet in 1963 can be on yours today or tomorrow," Lee warned.

James "Junior" Jackson and Roosevelt Watson—Black teen-agers from rural Georgia—appealed for funds to bail out the other members of the Dawson Five, all of whom face electrocution if convicted of a murder they say they didn't commit.

Tom Wicker, an associate editor and columnist for the *New York Times*, denounced capital punish-

ment as racist and discriminatory against poor people.

"We have too much crime in this country," Wicker said, "because we have too much economic injustice, and too much social injustice, and too much legal injustice, and above all because we have a political system in America that is fundamentally designed and dedicated to the maintenance of the status quo and the protection of privilege."

I looked around as Wicker finished. Although the crowd was majority white, I noticed Blacks were the first to rise to give the speaker a standing ovation for voicing their own sentiments.

Texas farm workers rally for justice

By Miguel Pendás

AUSTIN, Tex.—The Texas Farm Workers Union ended a 400-mile march through Texas here April 3 with a rally on the steps of the state capitol. More than 1,000 supporters, most of them Chicanos, attended the rally.

The march was in support of collective bargaining rights for *campesinos*. It received extensive publicity along the route.

Between fifteen and twenty people made the entire journey, beginning at the union's headquarters in San Juan in the lower Rio Grande Valley, the southernmost area of Texas.

In Kingsville the marchers were greeted by a rally of 200—including the mayor and representatives of the Raza Unida party, the League of United Latin American Citizens, and the fire fighters union. A crowd of similar size met the march in San Antonio.

El Cuhamil, the TFWU newspaper, listed other supporters of the march, including: International Union of Electrical Workers Local 780, San Antonio; United Steelworkers in Corpus Christi; Houston Coalition of Labor Union Women; Student Coalition Against Racism, Dallas; and Chicano Pre-Law Students, Houston.

During the march, several Chicano Democrats introduced a bill in the state legislature that would establish the right of farm workers to organize.

The Texas Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA) is similar to the farm labor law passed in California.

The obstacles to passing such a law in Texas are considerable. It will probably never get out of legislative committee. As soon as the bill was introduced it was sent to the Agricultural and



Militant/Miguel Pendás

Raza Unida party leader José Angel Gutiérrez speaks to rally of 1,000 at Texas capitol in support of unionization of farm workers. Rally capped 400-mile march to state capital by members of Texas Farm Workers Union.

Livestock Committee—dubbed the "most racist committee in the legislature" by the San Antonio Chicano magazine *Caracol*.

One of the factors that makes it extra difficult for

Texas farm workers to organize is that Texas is a "right to work" state where the union shop is outlawed. To deal with this, the ALRA includes a

Continued on page 30