

THE MILITANT

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

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Demonstrate for equal rights April 15

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LIFE GETTING WORSE, POLL FINDS: A recent Harris poll found that 43 percent of the American people think the quality of life in this country is worse than it was ten years ago, while only 34 percent think it is better. The results of the poll continued a four-year trend.

Three factors contribute to the increasing disillusionment: the economic situation, with its combination of inflation and unemployment; continued dirty air and water; and a "growing lack of faith in the justice of the economic marketplace." By a three-to-one margin poll respondents said they are "consistently shortchanged on product quality and product safety."

ILLINOIS HOUSE REBUFFS ERA: Backers of the Equal Rights Amendment in the Illinois House of Representatives failed to get a vote on the measure November 22. No vote is likely before next year.

Democratic State Rep. Alan Greiman, who supports the ERA, was unable to get House members who supposedly back the amendment to show up for a vote.

CLEVELAND TEACHERS GO PAYLESS: On the day before Thanksgiving, Cleveland school employees didn't get their paychecks. Instead, they received a letter from the president of the school board. He told them no money was available for their salaries but wished them a "happy holiday." The 10,000 employees have no assurance of being paid before next year, if then.

On November 16 the Ohio Supreme Court had ruled that two Cleveland banks would suffer "irreparable harm" if a school loan were not immediately repaid. The banks have "absolute priority" to money being used to operate the schools, the high court ruled.

Two days later, however, a federal district judge ruled that the schools must stay open. School officials are not paying teachers until the legal conflict is resolved.

Over the objections of union officials, the delegate assembly of the Cleveland Teachers Union Local 279 unanimously passed a no-pay, no-work resolution, which was passed in a membership referendum November 28.

FBI TRIED TO 'NEUTRALIZE' HAYDEN: The government conducted a sixteen-year "investigation" of anti-Vietnam War activist Tom Hayden according to FBI documents released to him recently.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover wrote in a 1968 memo to the bureau's Newark office: "One of your prime objectives should be to neutralize him in the new left movement."

The FBI had Hayden's taxes audited, his phone calls traced, and kept careful track of his personal life.

A memo dated April 14, 1969, declared that Hayden, his codefendants, and his attorneys in the Chicago Eight conspiracy frame-up trial would probably be cited for contempt of court. *The trial opened five months later.* The memo's prediction, based on a report of a conversation with trial Judge Julius Hoffman, came true.

The FBI has admitted holding 18,000 pages of documents on Hayden, of which only 7,000 were turned over to him.

FOOLPROOF: A 420-ton nuclear reactor vessel was installed backward at the San Onofre, California, nuclear power generating plant. However, officials assured, it's no problem, since the vessel's headpiece hadn't been installed yet, so it too can be put in backwards. A spokesperson for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission said an investigation disclosed a "communication problem" between the designer and the builder.

PENNA. STUDENTS DEMAND EDUCATION FUNDS: Thousands of Pennsylvania college students converged on Harrisburg, the state capital, November 15 to demand approval by the state legislature of \$300 million in education aid. The money has been stalled for months while Democrats and Republicans blame each other for the impasse. Both parties are committed to a "balanced budget."

Pennsylvania universities have had to borrow money to meet operating expenses. Interest on the loans costs Temple University \$5,000 a day.

AGRÓN INNOCENT OF 'ABSCONDING': A jury has found Salvador Agrón not guilty of "absconding" from an educational release program at the Fishkill Correction Facility in Beacon, New York.

After a sensationalized trial in 1959, Agrón had been sentenced to death at age sixteen for killing two whites. The sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in 1962. In 1976 Gov. Hugh Carey granted clemency to Agrón on condition that he enroll in the Fishkill program for a year. After that, a pardon would be considered.

Agrón and his attorney, William Kunstler, put the "correctional" system on trial. They didn't deny that Agrón had failed to return to prison one day after college classes.

"I loved that college where I went to classes during the

day," Agrón testified at the trial, "but could not return to prison to be brutalized and dehumanized at night. I fled in order to maintain my sanity."

ANTIGAY VANDALISM: The interior of the Phoenix Metropolitan Community Church, a gay church, was burned beyond repair October 23. The arson followed a series of window breakings and thefts. Two days after the fire all remaining church windows were broken by rocks.

On October 24 Diana Press, a publisher of lesbian and feminist literature in Oakland, California, was nearly put out of business by a well-planned attack on its printing equipment. Chemicals were poured over 5,000 books that were ready for shipment. Cleanser was poured into the presses, and plates and paste-ups for past books were destroyed.

The cops twice refused to dust for fingerprints, claiming the destruction was the work of a former employee with a grudge.

HOUSTON BAKERS' STRIKE: More than 950 union bakers struck Houston bakeries in November. The bakers, all members of Bakery and Confectionery Workers Local 163, are seeking a wage boost and an end to twelve-hour days. Under previous contracts the company had the right to force workers to work twelve hours on any day without any advance notice. The union seeks a ten-hour limit.

N.Y. DEATH ROW PRISONERS SPARED: New York's highest court struck down key provisions of the state's death penalty law November 15, sparing the lives of the two men on death row. Both are Black.

The action is expected to make the death penalty a heated issue in next year's gubernatorial race. Gov. Hugh Carey vetoed a death penalty bill earlier this year and has promised to veto any future ones. He also says he will commute sentences of condemned prisoners should his vetoes be overridden.

HUMAN RIGHTS VICTORY: Atallah Rashmawi, a Palestinian held in administrative detention by Israeli authorities for many years, was freed in early November. Still imprisoned is Taysir al-Aruri, a thirty-year-old former physics professor. He was arrested in April 1974, but no charges have ever been filed against him.

The U.S.-based Palestine Human Rights Campaign has taken up al-Aruri's case. The *Times* of London has publicized his case as a "prisoner of conscience." In addition, the International League for Human Rights has expressed its concern over al-Aruri to the Israeli government.

—Arnold Weissberg

Special offer to new readers.

The Militant—10 weeks/\$2



The Equal Rights Amendment is stalled. Abortion rights are under attack. Child-care funds have been slashed. Thousands of women went to the International Women's Year conference in Houston to speak out against these attacks. Keep up with the struggles of women for equality by reading the 'Militant' every week.

- () \$2 for ten issues (new readers only)
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Protests set for April 15

Nat'l march set to reverse 'Bakke' ruling

By Anne Chase

BERKELEY, Calif.—While the U.S. Supreme Court continues its deliberations on the landmark *Bakke* case, the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD) has called for a national march on Washington next April 15 in defense of affirmative-action programs.

Grantland Johnson, a national coordinator for the group, outlined plans for the march at a news conference here November 26 following the first day of an NCOBD National Coordinating Committee meeting.

The march on Washington will be the culmination of a series of anti-*Bakke* protests next winter and spring. Plans include a week of educational activities February 19-25 and regional protests April 8.

The *Bakke* case stems from a California court decision declaring an affirmative-action admissions program at a state medical school unconstitutional. The court upheld the false charge of "reverse discrimination" made against the program.

The NCOBD played a major role in organizing nationwide actions this fall against the *Bakke* decision. Hundreds of groups and individuals joined with the NCOBD in these demonstrations, which brought thousands of protesters into the streets October 8.

In announcing plans for the winter-spring actions, the eight NCOBD leaders at the press conference reaffirmed the necessity of drawing the broadest forces into the anti-*Bakke* movement. The nationwide campaign against *Bakke*, they said, has already had an impact on the University of California's legal case to maintain affirmative-action programs.

"The fact that the legal case has been strengthened," said David Laurie Mayano, "has something to do with the fact that there has been a movement to overturn the *Bakke* decision and that the UC regents are being held accountable. At least they have to look like they're trying to put up a good defense, because of the controversy generated around the issue.

"But the key thing, we feel, is going to be the



Thousands marched October 8 to overturn 'Bakke'

Militant/David Nudel

pressure placed on the Supreme Court by the movement, by the public sentiment, and by the protests organized by people against the *Bakke* decision."

Although the *Bakke* case has become well-known, a big educational job still lies ahead, according to the NCOBD leaders. "When the *Bakke* decision first came down, it was unclear what its effect would actually be. Even now, people tend to think that the *Bakke* issue is just an issue of students and professionals," said Ray Otake, a national coordinator of the group.

He cited a "rash of new suits," including the *Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum* case involving a challenge to affirmative action by a white steelworker.

These suits, Otake said, demonstrated the broad

attacks being generated by the *Bakke* decision. "This is an issue that's affecting schools. It's affecting employment, minority business, and social service agencies," said Otake.

Stating that minorities in the United States are often the "shock absorbers of the American economy," Otake stressed that *Bakke* is not just an issue of racism but involves broader questions.

Also at the press conference were NCOBD chapter representatives Belinda Lightfoot, Washington, D.C.; Renny Galedo, Los Angeles; Bernard Hughes, New York; and Tyrone Netters, Sacramento. Each provided a report on activities and plans to broaden the movement and reach out to new sectors of the population with the proposal for action.

Young Socialist Alliance hails march call

The statement below was released November 30 by Osborne Hart of the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee.

The call by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision for February and April protests in defense of affirmative-action programs deserves the active support and backing of all students.

How the U.S. Supreme Court rules on this case will have far-reaching consequences for young people and for working people in general.

A ruling upholding the *Bakke* decision and the false concept of "reverse discrimination" would strike a severe blow to Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian-Americans, and women. It would be a setback—not only to the fight for equality in education and employment—but to the overall struggle against racial and sexual oppression and for an equal share in the fruits of American society.

This basic democratic right to equality is under attack from all sides. The recently released unemployment figures for Blacks—13.9 percent, more than twice that for whites—prove this is true. The continuing government attacks on abortion rights provide more proofs. So does the Carter administration's assault on undocumented workers.

And although the Justice Department has filed briefs in the *Bakke* case that formally support the idea of affirmative action, the briefs categorically rule out the use of quotas—the only real means of enforcing an end to discrimination in hiring and admissions.

In essence, the fight to reverse the

Bakke decision is part of the fight for real human rights, as opposed to the hypocritical rhetoric of the Carter administration, Congress, and the Supreme Court.

That is reason enough why students must respond with active support and backing for these actions—as we did in support of the civil rights marches in the 1950s and 1960s, and as we did in support of Black students' demands for open admissions and Black studies on college campuses.

Actions such as these—sit-ins, pickets, marches, and other actions—by the Black movement and its supporters won a beginning of affirmative-action programs. And it will take actions such as the April 15 March on Washington to successfully fend off the mounting attack on those gains.

But there is another equally important reason why students as a whole must turn out in active support of these actions.

The attack on affirmative-action programs in university admissions is part of a broader assault on higher education and on the standard of living of working people.

It serves an immediate need of the capitalists: to cut back on funds for scholarships and financial aid, which are at the heart of affirmative-action programs. As such, it is part of the drive by universities across the country—especially the government-supported schools—to streamline their budgets through elimination of "unnecessary" curricula, cutbacks in staff and facilities, gutting of open admission, and steep tuition increases.

A central goal of this drive is to lower the expectations of all youth,

who have more and more come to see a college education as a right. It is to cover this attack on youth, this refusal to provide education and a future, and to prevent a united response by students and others that the enemies of equal rights raise a hue and cry about "reverse discrimination" and "merit."

A victory over the opponents of affirmative action—the government, big business, and assorted reactionaries—would be a blow to their plans and would help lay the foundation for a fight for free university education for all who want it.

In addition, it would give impetus to the fight against attacks on affirmative-action programs in employment, and help lay the basis for a united struggle to expand the tighten-

ing job market most students will face after graduation.

The student movement has an important role to play in organizing the February and April actions as powerful, broadly representative statements of public opinion against race and sex discrimination in education and employment.

Broad coalitions can be organized on campuses across the country. Work can be done to reach out to women's groups, community organizations of the oppressed nationalities, trade unions, and others to make these actions successful.

The Young Socialist Alliance plans to help do just that and urges other youth organizations to do likewise.

Reverse the *Bakke* decision!

Come to the YSA convention Detroit, Dec. 28-Jan.1

The Young Socialist Alliance is an organization of youth—Black, Chicano, white, Puerto Rican, male, and female—fighting to change the system.

At the YSA convention we will discuss how students can build the February and April protests to overturn the *Bakke* decision. The fight to defend abortion rights and ratify the ERA. How to win decent jobs and education for all. The struggle to end U.S. support to white racist regimes in southern Africa.

If you want to be part of this discussion, come to the convention. If you want to be part of this movement, join the YSA!

☐ I want to attend the YSA convention

☐ I want to join the YSA

☐ Send me more information

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

School _____

Mail to: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Subscription drive a step forward for 'Militant'

By Nelson Blackstock

Today the *Militant* has 14,428 subscribers we did not have ten weeks ago. *Perspectiva Mundial* has 1,112 new subscriptions, making a total of 15,540.

Acquiring these thousands of new subscribers to the socialist press is the real victory of the fall subscription drive.

While we fell short of our national goal numerically, in taking a close look at where, how, and to whom we sold the 15,540 new subscriptions, participants in the drive are chalking it up as a success.

The drive officially got underway on September 10. Prior to that, plans for the campaign were discussed at the Socialist Workers Party convention in August.

The national goal was set at 18,000. Of this total, 500 were to be subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language socialist biweekly.

Originally, just under 16,500 of this goal was adopted by units of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance in cities around the country. The remainder was slated to come from regional campus teams that had been projected by the YSA and from miscellaneous sources.

What were the results? In the end, twenty-six of the fifty-two cities made their goal. Of the cities where there are branches or locals of the SWP, twenty-three of forty-one made it. In the course of the drive three cities raised their goal: Kansas City, St. Paul, and Salt Lake. Also, socialists in some additional cities adopted goals, including the new SWP branch in Morgantown, West Virginia, which took a goal of 60, then raised it to 85, and ended up selling 107.

The final total sold by cities was 14,867, 2,043 short of the 16,910 combined goal of the cities alone.

Proportionately, the section of the goal that was to come from other sources fell quite short of its projected goal, primarily because the anticipated YSA regional campus teams did not get off the ground.

However, the *Militant* fielded two national campus teams, one in the Midwest and one in Texas. During the last three weeks of the drive, the Texas team brought in 236 subscriptions.

We learned a lot in the course of the drive. Organizing it was a bigger task than expected, and it took some experimentation to find where and how we could best find new readers. As a result, some cities got off to a slow start and found it difficult to catch up later.

Midpoint

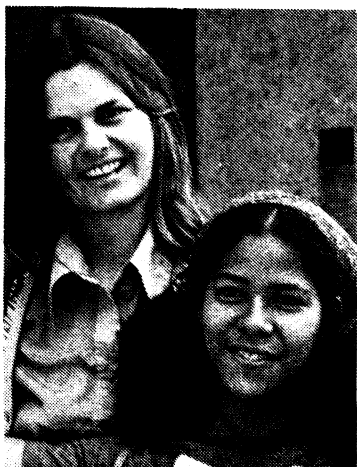
Midway through the drive, we looked at the returns and found things were going somewhat slower than anticipated.

We said that in part this could be attributed to some political factors. Not that there was a growing conservatism. On the contrary, we were finding greater interest in socialism and what socialists have to say about what's going on. But there was no single, overriding political issue that was a spur to sales everywhere in the country.

This contrasted with some previous drives during the periods of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements. Then many people would buy the paper just to read about those particular struggles.

We found that this fall we had to take more time talking to people about the political issues on their minds, explaining what kind of paper the *Militant* is, before they would decide to subscribe. But participants in the sales drive felt good about these new subscribers and about the opportunities we had for serious political discussion with thousands of people who were genuinely interested in finding out if socialists could provide some answers to the problems confronting us all.

Inflation was another factor affecting the pace of sales. Rising prices have forced working people to think twice before making all sorts of purchases, and the cost of the *Militant* has unfortunately gone up—like everything else.



Jan Gangel (left) and Janet Brammer were top subscription getters at the International Women's Year Conference in Houston, November 18-21.

This was the first subscription drive for *Perspectiva Mundial*, which is not yet a year old. The returns point to a bright future for the Spanish-language socialist magazine. We surpassed the national goal of 500 by a whopping 122 percent.

The Spanish-speaking population in this country is growing rapidly. *Perspectiva* allows thousands of interested people to read about socialism in their own language. This fall we found a lot of people who were looking for a publication like *Perspectiva* and were quick to subscribe.

A good share of these subscribers came from the big Chicano barrios in Los Angeles and from the Puerto Rican community in New York City. But we also got a broad scattering of *Perspectiva* readers from other parts of the country.

For instance in Atlanta, a city that did not take a *Perspectiva* goal when the drive opened, students from Latin America bought more than forty subscriptions.

We learned more about the Spanish-speaking segment of our society—who they are, where they live, what issues concern them, and the level of radicalization in their communities.

More *Militant* subscriptions were probably sold in the Black community than in any other single place. In addition, many Puerto Ricans and Chicanos prefer to read English, and they also bought a lot of subscriptions.

The SWP is involved in many of the struggles going on in the communities of the oppressed nationalities. Spreading the readership of the socialist press is an important part of that involvement.

The backbone of the drive in most cities was subscriptions obtained by teams canvassing door to door. These sales were often more difficult this year than last, although the pace of sales varied considerably from one area to another.

During the drive, we found it would sometimes take a second visit to get a subscription. People who had never seen the paper were frequently reluctant to subscribe at first. But they would often buy a single issue. And when we went back to talk to them, after they had actually read what we had to say, we discovered that a high percentage would subscribe. Of course, that kind of sale made us feel particularly good.

Several cities said these "call backs" were key to making their goal.

During the course of the drive many cities concluded that best results came from areas where people holding union jobs live.

These were the same people we were selling subscriptions to on the job. In some cases we found we could sell subscriptions door to door to people who worked in the very same plants we were working in.

Workplace sales

Workplace sales were an outstanding feature of this drive. The trade unions are another arena where the SWP is involved in political work. In this drive socialists sold more subscriptions to our paper on the job than at any time since the 1940s. It was a most striking confirmation of the deepening social and political ferment in the working class, the search for answers to the squeeze we all feel more and more.

The *Militant* carries the most thorough reporting found anywhere on some key union struggles today. Our coverage of the steelworkers' strike on Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range is a case in point. (*Militant* teams brought back 170 subscriptions from Mesabi this fall.)

At the same time, the *Militant* lays out a strategy aimed at transforming the trade-union movement. Socialists in the unions find this paper indispensable, and they try to introduce others to it.

A good share of our new union subscribers are members of the steel and auto unions, two of the most important.

In Detroit alone, auto workers sold sixty subscriptions.

Houston steelworkers bought a total of thirty-four new subscriptions.

Newark steelworkers at one plant set themselves a goal of ten subscriptions and wound up selling seventeen.

In Chicago, steelworkers sold twenty-five, and the railroad workers in Chicago sold eighteen subscriptions on the job.

Members of the new SWP branch in Morgantown sold *Militant* subscriptions at mines in the area.

Campuses

College campuses again proved to be one of the best places to find people interested in subscribing to the *Militant*.

During the latter half of the drive we found many

students were aware of the *Bakke* case. Black students were often interested in subscribing to a paper that understood the full implications of the *Bakke* ruling and championed their right to strong affirmative action, a college education, jobs, and other programs.

Traditionally socialists have paid attention to developments on college campuses. Students are many times among the first to commit themselves to the fight for a better world. That remains true today.

Since the YSA did not field regional campus teams this fall, it became more important for subscription drive organizers to visit major regional campuses in their area. In some cases subscriptions sold on campuses provided the margin needed to make the goal. Weekend teams to more distant campuses often came back with substantial numbers of subscriptions.

Political meetings

A large number of subscriptions were bought this fall at political meetings. Where the meetings were big and sales were well coordinated, the results could be striking: More than 400 were sold at the International Women's Year gathering in Houston. Eighty-six were sold at one meeting alone for Hugo Blanco in New York. Twenty were bought by women at a Texas state NOW convention in San Antonio. More than 50 were sold at the national Chicano/Latino antideportation conference.

The 15,540 new readers of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are an important step forward in the circulation of the socialist press. Our supporters, who put a lot of time and energy into the drive this fall, can feel proud of the results of their work.

Final scoreboard

City	Goal	Sold	PM	Percent
Tucson, Ariz.	15	36	(1)*	240.0
Morgantown, W.Va.	85	107	(1)	125.9
Lehigh Valley, Pa.	20	23	(1)	115.0
Tacoma	150	171	(6)	114.0
Baltimore	175	198	(5)	113.1
New Orleans	300	331	(3)	110.3
Grand Rapids, Mich.	10	11		110.0
Atlanta	600	654	(47)	109.0
Kansas City, Mo.	225	245	(26)	108.9
Raleigh, N.C.	120	130	(1)	108.3
Albuquerque	150	160	(26)	106.7
Toledo	150	157	(8)	104.7
New York	1,800	1,879	(159)	104.4
Louisville, Ky.	150	155	(2)	103.3
Dallas	250	258	(21)	103.2
Salt Lake City	180	185	(14)	102.8
Los Angeles	1,100	1,127	(196)	102.5
St. Louis	375	384	(6)	102.4
Berkeley	300	306	(24)	102.0
Cincinnati	200	204		102.0
San Diego	300	305	(51)	101.7
St. Paul	200	203	(3)	101.5
Houston	600	607	(60)	101.2
Portland, Ore.	250	251	(9)	100.4
Milwaukee	400	401	(39)	100.3
Oakland, Calif.	600	601	(47)	100.2
Seattle	300	286	(6)	95.3
Miami	250	226	(17)	90.4
Chicago	900	813	(38)	90.3
Phoenix	250	214	(15)	85.6
Cleveland	300	253	(7)	84.3
Denver	300	243	(13)	81.0
Albany, N.Y.	75	60	(2)	80.0
Pittsburgh	450	350	(3)	77.8
Washington, D.C.	600	459	(12)	76.5
Boston	825	614	(80)	74.4
Newark, N.J.	350	242	(29)	69.1
San Francisco	600	400	(29)	66.7
San Antonio	350	222	(4)	63.4
San Jose	350	221	(27)	63.1
Indianapolis	150	92		61.3
Minneapolis	350	200	(3)	57.1
Detroit	850	450	(18)	52.9
Philadelphia	675	352	(18)	52.1
Gainesville, Fla.	10	5		50.0
Champaign, Ill.	25	10	(1)	40.0
Bloomington, Ind.	50	19		38.0
Penn State, Pa.	40	15		37.5
Lexington, Ky.	25	8		32.0
Amherst, Mass.	40	10		25.0
Newark, Del.	40	9		22.5
Kent, Ohio	50	5		10.0
Total for Cities	16,910	14,867	(1,075)	87.9
Teams &				
Miscellaneous	1,090	673	(37)	61.7
Total	18,000	15,540	(1,112)	86.3
Should Be		18,000	(500)	100.0

*Figures in parentheses indicate number of 'Perspectiva Mundial' subscriptions included in the total figure.

Hit divide-and-conquer tactic

Iron range strikers reject company terms

By Stu Singer

DULUTH, Minn.—Mesabi Iron Range miners are conducting the longest major strike in the steel industry since the United Steelworkers union was founded.

On Thanksgiving day they passed the mark set by the 116-day industry-wide walkout in 1959.

It was a week of big developments in the strike. On Monday, November 21, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that the end of the strike was "in sight" because of a new company offer on the

To provide on-the-spot coverage of this crucial strike, the Militant has sent correspondent Stu Singer to the Mesabi Iron Range for several weeks.

key demand of incentive pay.

For the next two days, as negotiations continued at the Hotel Duluth, seventy-five strikers came from the range to picket outside in a show of strength. Protesting the offer as inadequate, their signs declared, "We want a just settlement, not just a settlement."

The company offer would have extended incentive-pay plans to only three-quarters of the iron ore workers—a provision condemned as a "divide and conquer tactic" by many strike leaders. Bonus pay would not begin for

another two years. But international union officials were pressing for acceptance of the offer.

Meanwhile, all four striking Michigan locals and one in Hibbing, Minnesota, accepted the proposal of their leaderships and went back to work.

That left ten locals with about 12,000 out of the original 18,000 strikers. The turning point came on Friday. Bill Larson, president of USWA Local 4757 in Babbitt, Minnesota, described it this way in the union newsletter:

"On November 25, 1977, a brave and proud local union membership at Eveleth, Minnesota, put us on the offensive again by telling their leaders to step aside and let them demonstrate their fighting ability. The cry that emerged was, 'We have not yet begun to fight.'"

"Local 4757 salutes these fine people for their magnificent contribution to our fight for justice. I say to you now, brothers and sisters, 'We shall overcome.' The ship has been righted again."

The Eveleth Taconite workers, after hours of discussion, had voted 477 to 254 to reject the proposal brought back by four of their five negotiators.

While the vote was taking place, strikers from Local 1938 at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant stood outside carrying solidarity signs.

The decisive rejection by the Eveleth strikers came after sixteen weeks without pay and in the midst of the coldest weather of the season—a reminder of what a winter on strike would be like.

Company executives responded that they were "surprised and deeply disappointed" by the local vote. They complained that the union demands "would place us at a serious disadvantage with our competition, both domestic and foreign."

On November 28 the negotiators for the ten striking locals issued a united proposal calling for incentive plans to cover all the workers. They urged the company representatives to meet with them as a group to hear their proposal.

The companies, led by U.S. Steel, contemptuously refused to appear, except for a token representative from Erie Mining.

Linus Wampler, director of USWA



BILL LARSON: 'We shall overcome'

District 33, responded angrily to the company refusal. "The companies feel that they are the great white fathers," he said. "They treat us like delinquent children by not even showing up."

U.S. Steel issued a cryptic statement the next morning saying they had not attended the meeting because "the incentive-pay issue has been settled."

As the *Militant* goes to press, the striking locals are again negotiating with their separate companies at the Hotel Duluth.

The strikers know it may take weeks or months more to force an adequate settlement from the companies. They are discussing how to get more support from steelworkers in other parts of the country.

Financial support is crucial, since the thirty-dollar-a-week strike benefits from the international union are totally inadequate.

The strikers are throwing more forces into building the statewide solidarity demonstration scheduled for December 17 in Hibbing, sponsored by the Minnesota AFL-CIO.

In a recent issue of the *Minneapolis Labor Review*, Virgil Moline, president of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council, urged working people to attend the rally and donate to the strike.

"These are our brothers and sisters up there on the Range," he wrote, "and they are fighting the battle of their lives against high odds. . . . They need our help today, but the entire labor movement will benefit in the future, will be made stronger, by our collective action."

Strikers to speak in Mpls.

Leaders of four striking iron range locals will speak December 6 in Minneapolis. The meeting, sponsored by student and labor groups, will be held at 7:30 p.m. in the Coffman Union theater lecture hall at the University of Minnesota.

Speakers will include Willard Anderson, president, USWA Local 2660; Bill Larson, president, USWA Local 4757; Joe Samargia, president, USWA Local 1938; and Gene Skrabba, vice-president, USWA Local 6860.

For more information call (612) 373-2545, 825-6663, or 222-8929.

A stab in the back

On October 18 the iron range strikers sent an appeal for support to all 5,400 locals of the United Steelworkers. The appeal was signed by District 33 Director Linus Wampler and the presidents of all fifteen striking locals.

Many locals responded with donations and messages of solidarity.

Robert Petris, director of USWA District 38 on the West Coast, responded too. On November 9 he sent a directive to every local union in the district warning that "none of these requests for strike and defense as-

sistance meets with my approval."

Petris ordered that "no requests for extra strike assistance should be honored unless they are cleared through my office."

Petris's action is a gross violation of the right of local unions to spend their own funds as they see fit. It is also a stab in the back to the iron range strikers and a disgrace to the labor movement.

West Coast steelworkers can show what they think of Petris's diktat by redoubling their efforts in support of the embattled iron range strikers.

McBride 'amends' ENA

New threat to steelworkers' right to strike

By Andy Rose

What little remains of the right of steelworkers to strike will be gutted by an agreement secretly signed last month by Lloyd McBride, president of the United Steelworkers of America, and J. Bruce Johnston, chief negotiator for the major steel corporations.

The agreement was prompted by the hard-fought strike of iron ore workers in northern Minnesota, which is now in its fifth month.

The steel companies have claimed from the start that the strike is illegal under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement. Under ENA, first signed by top USWA officials in 1973, the union gave up the right to strike over all basic issues of wages, hours, benefits, and every other question covered by the national contract. But ENA supposedly allowed local unions to strike over local issues.

The iron range locals struck over some 1,250 local issues. The steel companies refused to negotiate a large percentage of these.

"Not a local issue," the companies said—not only about the widely publicized demand for incentive-pay coverage, but also about issues of health, safety, seniority agreements, working

conditions, vacation schedules, and many others.

When the locals exercised their right to strike, the companies sued for alleged violation of ENA. It has taken the iron ore workers more than four months on the picket lines to force the companies to begin bargaining.

The new McBride-Johnston agreement amends ENA to provide for arbitration of future disputes over what constitutes a local issue. Once the arbitrator (or the international union) decides a particular type of issue is "basic"—that is, not local and not legally strikeable—local unions are permanently barred from raising it.

Even in its old form, ENA encouraged the companies to stonewall local talks while they sought a decision by the international union or the courts that a strike would violate ENA. The new agreement goes even further, eliminating any pressure whatsoever on the companies to negotiate.

"The companies would sit back and have themselves a time," said the president of one striking iron ore local. "Even if they lost [in arbitration] on half the issues they contended were basic, for every one they won—that's it forever."

"What you're left with is what the company wants you to have as local issues—shower heads or a different kind of toilet paper or something ridiculous like that."

The companies will refuse to discuss any serious issues such as changes in seniority agreements, or safety and health, the local president said, by claiming that "you're trying to go farther than the contract."

"They're going to rip the guts out of local issue bargaining," he said. "There's never going to be another strike—unless some local just wants to take their guys out on a two-week vacation in August."

"As far as winning anything, it's shot, it's all gone."

The proposal to arbitrate disputes over what is a local issue comes straight from the steel corporations. In fact, they proposed it in their first draft of ENA, and the union rejected it!

Bernard Kleiman, chief lawyer for the USWA and a key negotiator of ENA, testified about this in federal court last summer, in hearings on the steel companies' request for an anti-strike injunction.

Kleiman said then that an arbitration provision "would weaken the

whole process of bargaining because the parties would hold back for some third party to bail them out, and you never can get . . . effective bargaining under those kinds of circumstances."

Kleiman testified that the union tops had rejected the arbitration proposal because "it would be met with ridicule by our members, who would say, 'On the one hand you give us the right to strike [on local issues]. On the other hand, you say that right to strike is subject to an arbitration provision.'"

But that is exactly what McBride has now agreed to—in secret and without the slightest pretense of democracy. Evidently the USWA International Executive Board was not even consulted, much less the iron range strikers or the rest of the union ranks.

Neither the national USWA contract nor the ENA itself is subject to a ratification vote by the union members involved. It's a safe bet that McBride has no intention of allowing a vote on the new ENA "amendment" either.

He knows that such deals to sacrifice the rights of union members to the profit interests of the corporations can never withstand membership scrutiny or a democratic vote.

CPUSA vs. Santiago Carrillo: thieves fall out

By David Frankel

When Spanish Communist Party chief Santiago Carrillo accepted a Chubb fellowship at Yale University, he joined a list that includes President Carter, former British Prime Minister Edward Heath, and senators Hubert Humphrey and Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Upon his arrival at Yale November 15, Carrillo took pains to demonstrate that he was worthy to be a member of this select company. He crossed a picket line of striking Yale maintenance workers.

In fact, Carrillo's whole trip was designed to demonstrate his reliability as a defender of capitalism to the American ruling class. From that point of view, the Stalinist leader may have even seen the chance to cross a picket line as a fortunate opportunity.

Just as interesting as Carrillo's contempt for the American working class was the reaction of the American Communist Party. The CP is not in the habit of condemning foreign Communist Party leaders. However, in this instance it made an exception.

Beginning on November 16, there was an article in every issue of the *Daily World* for a week. A statement by CP general secretary Gus Hall was printed on November 17. A longer statement by Hall and CP national chairman Henry Winston appeared on November 19. The *Daily World's* coverage of Carrillo's scabbing actually outweighed the

attention it paid to the shah of Iran's visit to Washington that same week.

It was difficult not to detect a substantial dose of hypocrisy in the CP's fulminations against Carrillo. After all, Carrillo's actions were nothing compared with the strike-breaking record of the Stalinist regimes in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

During the massive general strike that shook Poland in June 1976, for example, the CPUSA was solidly behind the Polish government. It gave credence to the slanders of the Stalinist regime, which charged that the tens of thousands who protested in the streets were led by "drunken hooligans and hysterical women."



CARRILLO: Breaking strikes in old Stalinist tradition.

And what about the recent reports of massive strikes, suppressed by troops, in the Romanian coal-mining towns of the Jiu Valley? Why has the American CP remained silent? After all, as Gus Hall said in regard to Carrillo, "A strike is a strike and a strikebreaker is a strikebreaker, no matter who it is or how you look at it."

If Carrillo's strikebreaking was of such concern to the CPUSA, why didn't Gus Hall and Henry Winston protest in October when the Spanish CP joined with the Social Democrats and the capitalist government in an agreement to freeze wages? That was a pact with Franco's heirs to break strikes on a grand scale.

The truth is that the Stalinists have always been willing to back not only the Soviet and East European regimes, but also "progressive" capitalist governments, when they break strikes and repress the workers.

During World War II for example—and even after the war—the CP backed a no-strike pledge here in the United States. When the coal miners, led by John L. Lewis, walked out of the mines in 1943, the CPUSA attacked Lewis as a "fascist" and the strike as "treasonable." It demanded government intervention to force the miners back to work.

The CP's attack on Carrillo had nothing to do with his decision to cross the picket line at Yale. That was only a pretext. Carrillo's real

crime, as far as the CPUSA is concerned, is that he has tried to improve his party's electoral image among radicalizing Spanish workers by criticizing the suppression of democratic rights in the Soviet Union.

What led to the *Daily World's* denunciation of Carrillo was not any principles of working-class solidarity, but rather the signals coming from the Kremlin. Thus, in October, when Carrillo was stabbing the entire Spanish working class in the back, the CP's West Coast newspaper, the *People's World*, reported on a meeting between Soviet officials and Carrillo in a very friendly tone.

"A communique said the meeting took place in an atmosphere of great cordiality," according to the October 29 PW.

But when Carrillo went to Moscow for the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, the CPUSA received a different signal. The leader of the Spanish CP was prevented from speaking.

Carrillo's decision to cross the picket line at Yale allowed the CPUSA to press its defense of Moscow, and also to harden up some of its own ranks against the views of the so-called Eurocommunists.

It also provided a convincing demonstration of why neither the "Eurocommunists" nor the hardline pro-Moscow Stalinists are capable of providing the type of revolutionary leadership that the working class needs.

South Africa: new evidence on murder of Biko

By Ernest Harsch

From Intercontinental Press

During the second week of an official inquest into the death of Steve Biko, further evidence surfaced confirming that the young Black leader was beaten to death by his white jailers. Biko, a central leader of the nationalist current in South Africa known as the Black Consciousness movement, died in police custody September 12.

Under questioning from Sydney W. Kentridge, a lawyer for the Biko family, two pathologists involved in the autopsy on Biko gave conflicting accounts of how he received the brain injuries that ultimately led to his death.

Dr. J. D. Loubser, the chief state pathologist in charge of the autopsy, gave an interpretation of Biko's death that coincided with one advanced by police officials—that Biko bumped his head during an alleged struggle with his interrogators. Although Loubser

conceded that Biko had received five different brain injuries, he maintained that they were all the result of a single blow.

However Dr. Neville S. Proctor, a brain specialist, testified that Biko's brain injuries had been incurred on at least three, and possibly four, separate occasions. He also said that Biko must have become unconscious immediately after being injured. This conflicted sharply with all the previous accounts put forward by the police, none of which mentioned more than one blow or a period of unconsciousness.

Other doctors called for questioning provided details of how the security police prevented Biko from receiving medical treatment.

Dr. Ivor Lang said that he had recommended that Biko be transferred to a local hospital after examinations showed signs of brain damage, but had been forbidden to do so by Col. Pieter J. Goosen, the head of the security

police in Port Elizabeth, where Biko was held. "And you can't buck the Security Branch?" Kentridge asked him. "No," Lang replied.

Kentridge maintained that the police had refused to move Biko to a hospital to prevent him from revealing that he had been beaten. He also compelled Dr. Lang to admit that he had issued a medical report claiming that Biko was in good health, omitting any reference to his head injuries, a cut lip, a bruise on his chest, or the cuts and swelling caused by the iron shackles he had been forced to wear.

The testimony by the doctors further undermined the apartheid regime's efforts to cover up its responsibility for Biko's murder. The attempts had already been seriously damaged by earlier testimony, in which police gave conflicting accounts of how Biko received his head injuries.

Although Biko was only one of dozens of Black political activists who

have died at the hands of Vorster's jailers, his prominent position in the Black liberation struggle has thrown a sharp spotlight on the routine brutality meted out to opponents of white supremacy. Like the frequent arrests of activists and the bannings of Black organizations, the torture and killings of political prisoners is aimed at terrorizing the Black population as a whole.

But it also generates resistance. On November 26, about 8,000 Blacks rallied in the Black township of Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, for the funeral of Bonaventura Sipho Malaza, an eighteen-year-old Black youth who died while in detention by the security police November 18. The police claimed that he had hanged himself, a common official explanation for the death of prisoners under torture.

Police opened fire into the crowd after the funeral, wounding at least two Black youths.

Rhodesian gov't stalls while war drags on

By Conrad Strauss

From Intercontinental Press

In yet another bid to stall for time, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith announced November 24 that he was willing to open a new round of negotiations with Zimbabwean nationalist leaders based within the country. As bait, he said that he was prepared to concede the principle of majority rule

See editorial on massacre in Mozambique on page 10.

based on universal adult suffrage, a central demand of all the major Zimbabwean nationalist groups.

Smith has made many similar promises in the past, only to later retract them or to tack on so many escape clauses as to make them superfluous. This time may be little different. According to a summary of his remarks in the November 26 *New York Times*, Smith insisted that there had to be "safeguards" for the white minority that would include "the maintenance

of the forces of law and order and special parliamentary representation."

By excluding the Zimbabwean leaders based outside of the country from his negotiations offer, Smith is also trying to drive a wedge into the already faction-ridden Zimbabwean nationalist movement.

Joshua Nkomo, a coleader with Robert Mugabe of the Patriotic Front, which is based on guerrilla forces located in neighboring countries, denounced Smith's statement as "rubbish."

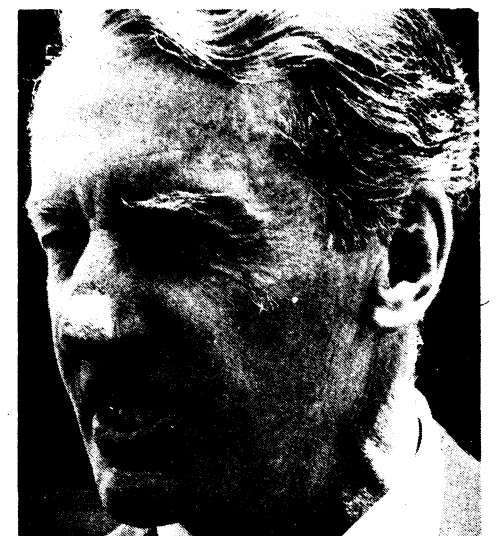
It was greeted, however, by the two main Zimbabwean leaders now living within the country, Ndabaningi Sithole and Abel Muzorewa.

Muzorewa said that he was willing to talk with Smith. But he also listed a series of demands. He called for an immediate end to the executions of freedom fighters, for "immediate and open negotiations," and for a "safe return" policy toward the guerrillas.

Perhaps in anticipation of charges of capitulating to Smith's divide-and-rule

efforts, he also called for a constitutional conference attended by all the nationalist organizations, including the Patriotic Front.

Meanwhile, the white-minority regime's war against the Black liberation struggle continues.



SMITH: Stalls for time

Behind Sadat's diplomatic moves

By David Frankel

Just five days after his return from Israel, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat again captured headlines around the world with his proposal for a meeting in Cairo of "all the parties in the [Middle East] conflict, including the two superpowers. . . ."

In form, Sadat's call was for preparatory talks leading to a Geneva conference and an overall settlement of the Mideast conflict. But in substance, it was one more step in the direction of a separate deal with Israel.

Sadat, of course, denied any such intention. In regard to the Palestinians, he insisted in his November 26 speech to the Egyptian People's Assembly, "Egypt will never cede any of their rights."

Defending his visit to Israel, Sadat claimed, "I have not jeopardized any Arab rights." He maintained that "we did not have to concede in any way that we should have a separate agreement with Israel."

He struck a similar theme in his speech before the Israeli Knesset (parliament) November 20. ". . . I have not come here for a separate agreement between Egypt and Israel," he said. "This is not part of the policy of Egypt."

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin addressed this issue as well. "We do not want to separate or divide [the Arab countries]," he claimed in his reply to Sadat. "We want a true peace with all of our neighbors. . . ."

Such assurances were repeated frequently—perhaps a little too frequently—by Egyptian and Israeli officials both before and after Sadat's trip to Israel. Not many believed them even before Sadat's latest move.

As columnist William Safire noted in the November 21 *New York Times*, Sadat's claims of devotion to an overall settlement were rightly taken by other Arab leaders "as a warning that a separate peace is possible should the Sadat lead not be followed."

Freezing out the PLO

Any move toward a separate agreement between the Israeli and Egyptian regimes would severely weaken the position of Syria and Jordan in relation to Israel. It would be an even harder blow to the struggle of the Palestinian people for their right to self-determination.

The logic of Sadat's course in regard to the Palestinians was made clear from the very beginning when he failed to mention the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in his speech to the Knesset. The PLO is the dominant organization in the Palestinian liberation movement, and Sadat's intention was to signify his willingness to bypass that movement in negotiations with the Zionist state.

A second step in this direction came November 24, when officials in Cairo announced that Palestinian "leaders" from Israel and the territories occupied by Israel in June 1967 would be invited to Egypt to discuss Sadat's trip to Israel. "The invitation was apparently part of a strategy to stake out a role for moderate Palestinians in future Arab-Israeli peace talks that would not require the cooperation of the more militant P.L.O.," *New York Times* correspondent Christopher S. Wren reported from Cairo.

In his speech proposing the meeting in Cairo of "all parties to the conflict," Sadat again left out any mention of the PLO. Acting Foreign Minister Butros Ghali told reporters that the PLO would be invited to the Cairo conference, but when invitations were issued November 27, the PLO was not among those receiving them.

Until now, the full impact of Sadat's stab in the back to the Palestinians has been cushioned by the reaction of the Syrian regime, which has publicly denounced him for "betraying the Arab nation" and refused his invitation to come to Cairo.

However, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad is hardly a reliable ally for the Palestinians. As Sadat himself pointed out in his November 26 speech, referring to Assad's military intervention against the Palestinians during the Lebanese civil war, "Who has actually shot them [the Palestinians]? Who has directed the bullets into their chests? Was it Egypt?"

Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam made his government's position clear when he said November 27, "We have not said that we will not continue the dialogue with President Sadat but we



SADAT: Agreed to recognize Israel in hopes of taking heat off his regime.



BEGIN: Willing to take Arab concessions, while preparing for new wars.

have said that he took an isolated step without consulting other Arab countries."

While Assad is holding open the option of joining the "betrayal of the Arab nation" in his dealings with the Zionist regime, King Hussein of Jordan has shown even warmer interest in such a course.

The day after Sadat's return from Israel a trial balloon was sent up by the Jordanian minister of information. Reporters were told that Sadat's trip had brought "fresh hope" for convening the Geneva conference, and that it had "broken the ice and removed the psychological barriers" between Arabs and Israelis. This statement was later repudiated, with the Jordanian regime taking a more reserved attitude, but the message was hardly accidental.

Pressure on Sadat

On the surface, Sadat seems to be taking a remarkably independent course. After his November 26 speech, he made his attitude to the other Arab regimes explicit, telling NBC News that "Whoever comes here, I shall be starting the conference with them. . . . If only the Israelis come, I will start the conference."

Both Moscow and Washington appeared to be as surprised as the Arab regimes by Sadat's new moves. But, as the editors of the *Washington Post* commented November 20—not without some satisfaction—"it was American diplomacy that gave thrust and focus to a settlement drive that . . . the parties were demonstrably unable to generate on their own."

When Sadat went to Jerusalem, he gave the Israeli state perhaps the greatest political victory in its history. This was not a reflection of his independence, but rather of the immense pressure that he is under.

To begin with, Sadat faces direct military pressure. *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton summed up the results of the enormous amount of U.S. military aid to Israel since the October 1973 war in an article that appeared November 7, only two weeks before Sadat's trip to Israel.

"American intelligence analysts and civilian experts on the military balance in the Middle East," Middleton reported, "believe that Israel is so far ahead of any alliance of Arab powers in weapons and trained manpower that outside pressures would have only a peripheral effect on its strategic decisions."

Middleton made clear that, having successfully built up the Israeli war machine to a point where the Arab regimes cannot challenge it, Washington is trying to put itself in a position of being able to disclaim direct political responsibility in the event of another Mideast war.

"Israel's reliance on [American] weapons, most sources agreed, would not prevent Israel from fighting a short, successful war even if the American administration decided at the outbreak of war to halt all arms shipments," Middleton explained. "The consensus is that the Israelis would require at the most three weeks to defeat the Arabs and that, given the present temper of the Israeli Government, the army would not be restrained by American pressure from seeking a complete victory."

The American imperialists, of course, were well aware of the effect that their vast military aid to Israel would have. This has been a topic of discussion for years in military and diplomatic journals.

Washington Post correspondent Jim Hoagland reported October 26 on the attitude of the Israeli regime. He said that "Israel is actively preparing to fight what senior Israeli defense officials privately describe as 'a war of annihilation' against the Egyptian and Syrian armies if the Carter administration's new Middle East peace effort fails."

State Department officials announced the day after Hoagland's article appeared that they were recommending another \$1 billion in military aid to Israel for the 1978-79 fiscal year. Israeli officials were reported to be "privately pleased" with this news.

Nor is the Israeli military threat an abstract one. According to *Times* correspondent Wren, Sadat's November 26 speech confirmed that "a potential clash between Israeli and Egyptian forces was averted in the Sinai Peninsula less than two weeks ago. . . . The President said that the incident proved how 'jittery' the Israelis were and implied their fears of a new attack had contributed to the urgency of his trip to Israel."

A suicidal course

Military threats were the crudest form of imperialist arm-twisting against Sadat. Economic pressure was also used to wring recognition of Israel from him.

Sadat has followed a policy of relying on foreign investment to revive Egypt's ailing economy. But imperialist investors have made clear that they consider Egypt to be a poor risk as long as it has not reached any settlement with Israel.

Thus, Sadat was caught between the pressures of world imperialism and the demands of his own people for economic progress and the recovery of occupied Egyptian territory. He is gambling that by giving in to imperialist demands and recognizing the Zionist state, he will get enough in return to placate the Egyptian masses and end the destabilizing effect on his own regime of the ongoing conflict with Israel.

It is already clear that Sadat's concessions to the Israeli state will be used as leverage for the imperialists to demand similar concessions from the other Arab regimes. And the weaker the Arab countries are, and the more they give up, the less pressure there will be on the Israeli regime to give anything in return.

The fact that Sadat's course has been forced upon him by imperialist pressure doesn't make it any less suicidal. What both the Israeli regime and its American backers want is not peace in the Middle East, but unchallenged domination of the region. That is why the Arab governments will never be able to make enough concessions to placate the Zionists. And that is why Washington, regardless of any temporary frictions, will continue to back Israeli intransigence.

Biggest upsurge since 1963

Protests in Iran defy shah, demand rights

By Peter Seidman

Despite brutal repression by the shah's secret police, the largest wave of protests in Iran since 1963 is continuing.

The U.S. media have almost completely suppressed news of this upsurge demanding democratic rights in Iran. But some on-the-scene reports from members of the Iranian Writers Association are reaching this country.

These reports are being publicized by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

Reza Baraheni, honorary chairperson of CAIFI, told the *Militant* November 28 that four groups in Iran have issued protest letters in recent days.

Baraheni reports that all the universities and colleges in Iran are now on strike. Students have decided to continue these strikes until December 7, a traditional day of Iranian student protest. On that day in 1953 three students at Tehran University were

gunned down when troops attacked a campus protest against a visit to Iran by American Vice-president Richard Nixon.

On November 24 the shah's dread secret police, SAVAK, arrested Mahmoud Etemadzadeh (Beh-Azin), a prominent sixty-five-year-old writer and translator who is a leading member of the Iranian Writers Association. Beh-Azin's son, who has no connection with the Writers Association, was also arrested.

Beh-Azin had been scheduled to speak at a November 21 lecture at the University of Aryamehr. A SAVAK attack prevented the meeting from taking place. Cops arrested and brutally beat two other Writers Association members during this attack: Dr. Homa Nateq, a woman historian; and the writer Nemat Mirzazadeh.

According to a CAIFI news release, these arrests "are viewed by the Iranian literary community as a renewed assault on supporters of civil rights and opponents of censorship in Iran."

Baraheni told the *Militant* that "the regime is describing Beh-Azin as an agitator who calls on the people to revolt against the government." Using this pretext, the Ministry of Justice has transferred his case to a military tribunal. One report from Iran indicates the regime is trying to label the entire Writers Association in this way, thereby escalating the threat of repression against it.

The Iranian government wants to prevent any news of the protests and crackdown from getting out of the country. SAVAK agents have even attacked foreign news correspondents.

Washington Post reporter William Branigin describes how, following the November 21 attack at Aryamehr University, "Members of the [SAVAK] mob physically prevented me and two other Western journalists from following the dissidents being chased away. . . . One of the attackers forced two of the reporters into a taxi and ordered the driver to take them away from the scene of the demonstration."

The next day, according to Branigin, a protest meeting "attended by more than 1,000 persons, including many prominent Iranians who have signed dissident letters recently calling for

judicial and political reforms," was broken up on the outskirts of Tehran.

More than 100 demonstrators were injured during the attack.

The government-controlled Iranian newspapers, says Branigin, claimed the attackers were "factory workers who happened to be passing by when they heard 'anti-nationalist slogans' being shouted."

But Branigin reports that according

to eyewitnesses the attackers, armed with clubs and lengths of heavy wire cable, arrived at the dissident gathering in twelve buses.

The Iranian Writers Association protested this escalating brutality in an urgent statement issued November 24: "In the present Iran, nobody is safe. The people of Iran have been deprived of all elementary democratic rights."

Baraheni rips Carter's role

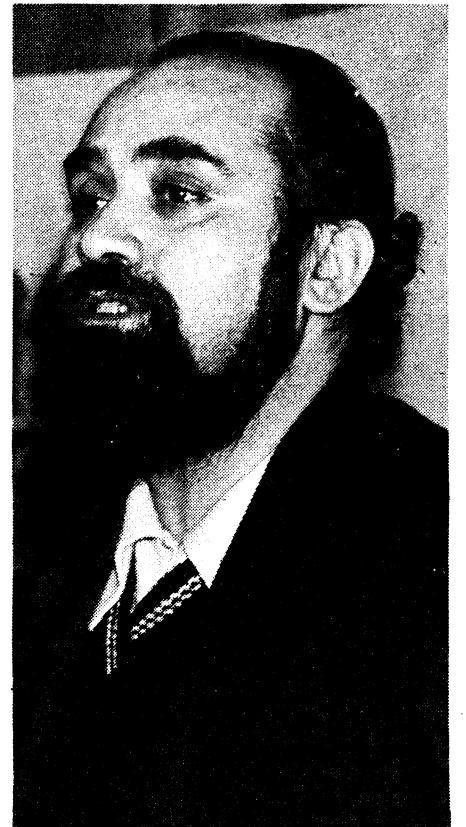
"The shah of Iran has received a green light from the Carter administration to kill our people," Iranian poet and human rights activist Reza Baraheni told a Washington, D.C., news conference November 23. The news conference was organized by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

The shah's latest crackdown began November 15, the same day he was welcomed in Washington by President Carter. The U.S. government's complicity with the shah is long-standing, Baraheni explained.

"Thirty-six thousand American intelligence and military experts train the shah's army, his hit squads, his torturers, and his police and gendarmerie in plainclothes," Baraheni said. "This reality puts the lie to Carter's stand on human rights in the world."

Baraheni also charged that reports from Iran indicate hit squads used by the shah were "dispatched . . . to the U.S. prior to his arrival in Washington. They participated in the pro-shah demonstrations here, but some of these units did not leave the U.S. when the shah departed. They are here to harass leaders of the Iranian opposition in exile in the U.S."

The news conference was reported in the *New York Times* and carried over UPI news wires. Other participants were U.S. Rep. Fortney Stark (D-Calif.); Morton Halperin, director, Project on National Security and Civil Liberties; Alex Markel of PEN, the international writers organiza-



REZA BARAHENI Militant/Nancy Cole

tion; and Babak Zahraie, CAIFI national field secretary.

In Great Britain thirteen members of Parliament signed a November 23 telegram initiated by the London Committee Against Repression in Iran. The telegram demanded an end to police violence and recognition of the right of the Iranian Writers Association to hold public meetings.

—P. S.

Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran

... is a civil liberties organization publicizing the cases of victimized Iranian artists, intellectuals, and political prisoners.

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Costa Rican cops attack Blacks, socialists

From Intercontinental Press

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica—A brutal police attack on a demonstration in the port city of Limón, seventy-five miles east of here, on November 23, resulted in the arrest and jailing of eight persons. All have been charged with "inciting violence," and face up to eight years imprisonment.

Among the eight are two central leaders of the Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (OST—Socialist Workers Organization), a sympathizing group of the Fourth International.

Authorities have also ordered the arrest of Marvin Wright Lindo, one of the best-known figures in the labor movement and the main leader of Costa Rica's Black population. Although not involved in the November 23 protest, Wright has been charged with "moral responsibility" for it. The police have been ordered to shoot him on sight and are conducting a house-to-house search for him in Limón. Fearing for his life, Wright has gone underground.

On November 25, police in San José, the capital city, raided the OST's national headquarters. Such a move by the government is highly unusual, especially since the OST is a legal organization and is fielding candidates



WRIGHT: Leader of Black party driven underground.

in the national elections to be held in February 1978. Many consider such a raid on a party headquarters to be without precedent in the country's recent history.

The residents of the Limoncito community in Limón—many of them Blacks*—have been struggling for more than a year for improvements in their living conditions.

On November 23, 500 persons, almost all women and children, began a demonstration at ten o'clock in the

morning in support of the community's demands for running water, sewage lines, and electric power.

The residents are also asking for the diversion of the Limoncito River, which is heavily polluted with sewage, chemical wastes, and the runoff from a nearby cemetery; and for the grading of streets that are at present little more than swamps.

The protest continued throughout the day, and was joined by the husbands of many of the women as they came home from work. The demonstrators blocked traffic on roads and railway lines, the main means of access to Limoncito.

At 5:45 p.m., police moved in to break up the crowd, wielding clubs and kicking people. Many demonstrators were injured, including several pregnant women.

* Black workers were brought to Costa Rica from Jamaica and elsewhere in the late 1800s to solve a labor shortage on the banana plantations in the eastern part of the country. At present, Blacks constitute 2 percent of the Costa Rican population. They face racial oppression as well as discrimination based on the fact that most have English as their first language in a predominantly Spanish-speaking country.

A number of arrests were made, and the detainees were further beaten on the way to jail. Most were later released, but the following eight persons were held on the charge of "inciting violence":

José Cruz Angulo, a Limón community leader; Sherman León Muller, a dock workers union shop steward; Carlos Coronado Vargas, the OST's candidate for president; Alejandra Calderón Fournier, the principal OST candidate for the national legislative assembly; and four other community activists—Maria Cedeño Rivera, Edgar Tapia Mora, José Manuel Ramírez Valverde, and Reynaldo Sánchez Chávez.

Seven of these persons are being held with almost 120 other prisoners in a 4-by-8-meter room with no toilet facilities. Alejandra Calderón is on a hunger strike to protest such intolerable conditions, and has been separated from the other prisoners by the authorities.

Calderón was already well known before her arrest. She comes from a family that is very prominent in Costa Rican politics. Her father is ex-President Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia, for many years the leader of a

Continued on page 26

Letter from jailed Mexican activist

'Only united action can end repression'

The following letter was written by jailed Mexican activist Héctor Marroquín to the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

Marroquín is seeking political asylum in the United States, where he has lived since April 1974. The Mexican government has lodged false charges of murder and "subversion" against him. He faces probable torture and death if he is forced to return to Mexico.

Marroquín is currently imprisoned in the Maverick County jail in Eagle Pass, Texas, having been convicted last September of "illegally entering the country."

I have been watching with great satisfaction the way the USLA Justice Committee has been in the forefront in defending me. Your work has yielded some positive results—concretely, the support that my request for political asylum has been getting from many individuals and organizations concerned about the defense of human, civil, and democratic rights—people who have lent the support that my case urgently demands. Thanks to the excellent legal work my lawyers have been carrying out, added to USLA's efforts, a series of obstacles faced initially by my request for political asylum are being overcome.¹

Some days ago, I found out about the similar situation faced by the Mexican attorney José Jacques Medina in his request for political asylum.

At the present time I don't know the details of the Medina case. But I can assure you that the problem he cur-

rently faces with the Mexican government can be reduced to the same common denominator that many fighters for democratic rights and social justice in Mexico face—the most brutal smashing of their most basic human, civil, and democratic rights simply because all these fighters represent a political opposition to a regime that has betrayed the Mexican revolution. The forms in which this secular, anti-democratic, dictatorial despotism against the working people and the bravest members of the working class is expressed are known around the world—jails full of political prisoners, hundreds of persons who have disappeared, the daily use of the most brutal torture methods, political assassinations carried out individually or en masse.

Medina and I are victims of the traditional "frame up." Our cases are only a drop of water in the sea of injustice in Mexico, where human dignity doesn't mean a thing to the regime.

If we fight as individuals, we cannot succeed. Broader support is indispensable for winning recognition of our rights—support, as I said before, from those who are concerned about defending those rights, from those who can show solidarity in the face of such an obviously criminal situation.

In this spirit, I want to express my sincere support to José Medina and also to show my solidarity with Mrs. Rosario Ibarra de Piedra in her fight to be reunited with her son Jesús Piedra, a former fellow student of mine at the university. After being wounded and arrested by the police, Jesús Piedra was subjected to savage torture and was kidnapped. The Mexican authorities have systematically refused to give any information about him or to make his whereabouts public.

The situation of Mrs. Rosario Ibarra is that of many Mexican mothers who, for different reasons, have not been able to see their children again. It is the case of those mothers who pack the

Mexican police stations in search of them. It is likewise the case of those mothers who, year after year, carry flowers to Tlatelolco to the son that never returned one afternoon in 1968 when he went to demonstrate in defense of political freedoms in Mexico.²

Medina's case is also the case of many activists defending civil and democratic rights in Mexico, whom the regime tries to silence.

The list is interminable.

2. On October 2, 1968, Mexican police and troops opened fire on a peaceful demonstration of 15,000 students and workers calling for political freedom. Three hundred people were killed. The attack took place at the Tlatelolco Plaza in Mexico City.

Only through uniting our efforts will we be able to put a definitive halt to this repression.

Through this letter, I want to thank all those who have selflessly offered me their support. Likewise, I want to thank the USLA Justice Committee for the tremendous effort it has been making, not only on my case but on many more, an effort, I repeat, that has yielded very positive results and raised my hopes.

I send you my greetings and my sincere hope that your victories will grow with each passing day.

Sincerely yours,

Héctor Andrés Marroquín Manríquez
November 15, 1977



Militant/Rick Congress

Gertrude Barnstone, head of Women's Equity Action League in Houston, addressing a November 22 meeting at the University of Houston. Other speakers were José Alvarado of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and Arturo Ramírez, who had just returned from a visit to Marroquín. The meeting voted unanimously to send a telegram to Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Leonel Castillo calling for Marroquín's release from jail and approval of his request for political asylum.

1. Marroquín was originally threatened with "exclusion," a quick process that would have returned him to Mexico before he could file an appeal and before his asylum request could be heard. However, public pressure generated by USLA has forced the government to back down. The government now says it will grant Marroquín a full deportation hearing. He can remain in the United States while any adverse decision is being appealed.

D.C. bureau closed down

'Militant' needs your help to meet rising costs

By Steve Clark

Confronted by spiraling costs, the *Militant* has been forced to close down our Washington, D.C., bureau, which was established nearly three years ago.

This move underlines the financial crunch we face and the importance of meeting our goal in the *Militant* \$50,000 fund drive.

Regular readers of our paper, who have followed the progress of the drive (see box below), know of our financial difficulties.

Steve Clark is the managing editor of the *'Militant.'*

Since 1971 the price of newsprint has doubled. Our postal rates have shot up 550 percent and will rise another 20 percent next year. Air freight shipping charges for *Militant* bundles are now four times what they were six years ago.

Altogether, the total cost of putting out the *Militant* has doubled since 1971. As a result, we have had to take special measures to meet our rising expenses.

Earlier this fall we raised the cover price of the *Militant* to fifty cents and increased subscription rates. The *Militant* editorial staff in New York was trimmed.

The decision to close the D.C. bureau was another necessary step. Staff writer David Frankel, who handled the bureau, has now rejoined our New York staff. Among other assignments, he is helping coordinate our international coverage.

Although we no longer have a bureau in Washington, many stories will continue to break there that the *Militant* will want to cover. We will no longer be able to cover many of them firsthand. But from time to time we intend to send staff writers to Washington to report on congressional hearings and other events.

How often we can finance such trips depends in part on the success of our fund drive.

As the costs of publishing a newspaper continue to go up, we may be faced with further tough financial decisions. Our ability to avoid more cutbacks rests in part on the outcome of our current fund drive.

In the meantime, we want to continue to bring you the news and socialist analysis you have come to expect on the labor movement, the Black, Chicano, and women's struggles, and national and international events.

Successfully completing our fund campaign is also critical if we are to continue our on-the-spot reports and

analysis of important news such as the National Women's Conference in Houston, covered by *Militant* staff writers Diane Wang and Shelley Kramer.

And with a national miners' strike impending, we will need extra funds to finance trips to the coalfields so you can follow the strike on a weekly basis.

The response to our appeal thus far shows that *Militant* readers recognize the scope of our financial problems and are determined to help. We have collected \$38,429 to date, bringing us to 77 percent of our goal. An additional \$5,032 has been pledged to the fund at *Militant* rallies around the country.

And every dollar contributed during

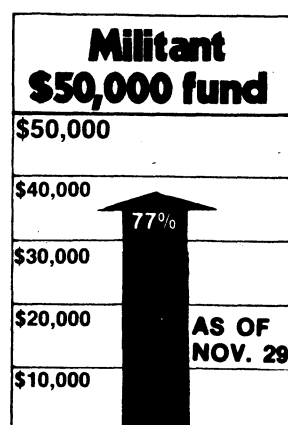
the last weeks of the drive is being doubled by one of our readers, who has agreed to match each donation we receive, dollar for dollar.

But time is getting short. The drive ends December 15.

We need to collect the money pledged over the past weeks right away in order to make our goal. And we need a special effort from readers who have yet to make a contribution to the drive.

A big push in the last two weeks of this campaign can take us over the \$50,000 mark. That will be a big victory for the *Militant* and for all our readers.

Help us make that goal by sending your contribution today.



I am enclosing:		
<input type="checkbox"/> \$500	<input type="checkbox"/> \$250	<input type="checkbox"/> \$100
<input type="checkbox"/> \$50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$25	<input type="checkbox"/> \$10
Other _____		
Name _____		
Address _____		
City _____	State _____	Zip _____
Make checks payable to: The Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.		

Carter's New Year

President Carter, the White House reported November 29, plans to spend New Year's Eve in Tehran with the shah of Iran. What an outrage!

Right now the biggest upsurge in many years is going on in Tehran. The shah's police and army are attempting to crush in blood the demands of the people for democratic rights.

While Carter and his royal client exchange New Year's toasts, thousands of new political prisoners will be making their acquaintance with the shah's dungeons and torture chambers.

Americans must speak out against Carter's support to the shah. We have a special responsibility to the people of Iran, because officers in the shah's repressive apparatus are trained by American "specialists," and his police and army are armed with American weapons. Just since 1972, the U.S. government has sold or agreed to sell the shah's regime \$18.2 billion in military equipment.

No support to the bloody dictator!

Stop all U.S. arms sales to the shah!

Free all political prisoners in Iran!

Bloodbath in Africa

On November 28 the racist regime in Rhodesia announced that its troops had killed 1,200 people in two raids into neighboring Mozambique.

A November 28 dispatch in the London *Observer* reported on what reporters who went to the site right after one of the Rhodesian raids saw. According to the *Observer*, "most of the victims whose bodies could be seen at the camp were women and children. . . .

"At the camp the reporters visited, a mass grave had been bulldozed for the bodies of 20 girls apparently between the ages of 10 and 14. They had reportedly been sitting in their classroom when the Rhodesians attacked."

The Carter administration reacted mildly to the slaughter, expressing concern over the challenge to Mozambique's "territorial integrity."

Twelve hundred people massacred, and Washington expresses "concern"! Real indignation from the hypocrite in the White House is reserved for issues such as the Cuban aid program in Africa.

Massacres such as those in Mozambique, the Carter administration observed, makes British and American efforts to negotiate a deal between Black leaders and the white-minority regimes in southern Africa more complicated.

To the contrary, such massacres are part and parcel of Washington's strategy of gradual change aimed at preserving capitalism and protecting U.S. interests in southern Africa.

How else but by violence can the Black majority be forced to compromise its basic human rights? Day-to-day intimidation, police terror, massacres of those who resist, and threats of economic turmoil if the Black majority doesn't give in—all this is essential to prevent the majority from winning its right to rule itself.

With its talk about "safeguards" for the white minority and "gradual transfer" of power, Washington only plays soft cop to the hard cop of the racist regimes.

This is true not only in Rhodesia, but also in South Africa itself. Twenty-one prisoners have died in detention there over the past twenty months. Hundreds of others have been gunned down by police for demonstrating for their rights. Yet Carter and his mouthpiece Andrew Young urge patience and gradual change.

The capitalist rulers and their liberal supporters warn of a "bloodbath" if the Black majority demands its rights too quickly and with too much persistence.

But the bloodbath is already going on!

It is going on every day, in the streets of Soweto, in the prisons of Johannesburg and Pretoria, in the fields of Zimbabwe, and in the forests of Mozambique. The 1,200 deaths claimed by the Rhodesian regime are only the latest example.

What the capitalists really mean when they talk about a bloodbath is that some whites might get killed. Black deaths they take for granted.

Of strikes and scabs

The November 18 issue of the *Militant* was superb: I was particularly impressed with the strike coverage. However, two factual errors appeared in two separate articles that ought to be corrected.

First, in spite of his unequivocal support of the 1916 Mesabi Iron Range strike, Eugene Debs did not "campaign for solidarity . . . while he was running for president."

He couldn't have, because he did not run for president that year. Another socialist, Allen L. Benson, did.

Second, the NLRB [National Labor Relations Board] does not deny strikers the right to vote in decertification elections as Tom Campion contends in the article about the Essex-United Auto Workers strike.

The Taft-Hartley Act was amended in 1959 by the Landrum-Griffin Act to permit strikers to vote in either representation or decertification elections. In fact, in the *Laidlaw-Fleetwood* decision the board ruled that strikers have permanent reinstatement rights.

Scabs are also permitted to vote, but their numbers may not exceed those of the strikers. It is still an antilabor provision, but not as blatant as Mr. Campion asserted.

Bennet Muraskin
Jersey City, New Jersey

[In reply—Muraskin is correct about Eugene Debs—1916 was the first election year since the Socialist Party was founded in 1900 that Debs was not its candidate for president.

[In 1916, despite his plea of ill health, Debs was nominated as SP candidate for Congress from Indiana's 5th District. He ran for president again in 1920, while imprisoned for his opposition to the imperialist First World War.

[The law and NLRB rules on voting in union decertification elections are more complex than either the original *Militant* article or Muraskin's letter explains.

[Petitions signed by one-third of the workers in a bargaining unit are sufficient to force a decertification election. Thus, if Essex gets scabs into the plant numbering one-half of the original work force, petitions from the scabs could force an election.

[If the cutoff date for eligibility in such an election is within one year after the strike began, then both strikers and scabs can vote. After one year, however, the strikers can lose

their eligibility to vote. The Essex strike began last April 6.

[When both strikers and scabs can vote, it is possible (but unlikely) for scabs to outnumber strikers. The employer would have to show an economic reason, such as expansion of the business, for hiring more scabs than needed to replace striking employees. Supposedly this prevents the employer from stacking the vote.

[The NLRB has ruled that strikers replaced by scabs have a right to preference in rehiring *as jobs become available*—that is, to be treated as though they had been laid off. But nothing in the law forces the employer, at the end of a strike, to fire scabs and rehire all the strikers.

[These provisions, of course, underline the need for unions to rely on their own strength rather than "favorable" NLRB decisions.]

Wants more gay coverage

Please increase your coverage of gay people's struggles. Things were OK this summer, but your attention in this area seems to have slackened off. Lots of things are happening that I want to know about, and you should put them in if your commitment is sincere.

Ricky Rankin
College Park, Maryland

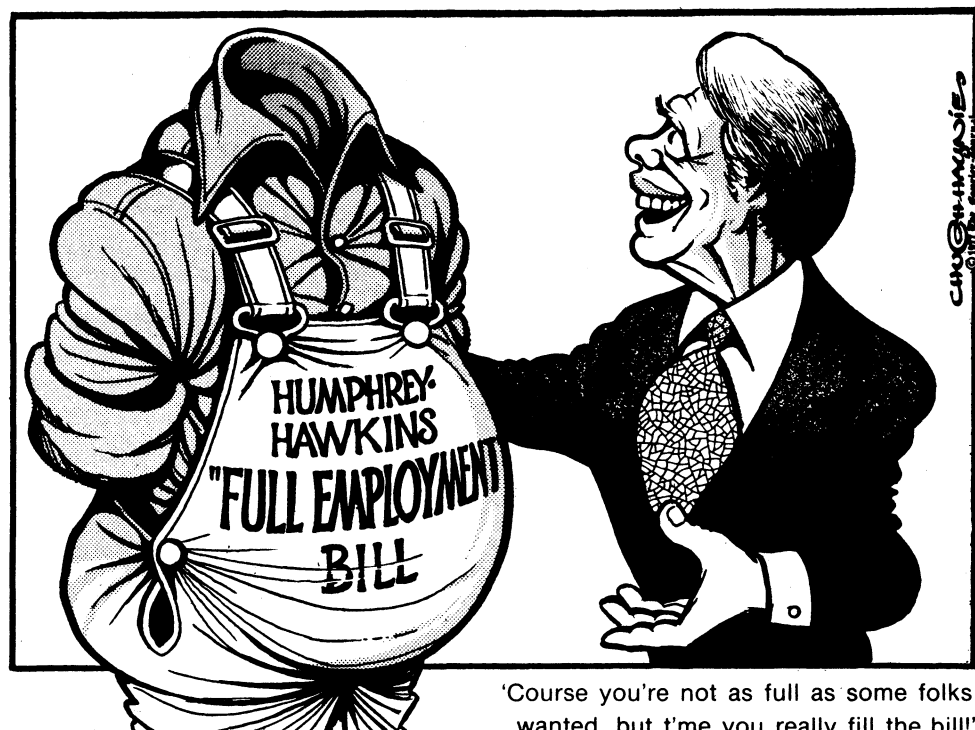
'Tirade against smoking'

I have just finished reading Harry Ring's column in this week's *Militant*—once again a tirade against smoking. I used to look forward to Ring's weekly jibes about the political and economic system in this country. However, with his one-man antismoking campaign he has turned it into a Sunday morning Baptist fire-and-brimstone sermon. Since I gave up church many years ago because I didn't like being preached at, I guess I'll forego Ring's column too. I hear enough "moralizing" in the country without having to read it in the *Militant*.

The rest of the paper is great, and I look forward to it each week.

Susan Youngdahl
Park Forest, Illinois

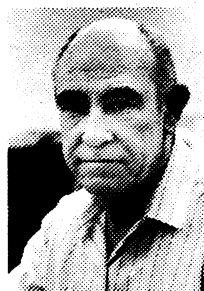
[Harry Ring replies—As an ex-smoker who enjoyed tobacco almost as much as I was addicted to it, and gave it up only under urgent doctor's orders, I certainly have not intended to suggest



'Course you're not as full as some folks wanted, but t'me you really fill the bill!

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Grievances in coal

any moral opposition to smoking.

[I do believe it is a commentary on the profit system that business and government continue to *promote* a product that they know is deadly. I take the opportunity in the "Great Society" column to point this out as well as to report current information about tobacco.

[If I've given the impression of engaging in tirades on the question, I'll certainly try to avoid doing so in the future. I don't think smoking is a sin. It's just unhealthy.]

Joining German Trotskyists

There is a very simple reason that I did not renew my subscription to the *Militant*. I am a German citizen and am going back to Germany in about two months.

Let me assure you, however, that I enjoyed reading the *Militant* a lot. I not only learned a lot about the conditions of the working class in the United States but I also got insight to political views that inspired me to plan to join the GIM (International Marxist Group, German sister organization of the SWP), when I return to Germany. T.M.

Houston, Texas

'Film of Persuasion'?

The public television station here has been running a series called "Films of Persuasion." A while back, viewers could watch a screening of *Triumph of the Will*, a Nazi propaganda film. The *Daily World*, which reflects the views of the Communist Party, objected vigorously, claiming it was part of a worldwide Nazi resurgence.

So I wondered what the CP's reaction would be when *Mission to Moscow* was broadcast. *Mission to Moscow* is based on the memoirs of the U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union in the late thirties and early forties. The film is a shameless defense of Stalin's purges and is a crude attempt to give credence to the Stalinist charge that Leon Trotsky was a "fascist." *Mission* was Hollywood's—and U.S. imperialism's—contribution to the wartime alliance with Stalin. Would the CP disassociate itself from these examples of Stalin's "excesses"?

No. *Daily World* TV critic Ben Levine ignored *these* questions. It was wrong, Levine wrote, to lump an "inspiring" film like *Mission to Moscow* with "propaganda" films under the general heading of "Films of Persuasion."

After all, *Mission* is truth, not mere "persuasion."

Arnold Weissberg
New York, New York

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

The 1974 contract between the United Mine Workers of America and the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association made specific provisions for the settlement of workers' grievances. But during its three-year existence, there never was any effort on the part of the operators to settle disputes under the "grievance procedure" they had agreed to.

On the contrary, from the start the operators provoked disputes, violated mine safety laws, refused to recognize the union mine committees, and largely ignored the grievance machinery provided by the contract.

The operators agreed under the old contract (Article XXIII, "Settlement of Disputes") to a four-step procedure, beginning with the recognition by management of an elected mine committee at every mine. It was further agreed that no miner could be fired "for his official actions as a mine committee member."

These mine committees were charged with the second-step settlement of disputes. The first step is the complaint of a miner to his or her foreman and the response of the foreman within twenty-four hours.

The mine committee was supposed to take all unsettled disputes to management for settlement within seven days. If no settlement was reached, the matter was then referred to two-member district-level union/management panel.

The fourth step was to be an arbitration decision, which "shall be final except. . . ." The exception was that either party could appeal to an arbitration review board, which did not exist when the 1974 coal contract was signed but was to be established within sixty days.

Time was an important factor in the grievance procedure. Coal miners were led to believe that under these provisions most of their grievances could be settled immediately at the mine site between them and their foremen. Or if that failed, they would have an answer from an "impartial arbiter" within a reasonable time not exceeding a month or six weeks at the most.

Another clause in the contract (Article XXIV, "Discharge Procedure") established, "for the first

time," the rule that no miner could be fired without just cause, "and places the burden upon the Employer to establish the ground for discharge." All discharge cases could be submitted to "quickie" arbitration and a decision rendered within five days. "If an Employee is reinstated," the agreement stipulated, "he is entitled to all lost earnings, including premium rates."

This all seemed good on paper. But the operators refused to implement any of these procedures they had agreed to. Instead, they provoked the miners by discharging mine committee members in flagrant violation of the agreement. Then they appealed to compliant local judges to impose heavy fines against the UMWA for failing to force its members to work under an agreement that had been broken by the operators.

In UMWA District 17, based in Charleston, West Virginia, the union tried to force arbitration on the operators. But that didn't work very well either. From September 1975 until the contract terminated in December 1977, more than 1,300 grievances were sent to arbitration in that one district.

District President Jack Perry said that for the first eight months of this year the union spent \$120,000 for arbitration, draining the district treasury. Under the contract, arbitration costs were supposed to be shared equally by union and management. The miners discovered that arbiters overcharged the union.

What happened under the 1974 contract proves that no matter how carefully a contract is written, it provides little protection unless union members remain free to strike to enforce it. But there may have been some advantages derived from these bitter experiences.

One advantage is the mine committees that were elected and the training of these committees under an educational program conducted by the union.

These committees can be the local organizers of the national strike against the operators. And this time miners seem determined to avoid the restrictions of a no-strike contract that allows the operators to violate the agreement without fear of punishment.

Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



Returning from Houston

Coming home from the National Women's Conference in Houston I eavesdropped on some women sitting near me on the plane. I dubbed them the Feminist and the Woman.

The Feminist began the conversation, asking if the Woman had been to the conference.

The Woman answered that she hadn't gone to it, though she had heard about the gathering. Then she asked, "Are you a feminist?"

The Feminist answered that she was.

"I might be a feminist too," said the Woman. "But I have problems thinking I might be drafted into the army. Just like I can't see sharing a bathroom with a man."

When I heard the Woman say that, I thought of the young women I had seen at the right-wing rally that Phyllis Schlafly had staged in Houston to protest the women's conference. Some of those women were probably like this Woman.

Some of them, looked like they should be in the National Organization for Women; some would say they were for equal pay for equal work. But they had fallen for Schlafly's line that the Equal Rights Amendment means military draft and unisex toilets for women.

So I was curious to hear what the Feminist would say to this Woman. The Feminist explained that there are no laws preventing the government from drafting women now. Besides, she said, with the experience of the anti-Vietnam War movement in this country, the government would have to think twice about drafting anybody for any war.

As for the bathrooms, she pointed out that the airplane we were on—just like homes—had one bathroom that women and men took turns using. Laws protecting privacy would not be struck down by the ERA.

These are not the real questions. Look ahead to what women can accomplish by winning their rights, said the Feminist.

True, said the Woman. She sounded convinced. She went on to describe how the women's movement had already affected her life, how she wanted a career and independence. The two continued talking.

But then the conversation came around to civil rights for lesbians. "Gay people have rights," said the Woman. "But I'm not for letting them adopt children. The children might grow up warped."

The Feminist pointed out that most lesbians and gay men come from heterosexual families.

The Woman admitted that might be true but said she didn't see why lesbian rights should get mixed up with women's rights.

"It would be fatal not to support all women regardless of race or income or sexual preference," said the Feminist. "It would hurt the women's movement to turn its back on any section of women."

"What if the women's movement said it wasn't going to get mixed up in the special needs of Black women or of low-income women?" said the Feminist, drawing an analogy between that and support for lesbian rights. "The women's movement would become small and select instead of building a broad base of support."

The Feminist seemed to convince the Woman. They continued talking about the history of the women's movement, how women won the vote, and so forth. By the time our plane landed I would have had to dub them Feminist No. 1 and Feminist No. 2.

In one sense, that plane trip home was the best part of the National Women's Conference. That kind of commonsense conversation probably happened on hundreds of planes returning from the conference.

And those commonsense talks will continue.



How appropriate can you get?—A Los Angeles rabbi is packing them in for his weekly sermons. As he recounts ancient religious tales, running illustrations are provided by a magician.

Really?—To balance its new weekend recreation and entertainment guide, the *Washington Post* began with a column on how poor people spend their weekends. To get the facts, it did a survey of Blacks making less

then \$10,000 a year. Astonishingly, the survey indicated that the poor "seem to participate less in the activities that make weekends pleasant for most people."

That's a comfort—Those concerned with noise pollution will be pleased to learn that the government is investing \$400,000 to make the air-conditioners in the presidential helicopters less noisy.

Obviously unqualified—Diana Vasquez is appealing rejection of her application to work at the Reno city jail. She said she passed all but the psychological test. The administering psychologist told her she was too pleasant to work as a jailer.

Politics of frustration—Lacking a mass-action perspective, some antinuclear activists are turning to individual action. In Denver, a fellow is

selling a spray can that will extinguish a cigarette at ten inches. Queried about the potential results of this, he responded, "There's always the possibility of violence where smoking is concerned."

Maybe even an exaggeration—"I could report that everything is right with the free-enterprise system, but that would be a distortion of the truth."—Ed Cheviot of the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce Free Enterprise Council.

By Any Means Necessary

Young strikes out with Blacks

If the reaction in the Black press is any indication, Andrew Young has lost much of his credibility in the wake of his veto of United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa.

The response of the New York *Amsterdam News* was typical. A *News* editorial pointed out that Young was doing a good job of presenting the Carter administration's policies—and a dismal job of representing the sentiments and aspirations of Black Americans.

An editorial in the *Carolina Times* pointed to the hypocrisy of the Carter administration's human rights rhetoric. "The assumption that appeasement of the minority government is necessary to maintain peace," the *Times* said, "is a spurious argument since there is no peace for the black man in South Africa."

The *News*, the *Times*, and other Black newspapers are reflecting what must be widespread sentiment among Blacks—a sense of betrayal at Young's actions.

This sentiment was captured in a cartoon in one newspaper. It showed an African UN representative writing home to explain the failure of the sanctions resolution. He was slumped over his desk with a large knife running through his back and out his chest. A note was attached: 'Present from Uncle Andy.'

This feeling of dismay and disappointment is to be expected. Especially since many Blacks placed

great faith in Young's ability to influence the Carter administration's policy.

Thus, the *Times* editorial asks: "Why has Andrew Young been allowed, by black Americans, to dismiss accountability for his actions? Does an executive appointment place one above one's constituency? While he may not be an elected official, it was the mass movement of blacks in the sixties which gave him his leadership position, and it is with these that he must find credibility."

Although the various editorials, cartoons, and other commentaries have correctly pointed out Young's betrayal, none have really gone to the root of the matter.

Young—even granting him the best of intentions—had to do what he did, which is an unfortunate testimony to his political evolution.

As an activist in the civil rights movement, Young was a key aide to Martin Luther King. He saw firsthand the powerful impact of that movement and the momentous changes it brought about in the South.

But once he chose to enter politics as a Democrat, Young turned his back on his past activism to make himself acceptable to those who control that party.

Young underwent a transformation. Compromising one principle after another, he became no different from any anti-Black, antilabor Democrat or Republican.

Today he even denies his past—claiming that

John Hawkins



enlightened southern businessmen were responsible for dismantling Jim Crow, not the mass movement of Black workers and students he helped organize. And today, without flinching, he stabs the aspirations of his people in the back.

In essence, Young's veto of UN sanctions was a vote to perpetuate the misery of Blacks in South Africa.

Young's evolution is not unique. It is the pattern of many Black Democratic Party officeholders. Though they start out with an eye toward transforming the Democrats, it is always the Democrats that transform them.

Fundamentally, it cannot be otherwise. Because the Democratic Party—contrary to the image it tries to present—is owned and controlled by the very forces that profit from the exploitation and oppression of Blacks, the ruling capitalist class.

Young's betrayal underscores once again the futility of relying on the Democratic Party—whether it presents itself with a Black, white, or any other color face—to solve the plight confronting Blacks.

It points to the need for Blacks to fight independently from the Democrats and Republicans and in opposition to their policies. A good starting point would be the renewal of the mass movement in the streets that Young has turned his back on. Another good step would be extending that movement to the ballot box through independent Black political action.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



Don't bring home the bacon

Recently the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) grabbed a few headlines by announcing a possible crackdown on sodium nitrite in bacon. Bacon manufacturers were given until January 16, 1978, to prove that nitrites don't combine with other chemicals in food to form potent carcinogens called nitrosamines.

Nitrosamines have been known to cause cancer since 1956. Nitrites have been known to form nitrosamines in the stomach since 1963. Another government agency has had a panel "studying" nitrites since 1970.

No one can accuse the USDA of unseemly haste. The main function of nitrites in meat is to impart the red color the food industry has taught us means freshness. (In reality, it means nothing except that nitrites have been added.)

Nitrites also give meat and fish that "smoked" flavor. You can find nitrites in bacon, hot dogs, salami, pastrami, and every other smoked meat and fish. About 5 billion pounds of meat treated with nitrites were consumed in 1975.

Nitrites combine with a group of substances

called amines to form nitrosamines. Amines occur naturally in tea, beer, wine, cereal, and tobacco, and in more than 1,000 drugs.

Thus nitrosamines can form in your stomach if you happen to have a beer with your pastrami sandwich. Nitrosamines can even form in meat before it's eaten. It's only these preformed nitrosamines the USDA proposes to act on. Cutting down on these will present little difficulty to meat packers, who have just about done away with this particular problem on their own.

"We are right on the edge of being able to give people assurance that there won't be any nitrosamines in bacon," declared Richard Lyng, director of the American Meat Institute.

Lyng failed to mention that nitrosamines will still form in bacon *after it is cooked*. The only way to prevent that is to keep out the nitrites.

The danger of nitrites doesn't only come from their role in causing cancer.

Nitrites also interfere with some normal blood functioning, and people have died from nitrite poisoning. Small children are especially sensitive.

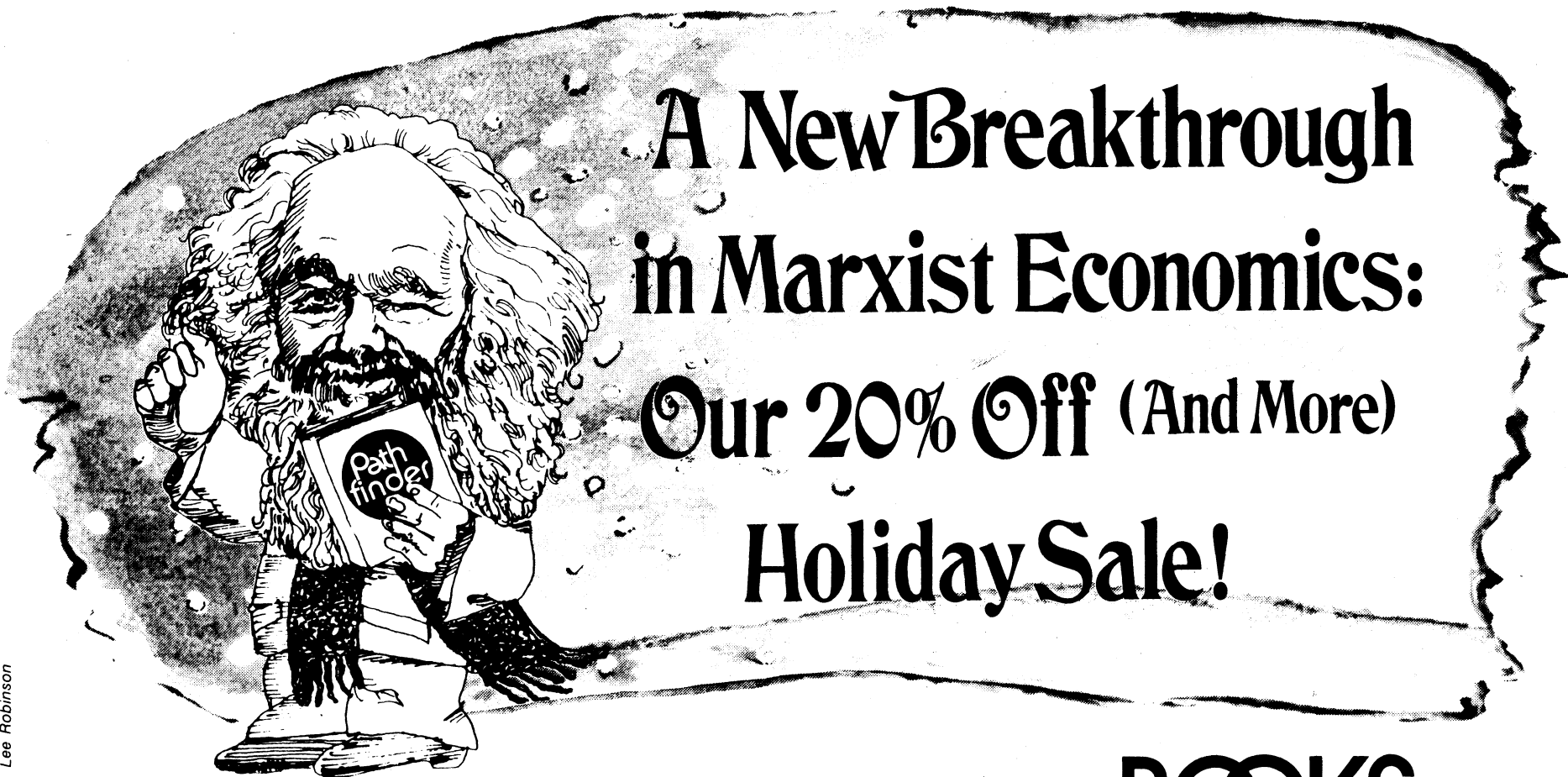
For either reason, the government should ban nitrites in food. But both the USDA and the Food and Drug Administration have made excuses for the food industry's continued use of nitrites.

For example, the meat industry claims that nitrites are necessary to prevent the growth of botulinum bacteria, which cause food poisoning. The growth of these bacteria can be prevented by heating and proper refrigeration, but the FDA has consistently given in to the industry's claim.

The way the USDA chose to move against nitrite in bacon shows its proindustry bias. Instead of putting the burden on the food industry to prove nitrites were safe fifteen years ago, the USDA waited and waited.

No regulations on the use of nitrite are expected before next summer, and even then the rules can be challenged in court.

In any case, what the USDA and FDA will probably do, if past experience is any guide, is set a maximum level of nitrosamine in meat, not ban it outright. Unfortunately, the only safe level of a carcinogen is zero.



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How right wing attacks femi

Show of strength at Schlafly rally

By Diane Wang

There's no denying it. The right-wing rally Phyllis Schlafly called to protest the National Women's Conference in Houston was huge. The crowd filled the 15,000-seat Astro Arena on November 19.

Called a "profamily" rally, its purpose was to cement the new formal alliance among those opposed to abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, and gay rights. It was to be a "first," so several feminist friends and I went to see what our foes were up to.

We arrived as the master of ceremonies was calling out the names of states represented. As each name was called, the crowd roared with excitement at its size.

Up and down went the signs: "Women's lib is the Devil's fib," "Lesbians go home—you don't speak for women," "Pro family and life," and "Stop ERA."

Most of the speeches that followed were what we had expected.

True to form

Mildred Jefferson, president of the so-called Right to Life group, lamented that denying a "right to life" to the unborn "denied the right to womanhood."

Of course, Jefferson had no words about the right to life of the Chicana

who recently died from a botched illegal abortion because Medicaid funds for safe abortions were cut off.

Then came Phyllis Schlafly, head of Stop ERA and Eagle Forum, thanking her husband for letting her speak. Schlafly recited her claims that ERA means more taxes, bureaucracy, and an attempt "to drive the homemaker out of the home." She ridiculed women who were "fulfilling themselves in coal mines, construction work, and furnaces."

Naturally, Schlafly had nothing to say about the needs of this country's

This is the second in a series of reports about the National Women's Conference held in Houston November 18-21.

30 million mothers who must work or about the 41 percent of the work force that is female.

The theme for most of the speakers was God, patriotism, and the family. Elisabeth Elliot captured the mood, "speaking for thousands of Christian women." "I stand here to make my declaration of dependence," she proclaimed.

The rally heard only a taped message from antigay bigot Anita Bryant. Perhaps the organizers feared that a live appearance by Bryant would have

whipped up the crowd into too dangerous a frenzy. Clearly, gay rights was an even more emotional topic for most of the people than abortion. Some could have gotten excited enough to go attack the "Sodom and Gomorrah" lesbians at the National Women's Conference.

'Segregation today!'

The most vicious tirade came from Clay Smothers, a Texas state representative from Dallas and the right wing's Black mouthpiece.

"It's not civil rights I desire in '77," Smothers declared. "I want to segregate myself and my family from these misfits and perverts. . . Segregation today!" The crowd thundered approval.

Next to me, however, some women were confused. "Is that a colored man up there?" asked one, unable to see the podium.

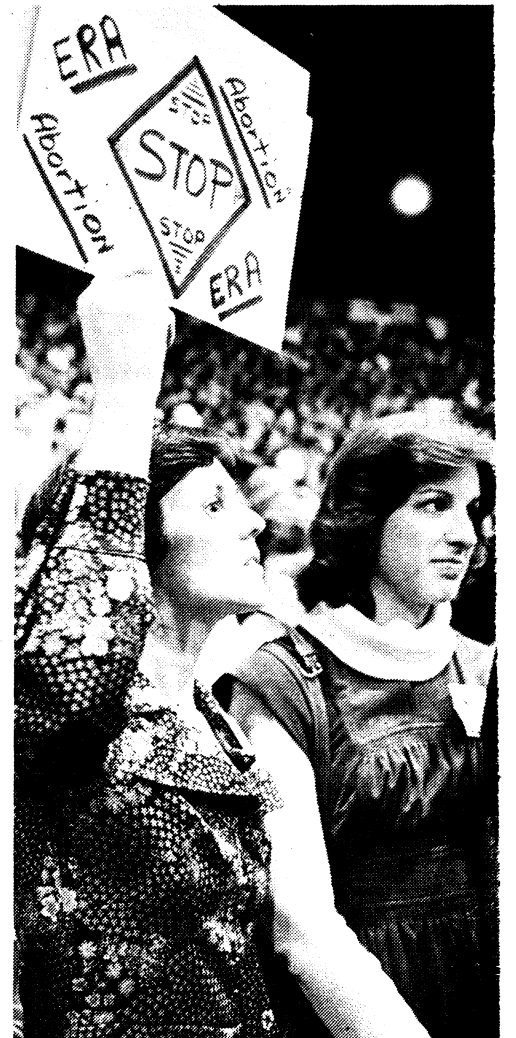
"No, he's one of us, I think," answered her friend. "He just has a dark complexion."

When Smothers ended his speech by declaring that he felt like he was in a Black Baptist church, the women near me frowned, looking shocked. But then they decided he probably meant well and joined in polite applause.

Making my way to the front of the arena and back, I found a few unpleasant surprises. As expected, most of the crowd was older. At least half were men. Judging from the dialects, signs, and badges, most came from small and isolated southern towns.

I saw only two or three Black families and wondered what they thought of Smothers's "segregation today" cry. The only anti-abortion signs in Spanish were held by nuns.

But at the same time, the crowd was not simply a caricature from the Joe McCarthy 1950s. There were young women there. Women who looked like they should be in the National Organization for Women. Women I would



AT ASTRO ARENA: Right wing claimed r

Battle of ideas on conference floor

By Shelley Kramer

Meanwhile, on the floor of the convention, the right wing seemed to sing a different tune than that we heard at the "profamily" rally.

Rumored invasions of reactionary forces never materialized. Their 200-300 delegates were rooted on by only a small, ineffectual cheering gallery. The signs they waved—"ERA is a turkey," "ERA: handmaiden to abortion"—drowned in a sea of women's rights slogans. Occasional anti-women's rights floor demonstrations—climaxed by the unfurling of a six-foot picture of a fetus after the abortion rights proposal passed—lacked the spirit displayed in the Astro Arena.

But at the convention the right wing could not continue its charade. Its delegates could not effectively pretend to speak for the thousands of women in the coliseum or the thousands of women the majority represented—working women and homemakers, Black, Latina, Asian, and white, young and old. The yellow "majority" ribbons the anti-women's rights delegates sported evoked only ridicule.

Why did the right wing fail to stage a big show at the conference itself? Why didn't they pack the observer sections, whip up large demonstrations, time a dramatic walkout, or do any of the things conference organizers predicted and feared?

One reason is that the right wing

was scared to expose its supporters to the conference's influence—its atmosphere of sisterhood, the diversity of its participants (spoiling the "libbers" stereotype), the issues discussed, and decisions made.

Fear of truth

The "profamily" appeal is based on lies and distortions. It preys upon the fears, insecurities, and guilt feelings women face in a society that forces them to be economically dependent on their husbands and that assigns them the most menial and worst-paying jobs. The right wing must shield its recruits from the truth about the women's movement, a movement that poses real solutions to the problems these same women face.

Supporters of the right wing could have seen this truth for themselves at the national women's conference. A sign of this was the fact that part of the right-wing coalition, the Mormon delegation from Utah, broke ranks on a few issues (most importantly, the minority rights resolution) as a result of its participation in discussions leading up to the state and national International Women's Year conferences.

Mobilizing inside the conference would also have unleashed some uncontrollable right-wing extremists, such as Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party members. Although they were barred from distributing their literature at the

"profamily" rally, they were hard to miss outside the conference, carrying placards such as "No Feds, Reds, Dykes, and Kikes." In one instance, these archreactionaries even physically attacked feminists attending the conference, although they were easily repelled.

"We are engaged in a battle of political philosophies," Lottie Beth Hobbs declared to the thousands attending Saturday's rally against women's rights. And that was the approach the right wing took in Houston—both in mobilizing its own supporters for a spirited rally and in intervening on the conference floor to convince others of its ideas.

Inside the conference right-wing leaders peddled a more sophisticated image, one designed to be more appealing to women attending the conference, watching it on TV, or reading about it in the press. Here was a chance to win new women to the cause—by whatever means worked.

In donning a more "liberal" attire the Schlaflyites were following the lead of their "right to life" coalition partners. The latter have had some success in sowing confusion and attracting support by dressing up their anti-abortion stand in human rights garb.

In name of feminism

Right-wing leaders even spoke in the name of their archenemy—feminism—to win new support. "A true feminist does not oppress the less powerful," argued Ann O'Donnell of the Missouri delegation in opposition to abortion rights.

Why, the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion is just like the



AT HOUSTON COLISEUM: Conference de

infamously racist Dred Scott decision of 1857, she declared. The first ruled the fetus was not a complete human being; the second doomed Blacks to subhuman status. O'Donnell didn't bother to explain why her delegation

nism

have assumed would buy the *Militant* if I met them on the street.

Sure, at the "profamily" rally there were some right-wing "kooks" with paramilitary insignia and confederate flags. But it was also clear that the

rally organizers did not aim their appeal at that mentality. Rather, they played on the real insecurities women face in this society in order to mask the fact that their program is to bolster the system that breeds these insecurities.

A sobering lesson

Phyllis Schlafly and her allies hope to win over the majority of people. And to do that they direct their appeal to the same people feminists want to win. It was a sobering lesson.

Unfortunately, the size and spirit of the "profamily rally" thrilled the young, new women there. "This is the greatest thing I've ever been to!" one woman near me exclaimed. It was her first political experience, one that in-

spired her to go home and work harder against women's rights.

What a relief it was to return to the National Women's Conference! To see all those women milling around, talking about their rights, looking at feminist literature, proudly watching women artists, listening to a plenary pass prowomen resolutions.

But there was a frustration too. We needed one event where all the women's rights supporters were together to answer the foes who gathered at the Astro Arena. Throughout the conference women were scattered at simultaneous events.

Rallying women

Every time women at the conference had a chance, they displayed their militant determination. The frequent demonstrations by observers at the

plenary, which the chair repeatedly gavelled out of order, reflected the spirit women wanted to voice.

We needed to gather all the women in at least one rally so that we too could see and feel and show the power of our numbers. So we could mobilize the support for women's rights that exists and build the self-confidence of all the women who came to the conference.

Because the lesson of Phyllis Schlafly's rally was this: the right-wingers mean business.

It's not enough to label and dismiss them as reactionaries. It's not enough to identify their network of financial backers and contacts to defeat them.

We need to win over women to whom they are appealing. And to do that we must both show our strength and answer them politically.

Speaking for majority?

Speakers at the right-wing rally boasted that they were defending views of the traditional family in the name of a silent-but-grumbling majority.

But that is not so, according to a recently released opinion poll done by the *New York Times* and CBS News.

The poll asked what kind of marriage provides a "more satisfying way of life"—the traditional marriage where the husband is sole breadwinner and the wife is homemaker, or a marriage where husband and wife share the tasks of earning money and doing housework.

Forty-three percent prefer the traditional family roles, while 48 percent prefer shared responsibilities. Among those under thirty years old only 27 percent prefer the traditional family.

Asked about couples who live together unmarried, about three-fourths of those under thirty years old believe it is "okay" or does not matter.

Similarly, when asked whether a woman should work even if her husband could support her, three-fourths of those under thirty years old say yes.

Among those aged thirty to forty-four, 57 percent answer yes.

Opinions have also changed on the question of mothers with outside jobs.

In 1970, 48 percent of those sampled said working women are worse mothers than those who spend all their time in the home. That opinion is shared by only 40 percent of those recently interviewed.

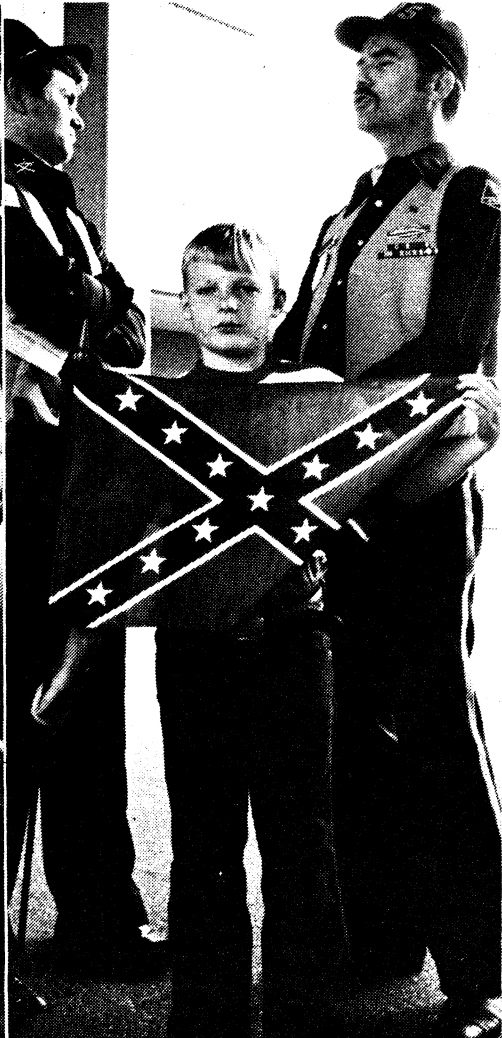
And among the employed women polled, 43 percent think working women make better mothers than women without jobs. Another 27 percent say they are just as good as mothers who stay in the home fulltime.

The changing opinion reflects a changing situation. In 1950, 18 percent of married women with children under eighteen had outside jobs. By 1975, that figure had grown to 45 percent.

As for the impact of the women's liberation movement, the poll shows only a minority consider it a "major cause of family breakdown." And the *New York Times* reports that women aged eighteen to twenty-nine are "most likely to praise" the women's movement. —D.W.



ority support for its antiwoman program.



Militant/Diane Wang



onstrated majority of women want their rights

Ellis MacBride

were tame compared to the "pervert" baiting at their own rally.

"God in heaven has never dictated to us whether we should be homosexual or heterosexual," an Oklahoma delegate conceded. Of course, she rushed to qualify this dangerous admission: "We would never advocate stoning or burning at the stake of homosexuals . . . as long as they keep their standards in private, the same as adulterers and adulteresses."

Feminists could have exposed this new soft sell of the right wing's reactionary program on the floor of the conference—in front of the thousands of TV viewers. A political response ripping through the lies and demagoguery could have reached the women confused by all this "feminist" and "human rights" rhetoric.

Instead, leaders of the caucus supporting the National Plan of Action that came out of the conference chose to do battle on parliamentary ground, leaving the political field to the opposition.

In the name of "defeating the right," these leaders discouraged discussion and debate, cautioning feminists not to demand strengthening of the weaker resolutions. This also had the effect of suppressing criticism of the Carter administration, which is actually carrying out the assault on women's rights.

Handle for right wing

As a result of this strategy, reactionaries were provided a democratic fig leaf. They were allowed to pose as the champions of free speech and open debate, a stance that could only win them undeserved sympathy.

The national women's conference registered a real gain for the women's movement by expressing the majority support that exists for equal rights. But the job of politically defeating the right wing still lies ahead. And the 15,000-strong "profamily" rally in Houston indicates this job will not be easy.

It won't be accomplished through avoiding debate or adapting to the prejudice and confusion of the right wing's present base of support. No, the tactics of evasion cannot change the minds of the women to whom the Schlaflys and Bryants are appealing.

Nor will depending on Democratic and Republican politicians to defend the women's movement. These are the same politicians who are turning the reactionaries' demands into law.

What can change the minds of those who mistakenly support the right wing is exposing their leaders, answering their questions, impressing them with the strength and power of our ideas.

This will be possible only if we mobilize the majority that supports equal rights behind a program that defends women's needs. And to do that we must explain our program—why legal abortion, child care, the Equal Rights Amendment, and gay rights are not threats to women, but demands aimed at freeing women from the economic and social inequality they suffer today.

The National Women's Conference is only a first indication of what women want. By acting upon the proposals adopted there the women's movement can assume a decisive lead in its "battle of philosophies" with the right wing.

voted against a resolution supporting human rights for Blacks earlier that very day.

In fact, no right-wing delegate spoke against the minority rights resolution, although the vast majority of them

voted against it. We were told that they supported the resolution's "goals"; they were only worried about the "price tag" for taxpayers.

Even the speeches against lesbian rights, the opposition's favorite target,

Protests defend women's rights

By Amy Husk

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—“Not the church, not the state, women must decide our fate!”

This chant and many others could be heard in the streets of downtown Louisville November 12 as more than 100 women and men marched to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and to protest attacks on abortion rights, affirmative action, and gay rights.

The afternoon march was one of the highlights of a daylong conference sponsored by the Louisville chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and attended by more than 120 people.

Kathy Colebank, president of Louisville NOW, stressed the need for an independent women's movement in her opening remarks to the conference:

“The power we have to overcome the status quo is the same power we used to demand an Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, to create more job and educational opportunities, to open up more child-care facilities.

“That power is the power of our numbers. The National Organization for Women seeks to organize our supporters again and again until the demands we raise are granted!”

The conference also heard Pam Duncan, an elected representative of the Justus Mine Women's Club, which is supporting the miners' strike in Stearns, Kentucky.

To a warm round of applause, Duncan told the meeting: “Unless we get our union, the mine won't open back up. Our men are determined, and the women are going to stand beside 'em—not behind 'em, but beside 'em.” After her talk more than sixty dollars was collected to help the strike.

Other speakers included Darlene Couch of the Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division; Peggy Pearson from the Gay and Lesbian Rights Alliance of Kentucky; and Mary Pritchard, a member of St. Louis NOW.

The conference passed a proposal to build a January 22 abortion rights demonstration called for Frankfort, Kentucky. The demonstration was initiated by Kentucky Reproductive Freedom League. A proposal to establish a Lesbian Task Force within NOW also passed.

By Leslie Craine

DETROIT—More than 200 people attended a weekend conference on women's issues held November 5-6 at Wayne County Community College. The conference, based on the theme, “I'm Entitled: Women Aware and Moving,” was organized and sponsored by three campus groups—the Women's Studies Program, the “Focus on Woman” Community Services Program, and the newly formed Women's Student Organization.

Dr. Elizabeth Hood from the Michigan Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights spoke about the threat to abortion rights posed by the Hyde amendment. “The right of the woman to control reproduction of children has a lot to do with her right to occupational choice, her right to political activity, her right to economic equality,” she said.

Linda Miller, president of the Detroit NOW chapter, spoke about affirmative action and the ERA.

A workshop on women of oppressed minorities was especially popular, drawing between forty and fifty women.

A number of students expressed interest in the Women's Student Organization. “That's what we need around here!” was a frequent comment. The conference was the first public activity sponsored by the WSO.

By Linda Malanchuk

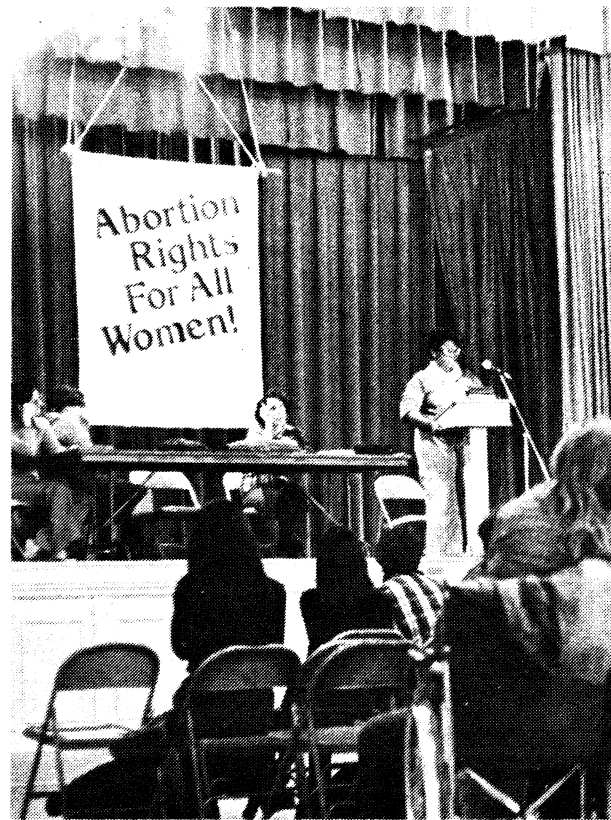
TACOMA, Wash.—“Defend women's rights—We've waited long enough,” read the biggest banner at a Speakout for Women's Rights held at Tacoma Community College November 12.

Nearly 100 people attended to hear testimony on barriers facing women today presented to a panel of tribunal judges convened for the event. The judges included Lupez Alvarez, a delegate to the National Women's Conference in Houston; Alberta Canada, chairperson of the Minority Concerns Task Force; Rita Shaw, Washington western state conveyor of NOW; and Nancy Bear from Rape Relief.

Alberta Canada presented the summary of findings at the conclusion of the speakout. She indicted the “bodies, groups, agencies, whose decisions have a universal effect . . . including the U.S. Congress, President Carter, state legislatures, Tacoma City Council, health and educational systems . . . and others” for attacks on women's rights.

By Nancy Brumback

MONTPELIER, Vt.—One hundred women demonstrated here for safe, legal abortion November 19. Called by the three Vermont chapters of NOW, the protest focused on the demand for immediate restitution of abortion funds in the state. “Give us back what was ours” was the most popular chant.



Militant/Linda Sharnberger
Louisville NOW conference voted to support statewide abortion rights rally in January.

Suicide, motherhood, madness

By Shelley Kramer

The Carter administration is having trouble keeping its own house in order. A federal panel charged with finding alternatives to abortion chose to disband after coming up with only “suicide, motherhood and . . . madness” as the options open to women facing unwanted pregnancies.

Joseph Califano, chief of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, received a memo

AS I SEE IT

conceding the panel's failure weeks ago. But after launching the “alternatives to abortion” project with great fanfare last summer, Califano deliberately suppressed the actual findings. It's not hard to see why. Abortion is “an option, uniquely, which is exercised between conception and live birth. As such, the literal alternatives to it are suicide, motherhood, and, some would add, madness,” Connie Downey, acting director of

HEW's special project planning, reported. “Consequently, there is some confusion, discomfort and cynicism greeting efforts to ‘find’ or ‘emphasize’ or ‘identify’ alternatives to abortion.”

Despite the fact that the government itself is incapable of coming up with any options for women, even on paper, it continues to drive forward its attacks on abortion rights.

In the meantime, another option not mentioned in the government report is gaining victims—murder. The death of a Chicana in Texas after a bungled abortion tragically indicates what the Hyde amendment means in human terms.

At the National Women's Conference in Houston there was some talk that well-placed female government advisors, such as Carter aide Margaret Costanza, could sway their bosses in the direction of women's rights. Costanza herself promised a “substantive” response from Carter on the plan's recommendations—which include federally funded abortions. “And to use his phrase, ‘you can depend on that,’” she said.

The fate of Carter's panel on abortion alternatives makes it clear that women must depend on ourselves to defend abortion rights.

New wave of racist attacks hits Boston

By Maceo Dixon

BOSTON—Swoosh. Bang! Two points and the Philadelphia 76ers beat the Boston Celtics 121 to 112 November 18. It was a big loss for the Celtics that Friday night. But it was an even bigger loss for two young Blacks leaving the game.

A group of seething white bigots pounced on them, beating, kicking, punching, and stabbing. When the white mob finally ended its vicious attack, a young brother lay bleeding from several stab wounds. A sister's shoulder was dislocated. There were no arrests.

This has been only one of many racist attacks that have occurred in Boston in November.

A resurgence of antibusing activity began Sunday, November 6, when the South Boston Information Center held a “family” march and rally against busing. Nearly 2,000 people participated. Louise Day Hicks—defeated two days later in her bid to retain her city council seat—State Rep. Michael Flaherty, and James Kelly of the Information Center spoke.

That same weekend, an Hispanic family from El Salvador was driven out of its home in Dorchester, a predominantly white neighborhood. White youths had tossed bricks through the windows of the family of Mrs. Gilma Santamaria. Mrs. Santamaria was hit on the head, and the family—after a week of racist epithets and harassment—was forced to flee the neighborhood.

Police say that two white youths are being sought.

During this same time the Dorchester home of a Haitian man was destroyed by rampaging white youths. No arrests have been made.

And at four o'clock Saturday morning, November 19, as Mary Cochran and her husband lay in bed, bricks and bottles came crashing through their windows. The Black family had just moved into their new home in Dorchester.

“It is just hard to turn the other cheek as they expect you to do,” said Mrs. Cochran. “When people keep doing things like this to you, what do you do? If you call the cops, all they do is just pat you on the back.” No arrests have been made.

The event that got headlines across the country was the November 14 attack by white youths on twelve Black students, their teacher, and his wife. They were visiting Boston to learn about American history, and went to the Bunker Hill National Monument in Charlestown. Charlestown is a racist stronghold. They were brutally beaten with golf clubs and hockey sticks. Several of the Blacks required hospitalization.

One of the Black youths told of the terror. Mark Washington, sixteen, said, “We just looked at those faces and their expressions. They didn't have to say anything. It was plain from the hate they had on their faces they didn't like Blacks.”

The Black teacher, Charles Battles, spoke of the city where it all began for America: “Now we know about Boston. We had studied about Boston. But when I stand in front of my class again, I can tell them something for real. Because I am a witness.”

Three whites have been arrested. On November 22 a grand jury handed down forty-two criminal charges against the three.

In spite of these racist attacks against the Black and Hispanic communities, the city is ending the patrol of state troopers at South Boston High School this week. As many as 100 state troopers had been assigned to the school but now, according to School Superintendent Marion Fahey, “We feel very secure that our people can provide the security we need.”

Interview with lesbian, gay rights leaders

How to stop Calif. antigay drive

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Anita Bryant's Miami victory last spring sparked a series of large demonstrations that prompted gay rights activists to observe, "Anita brought us together."

I may well be that the same will be said of John Briggs, the California state senator who is trying to get a proposition on the November 1978 ballot to bar homosexuals from school positions.

That certainly was the impression I got from an interview with Ivy Bottini and Morris Kight, leading figures in the lesbian and gay movements here.

In the wake of the defeat for gay rights in Miami last spring, Kight and Bottini played a key role in establishing a Human Rights Coalition here that embraces a spectrum of gay rights activists and supporters. In response to Miami it turned out 10,000 people on a few days notice for a candlelight vigil.

Now an even broader coalition is being built on a statewide level to defeat the Briggs referendum.

Drawing some lessons

Bottini and Kight are determined to draw the lessons of the Miami experience, so that the mistakes that contributed to the defeat there will not be repeated in California.

To begin with, they emphasized, the California movement will be "cosexual." They coined the word, they said, to make clear that, unlike Miami, women will play an equal role in the fight.

They are also working to involve Blacks and Latinos. Already, they said, the coalition is gaining the support of Latinos Unidos and the Alliance of Black Gays, both statewide organizations.

Bottini & Kight

Ivy Bottini is a longtime lesbian-feminist activist. She is cochairperson of the Sacramento Conference Continuities Committee, which is organizing to defeat the Briggs antigay referendum in California.

She was a founding leader of the National Organization for Women in New York in 1966. She moved to Los Angeles in 1971, where she established herself as a professional comic with a feminist viewpoint.

Morris Kight, an official of the Los Angeles Gay Community Services Center, has been a national figure in the gay liberation movement for well over a decade. Earlier, he participated in the civil rights and trade-union movements.

—H. R.



Militant/Harry Ring

The new coalition developed out of a September 24 Sacramento conference attended by 200. The gathering projected an active, visible campaign against the Briggs initiative.

Bottini and Kight say that the Sacramento conference was, in a sense, a response to a proposal by David Goodstein, publisher of *Advocate*, a nationally circulated gay newspaper.

Ultramoderate in his political approach, Goodstein proposed that the gay movement raise a huge sum of money and turn it over to an advertising agency to run the anti-Briggs campaign.

In a November 13 *Advocate* column, Goodstein wrote that "political ex-

perts" had assured him that there was but "a slim chance" of defeating the Briggs proposition.

"Our only hope," Goodstein commented, "lies in having the most professional campaign that is humanly possible. It could cost as much as 14.5 million. . . . The image we project will be critical. If we do not project a nonthreatening, very ordinary image, we will blow it."

'High profile' approach

The low-profile, leave-it-to-the-advertising agency approach was precisely the strategy that contributed to the Miami defeat. Bottini believes the low-profile approach was as big a mistake as the undue reliance on use of the media. You have to get lesbians and gay men out knocking on doors and talking to people on a one-to-one basis, she said.

Kight added: "It has to be every energized lesbian woman and gay man that we can find, plus the enormous number of nongay friends that we have, working in concert—organizing rallies, demonstrations, teach-ins, speakouts. . . . All of that has to be done, and there's every indication it's going to happen."

Taking on antigay myths

Bottini discussed a TV film recently shown here, "America's Secret Shame: Child Molestation." Contrary to all statistical evidence the film blatantly projected the idea that homosexuals are the principal source of child molestation.

"To me," Bottini said, "that was the opening shot. That's the level the antigay and antilebian forces will fight on."

"You have to confront those myths," she said.

Discussing Miami, Bottini and Kight stressed their determination not to have a repetition of the virtual exclusion of women from a meaningful role.

Mobilizing lesbians

"In Miami," Bottini said, "I believe they fell prey to the sexist idea that women aren't worth much, shouldn't be listened to, and can only do certain jobs."

"That's why I'm working with Morris," she continued. "This will be the first time in ten years I've worked with a male organization or with men in an organization."

"The women have to come in and work very closely with the men to ensure their own rights."

Kight agreed. "I think gay men have learned from our mistakes," he said. "I don't want to judge our brothers in Miami, but I think they were making the same mistake we were making and they couldn't figure out how to cure it. I honestly believe some of the men didn't want to cure it. I think they felt women would give us 'a bad name.'"

Bottini added another point. "One of the problems," she said, "is having the men understand that we want the term lesbian used. There's a particular reason for this. In the average person's mind, the word 'gay' means male. We want the term lesbian used so that the world knows there are gay women."

This question and many others will be discussed at a coalition-sponsored statewide public conference December 9-11 at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles called to mobilize the anti-Briggs forces in action.



Los Angeles gay rights demonstration, June 1977

Militant/Henry Snipper

All-white jury frees Phila. cops in brutality case

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—On April 29, 1977, William Cradle made a big mistake. After running a red light, he didn't move fast enough when cops told him to get out of his car.

So the cops pulled him out of the car and beat him. His screams brought residents of the exclusive Society Hill area to their windows and into the street.

Cops beat Black people every day in Philadelphia. But this time the police assault didn't go unnoticed.

The newspapers got wind of the beating, and it made the front pages. The cops were arrested on federal charges of violating William Cradle's civil rights.

On November 21, it took an all-white jury less than three hours to acquit the three cops, ignoring the testimony of nine eyewitnesses. The jury foreman declared he saw "no evidence of police brutality in Philadelphia."

Eight of the jurors were from rural areas miles from Philadelphia. They missed the parade of police brutality incidents that have rocked the city.

Charles Peruto, the cops' attorney, openly appealed to racist sentiment. He sought to discredit Cradle's testimony by playing down Cradle's injuries. The cops testified that Cradle went berserk and that they used only "normal force."

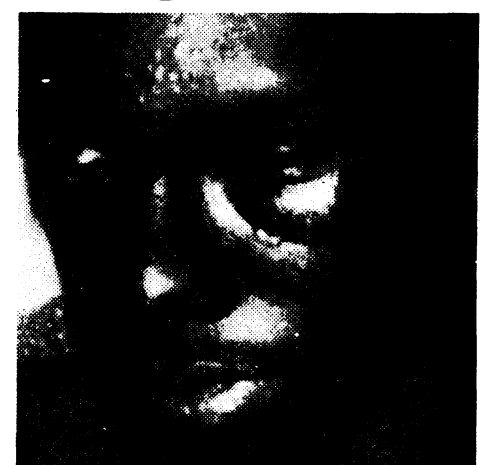
"Normal force" in Philadelphia is,

apparently, police brutality—especially when it is used, as Peruto said in his summary, against "a wild man of Borneo running through the streets."

After the verdict, Mayor Frank Rizzo, an ex-cop, praised the court system and the police, and blamed the whole affair on the media.

The anger directed at the police by media exposure of their brutality cannot be simply turned off by a jury verdict. Black, Puerto Rican, and white Philadelphians, the young and the elderly, working people and students, have all been victims of police terror.

Police brutality has come to be seen as official policy, endorsed by the mayor.



William Cradle the day after beating by Philadelphia cops.

Is Angola on the road to socialism?

In reply to 'Guardian'-Part I



Angolan President Agostinho Neto addresses mass rally

By Omari Musa

Two years ago this November the last Portuguese colonial troops withdrew from Angola. This marked an important victory for the Angolan national liberation fighters and for the revolutionary upsurge of the Portuguese masses that had exploded the previous year.

In the months that followed, as a civil war broke out among three competing Angolan liberation groups, the *Militant* waged an energetic campaign against the aggressive schemes of U.S. and South African imperialism to exploit the conflict to their own advantage.

Now, two years later, the Maoist-leaning *Guardian* newsweekly has launched a slanderous attack on the *Militant* and Socialist Workers Party, lying about and distorting their position on Angola.

The *Guardian* broadside, appearing in the paper's October 5 issue, was contained in William Gurley's column, "The Left." Gurley is indignant about an article by Ernest Harsch that appeared in the September 30 *Militant*.

Harsch reported on a seven-part series on Angola by Leon Dash published in the *Washington Post* August 7-13. The *Militant's* coverage of Dash's articles, according to Gurley, demonstrates again "the essentially counterrevolutionary nature of Trotskyism. . . ."

Not only are Dash's articles "slanderous," in Gurley's opinion, but they are also "part of an effort to discredit the People's Republic of Angola by claiming that the government does not control the country but is only a contending faction."

Gurley continues, "By regurgitating the Post's unsubstantiated claims, the *Militant* adds whatever weight it has to the forces of imperialism which are

trying to overthrow the MPLA [People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government and strangle Angola as a base for liberation movements in southern Africa."

He says the *Militant* "parrots the *Post's* articles' claims of popular support for UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] in southern Angola."

But what is the truth?

Civil War

All three Angolan liberation groups—the MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA [Angolan National Liberation Front]—had waged a long guerrilla war to kick Portuguese imperialism out of Angola. At the same time, however, they engaged in internecine factional struggles against each other.

After Portugal was forced to withdraw, the three groups fought a bloody civil war over which faction would govern Angola.

During this war the UNITA and FNLA put the Angolan independence struggle in serious danger. They collaborated with U.S. imperialism and a South African expeditionary force that fought its way hundreds of miles into the heart of Angola.

The MPLA, with the help of Cuban troops and aid from the Soviet Union, turned back the South African invasion.

The *Militant* and SWP launched a campaign to mobilize sentiment demanding: "U.S. and South Africa out of Angola!"

Vietnam was still fresh in the minds of millions of Americans. The fact that the American people, especially Black people and other oppressed nationalities, opposed U.S. intervention was an important factor in the MPLA victory over the imperialist intervention.

The *Militant* condemned the UNITA

and FNLA for their collaboration with U.S. and South African imperialism. However, their collaboration with imperialism did not make the UNITA and FNLA simple puppets of imperialism. Just as the MPLA's collaboration with Portuguese imperialism and U.S. corporations did not make it a direct imperialist tool.

Each of the three groups continued to maintain its mass support. Under these circumstances, the *Militant* called on them to put aside their factional concerns and unite to drive the South Africans out.

In contrast to the *Militant*, the *Guardian* went beyond defense of the MPLA government against U.S. and South African imperialism. It claimed—and still does—that the MPLA is leading Angola toward socialism. The *Guardian* gives total political support to the MPLA regime and heaps slander on anyone who dares criticize it.

This position goes against the interests of the Angolan masses. Let's see why.

People's Republic of Angola

The MPLA established the People's Republic of Angola on November 11, 1975.

What has been its record? Is it anti-imperialist? Is it a revolutionary socialist leadership, as the *Guardian* claims?

Two central aspects of MPLA policy have been: 1) crackdowns on its political opponents—dissident factions inside the MPLA and other groups standing to its left; and 2) the imposition of "labor discipline" on Angolan workers through speedup, strikebreaking, and the stifling of any independent working-class leadership.

The MPLA launched a big wave of repression in April 1976. Interior

Minister Nita Alves—who was himself to be arrested a year later—officially opened the campaign, calling for the arrest of all members of the MPLA's Active Revolt faction and the pro-Maoist Angola Communist Organization.

Members of the Amílcar Cabral Committees had also been arrested beginning the previous October. These arrests were carried out under the guise of a campaign against the "partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin." The group's paper was also banned.

Many long-time leaders in the struggle to liberate Angola were swept up in these political dragnets. Among them were Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, Gentil Viana, Rui Castro Lopô, and Henrique Guerra.

The regime slandered those arrested as "traitors," "racists," "divisionists," and "agents of imperialism."

A month later—in May 1976—a wave of strikes hit Luanda, the capital, and other cities, as workers in the textile and sisal industries demanded a minimum wage. Wage increases won by Angolan workers following the 1974 coup in Portugal had been wiped out by inflation. Unemployment had increased dramatically, and many food items were scarce.

The MPLA responded to the workers' demands with repression. The political police, the Angola Directorate of Information and Security (DISA), arrested scores of strikers.

The MPLA and its trade-union group, the National Union of Angolan Workers, toured factories. They used "socialist" rhetoric to cajole the workers into returning to work. Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento told them their demands were "unrealistic," and called upon the workers to make "immense sacrifices."

Those who were not convinced by this were labeled "leftists," "saboteurs," and "servants of imperial colonialism."

Repression continues

The latest wave of repression came in the wake of an abortive coup last May. Angolan President Agostinho Neto charged that the coup attempt was led by former MPLA Central Committee members Nito Alves and José van Dunem.

Neto again pulled out his club against political opponents, denouncing Alves and van Dunem for using "violence, racism, tribalism, and regionalism." He accused Alves of leading a "Black racist faction."

The *Guardian* repeated these slanders in its June 1 and 8, 1977, issues, adding a few embellishments of its own.

Yet the real political differences between the Neto and Alves factions were never allowed to publicly surface.

Neto did mention several issues during his denunciations of the coup leaders. Neto claimed Alves had accused him of being against the Soviet Union and being prowhite. Alves is also reported to have said that "only the working class could lead in the building of socialist society. . . ."

Neto responded during a speech May 21 by saying, "We cannot forget that we gained independence because we obtained aid from countries like the Soviet Union."

Neto also said he "opposed the idea that only the young Angolan proletariat should guide the revolutionary process in the country," and that "there are also white and mestiço workers and Black bourgeois."

This type of rhetoric, common among petty-bourgeois nationalists in semicolonial countries, is a code for favoring the capitalist system.

Hundreds of activists in the liberation struggle were arrested after the coup attempt. This included members of the army, women's, and youth organizations.

The regime reported that heavy fighting took place in Luanda and Malange to the east.

These latest repressive moves by the Neto faction came at a time of growing

disillusionment with the regime, especially in the slums in and around Luanda.

This restlessness is caused by the continued misery of the Angolan workers, by food shortages, and by stagnant industrial production.

It is in light of the above anti-working-class policies that other key aspects of the MPLA's economic policies can be better understood. Despite its "socialist" and "anti-imperialist" rhetoric, the MPLA regime has not begun to take the kind of steps that ultimately toppled capitalism and transformed social and economic relations in countries such as China and Cuba.

Enormous parts of the Angolan economy have not been nationalized. The majority of nationalized properties are those abandoned by their Portuguese owners.

The largest imperialist holding in Angola—Gulf Oil Cabinda—has been left virtually untouched. Another of the largest imperialist holdings is Diamang (the Diamond Company of Angola), owned by South African, British, Belgian, U.S., and Portuguese capital. The Angolan government announced in August that it "took control of" Diamang, nationalizing 850,000 shares. The council of ministers' decree said it would "fix compensation."

The decree also announced, however, that 40 percent of Diamang's assets were not nationalized. These assets are all foreign owned.

Other nationalities

The *Guardian* claims the MPLA is a "pan-Angolan" movement and brands the UNITA and FNLA as "tribalistic." The MPLA raised this charge against the FNLA all through the national independence struggle.

The truth is that except for a small layer of intellectuals, each of the three nationalist organizations had its base among one of the three main nationalities in Angola.

The MPLA is based on the Mbundu people, who predominate the north-central part of the country; the FNLA was strongest among the Bakongo people in northeast Angola; and the UNITA found its greatest support among the Ovimbundu people in central and southern Angola.

During the civil war each of the nationalist groups announced it would take reprisals against suspected supporters of its rivals.

Many among the Bakongo and Ovimbundu peoples took this to mean that the MPLA was threatening them, just as many of the Mbundu people feared the FNLA and UNITA.

As the MPLA scored victories over the FNLA forces, tens of thousands of Bakongo fled into neighboring Zaïre. They feared falling under the domination of the Mbundu.

In the South, thousands of Ovimbundu crossed the border into Namibia, seeking refuge from the MPLA and Cuban troops.

Since its victory over its rivals in the civil war, the MPLA has launched many military campaigns against the UNITA forces.

The *Militant* does not on the face of it simply accept Leon Dash's estimate that the UNITA controls southern and central Angola. However, it is clear from the level of combat and continuous reports that something more than "banditry" is involved. It is equally clear that the UNITA still receives support from Ovimbundu and other nationalities in the area.

Contrary to the MPLA's demagogic claims, there is nothing necessarily more "progressive" about identifying one's self as an Angolan rather than as an Ovimbundu or Bakongo. The forcible repression of "backward tribalism" by a government itself based on one particular nationality will do nothing to cut across national animosities.

A revolutionary policy toward the different nationalities would put forward the perspective of voluntary union, with guarantees of full rights for all nationalities. It would include the right of autonomy or secession.

Putting forward this perspective is the only way to win the confidence of all the oppressed masses of Angola. Continued terror and reprisals by one group against supporters of another increases national hostility and opens the way for further imperialist attacks on Angola.

The use and support of these methods by the MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA are thoroughly counterrevolutionary. The *Guardian* lends its support to MPLA measures of this type.

The class division in Angola is not between the MPLA and its nationalist rivals, as the *Guardian* would have us believe. It is between the Angolan workers and peasants on one side, and the developing Angolan capitalist class and its imperialist backers on the other.

This class struggle can only be led effectively by countering the policies of the procapitalist leaderships of the MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA.

The *Militant* will continue to defend the efforts of any group in Angola fighting imperialism. And we will continue to explain the need to organize around a revolutionary, anticapitalist program to achieve real independence from imperialist domination.

The *Guardian* says, "The Trotskyist analysis that lies behind the Militant article is the theory that revolutionary movements in colonial countries must strive immediately for socialism and skip the stage of national independence won by joining different strata of the population to defeat imperialism."

The *Guardian* counterposes this perspective—that is, the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution—to the Stalinist two-stage theory of revolution.

A subsequent article will take up these counterposed perspectives and their meaning for Angola today.

FBI files released, show more dirty work

By Matilde Zimmerman

The Newark FBI proposed to spray a "foul smelling" chemical on Black Panther newspapers to "disrupt distribution." J. Edgar Hoover suggested that the New York City FBI introduce "uncomfortable" odors into the cooling system of the 1966 Communist Party national convention.

It would not be surprising if a stink clings to the more than 52,000 pages of FBI files made public November 21 as well. The documents describe fifteen years of government dirty tricks against the antiwar movement, Black nationalists, Puerto Rican independence fighters, radicals, and even Mexican communists.

The heavily censored files were obtained by eight reporters through a Freedom of Information Act suit. They represent the largest single batch of FBI counterintelligence files released thus far and further reveal the scope of the FBI's targets.

Much of what was known prior to this about the FBI's Cointelpro activity was disclosed through the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance's \$40 million lawsuit against the FBI and CIA.

The FBI has claimed that its secret operations were necessary to prevent violence, but the files show that the bureau's goal was exactly the opposite.

A letter purporting to be from the Puerto Rican Independence Movement was sent to a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist League who was "known to be extremely sensitive to criticism and prone to violence," in an effort to set the two groups at each other's throats. The FBI bragged that the phony letter was "calculated to infuriate" its recipient.

While marshals of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam were trying to keep the huge antiwar demonstration at President Nixon's 1969 inauguration peaceful and orderly, FBI agents were broadcasting false and confusing information over the marshals' walkie-talkies.

The bureau even tried for two years to instigate a little war between the Mafia and the Communist Party, without any tangible results.

Cointelpro actions were often designed to paralyze organizations with internal squabbling or to prevent united action through stirring up animosity between different political groups. "Sources will be encouraged to undertake leadership roles in various factions and stimulate dissension among them," was the way a 1969 memo put it.

Cruel attempts to discourage and intimidate political activists were the FBI's stock in trade. Sexual blackmail and obscene letters were a favorite ploy. The FBI used cooperative realtors and social workers to get dissidents thrown out of their homes and to take away welfare benefits. Efforts were made to embarrass and inconvenience radicals by arresting them for technicalities. False stories were leaked to the press to discredit individuals and groups.

The FBI did not limit itself to disruption of domestic political activity. In at least one case it encroached upon the territory of the CIA by carrying out extensive Cointelpro operations against radical groups in Mexico.

The FBI's Cointelpro (counterintelligence-program) operations began in 1956 as part of the effort to disrupt the American Communist Party. By 1970, any group involved in working for social change was likely to be targeted.

Although the bureau claims that the program was ended in April 1971, Cointelpro actions against the Socialist Workers Party have been documented after that date. The Senate Intelligence Committee concluded in 1976 that it was unable to determine whether Cointelpro actions were still being carried out.

Cointelpro targets were legal political organizations. Sometimes, as in the case of the antiwar movement, they represented majority sentiment. The illegal, secret, and destructive activities described in these documents are all carried out by government agents, not by their victims. It seems safe to assume that even fouler episodes are contained in the 16,000 pages of Cointelpro files withheld completely by the FBI when the latest documents were released.

Angola

The Hidden History of Washington's War

Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas



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PEDRO CAMEJO

Militant/Harry Ring

Human rights for immigrants

Pedro Camejo's speech at national Chicano antideportation conference

Following are major excerpts from Pedro Camejo's speech to the national Chicano/Latino antideportation conference held in San Antonio, Texas, October 28-30. Some 1,500 people attended the gathering, which voted to oppose President Carter's proposed crack-down on immigrants without work or residence permits.

As the Socialist Workers Party's 1976 candidate for president of the United States, Camejo was the first Latino ever to run for that office. He is a member of the SWP National Committee and is the party's national field organizer for the southwest region.

Camejo's talk was repeatedly interrupted by applause, and the crowd gave him a standing ovation.

Other speakers at the plenary session where Camejo spoke included: Vilma Martínez, head of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Eduardo Morga, national director of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); Antonio Rodríguez, general secretary of CASA; José Angel Gutiérrez, a leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party; and Bernardo Eureste, mayor pro tem of San Antonio.

The American people are getting a little help in understanding what is involved in this issue of immigration from the Ku Klux Klan [which says it's going to help patrol the border].

The Klan is a racist organization. It's a terrorist organization. It's antilabor. It's criminal. So you have an antilabor, terrorist, racist, criminal organization that says it would love to be the INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service].

Why is the Klan doing this? Because it senses that this issue has popularity among some people. Who prepared that popularity?

It's the government's campaign, and the hysterical campaign in the media, against the undocumented worker, against the new immigrant. That's what prepared the way for the Klan to step forward and say: "We're with Jimmy! We're for the INS! We're carrying out the policies of the United States!"

Carter's plan has been proposed because there are certain changes taking place in this country that the rulers don't like.

The Latino population is growing tremendously. The rulers are nervous, because there are too many of us. They don't want us to live here. But they like to have us here to work for them at exploitation wages.

So Carter has this difficult problem—he wants us here to work and be exploited, but he doesn't want us to live here.

How do you get people to work here and not live here at the same time?

The solution is the Carter plan.

No rights

You let them work here, but you don't let them be people. Make them nonpersons. The five-year temporary resident status is nothing but the twentieth-century version of indentured servitude. That's all it is. People will come and have no rights except one: to be exploited. [Camejo refers to a key provision of the Carter plan that creates a "tempo-

rary resident" status. Under this provision millions of immigrants would be denied social services and civil rights but would be permitted to work in the United States.]

The Carter plan is a step backward, not a step forward. We're already treated as second-class citizens. Now we're going to be treated as second-class *noncitizens*. Because if you create such a population, such a layer of superexploitable people, having papers isn't going to make any difference.

Carter's whole program begins upside down. It begins by saying that the problem is the immigrants. But the problem is poverty and hunger. That's the problem. The immigrant is not the problem.

What we need is to have an immediate unconditional amnesty, to stop all the raids and harassment and deportations, and to grant full civil and human rights.

Carter's hypocrisy

Carter talks a lot about rights. The United States government signed the Helsinki Agreement. And do you know what the Helsinki Agreement says? That you have to give immigrant labor the same rights and the same opportunities as domestic labor.

Carter complains that Russia's violating the Helsinki Agreement. But he's violating it right here in San Antonio and all over the country. That's hypocrisy.

As a socialist, I believe working people anywhere in the world should be free to travel anywhere they want. Period.

Now, the labor bureaucrats in this country—who claim to speak in the name of working people—try, like Carter, to blame the immigrants for unemployment. But the problem is lack of jobs. And what the labor movement has to fight for in this country is a program to end unemployment.

How to end unemployment

We have in this country a forty-hour workweek. We've had it for decades, and during those decades labor productivity has gone up tremendously. Why can't we lower the workweek to thirty hours?

The federal government is spending roughly \$40 billion dollars a year in interest payments to the rich, welfare for the rich. Yet we have 25 million people living in poverty.

Right now they're spending \$115 billion on the war budget. Let's take that money and start a massive government-funded public-works program to build the things we need. For schools, for hospitals, for decent housing for all. This would open up millions of jobs.

Deportations solve nothing. You have two people and one job. You deport one, you still have two people and one job—they're just farther apart. If you have two people and one job, there's a solution: *two jobs*—that's the only solution.

The real problem is that the rich make money by keeping people unemployed. Production is based on private profit, not human needs.

Look at Cuba. When the United States ran Cuba, Cuba had 30 percent unemployment, roughly the same as Mexico today. Then they changed the system and started producing for human needs, not profits. And they had a shortage of labor.

We can have full employment tomorrow in Mexico or the United States. But the labor movement has to fight for a shorter workweek, for mass public-works

programs, for a society that puts human needs first, not profits.

We've been insulted today by Carter. He presents a program, yet he can't get a single Chicano, Latino, or *mexicano* organization in this country to endorse it. He can't get a single major leader to endorse it except one man [Immigration Commissioner Leonel Castillo]. And he's paid \$50,000 a year to do it.

We've been insulted by this government. We asked Castillo to send a representative to this conference. They told us they had no one available. The entire United States government cannot find one person to come before the *mexicano* and Chicano community to explain what they're going to do to us.

Castillo's confession

That's a confession. Castillo has made a confession today by not being present—that he is scared of his own people now, that he doesn't represent us, that he represents Carter and people who are making a racist campaign against us.

Now Castillo can take a step and join us. All he's got to do is quit his job and say, "I'm not going to be a cop against my own people."

We don't need more police. That's what this program's all about, 2,000 more border guards. Instead of taking millions for more border guards, why don't they use those millions to give jobs to people who are hungry?

We need to reach out to not only our people, Chicanos and Latinos. We have to reach out to the labor movement, the women's movement, the Black movement.

Blacks and borders

Black people used to have a border—the Mason-Dixon line. They used to escape across that border from oppression, from hunger, from slavery. And then the government would chase them down and throw them back across—a pre-Civil War INS. Blacks can understand what role borders play. We can win our Black brothers and sisters.

But to do that we have to be united. I think it's a beautiful thing that's happening here. I'm speaking. So is LULAC, an organization I have disagreements with. We can disagree. But we can also sit down and talk to each other. Because when they come to deport us, we're all in the same boat.

So we have to learn to talk to each other. We have to learn to unite where we have agreement. And I have agreement with LULAC on many things. And with the GI Forum, and with the Raza Unida Party.

We have to learn how not to be afraid of each other. The enemy is not here. We have to learn how to work together, and we must learn how to act together. When we leave here, it isn't simply to have a private coffee chat with a congressman. We need to be visible, in the streets, what we did in the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Because the rulers respond when they see we are winning people.

Today the issue of immigration, the undocumented worker, is coming to the fore. As this issue gets hotter, we have to unite and be visible, to begin reaching out and educating people.

We need to sit down and find points of agreement and then put everything else aside and go into action together, so we can be effective in winning our freedom.

U.S., Mexican protests hit deportations

By José G. Pérez

Protests were held in more than a dozen U.S. and Mexican cities the week before Thanksgiving to demand immediate, unconditional amnesty for undocumented immigrants.

Most of these activities were sponsored by groups that had helped organize the National Chicano/Latino Conference held in San Antonio October 28-30. That conference adopted a resolution calling for local actions November 18-20 to protest President Carter's proposals for a crackdown on immigrants.

Some of the most significant protests were jointly organized by U.S. and Mexican activists.

Some 250 people in Tijuana, Mexico, took part in a November 19 rally and march to the U.S.-Mexican border. Participants came from several southern California and northern Baja California cities.

The previous evening 200 *mexicanos* attended a rally in Ensenada, a city about sixty-five miles south of Tijuana.

One especially important aspect of the Tijuana protest was the support it received from Los Angeles-area labor officials, including Miguel Machuca, an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; George Lain, secretary of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; David Crippen, executive director of Social Service Employees International Union Local 535; and Trinidad Flores, president of the Mexican American Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

A statement by Flores distributed at a November 17 news conference in Los Angeles said, "The Carter plan is being used to make the undocumented worker the scapegoat [for unemployment], instead of putting the blame on the big companies where it belongs. I fully support the national days of protest on Nov. 18-20 called by the Chicano/Latino San Antonio Conference against the Carter plan."

Another joint U.S.-Mexico protest took place in the Mexican section of Nogales, a town literally split down the middle by the Arizona-Mexico border. The protest was sponsored by the Comité de Ambos Nogales por los Derechos Humanos (Both Nogales



Houston pickets demand unconditional amnesty for undocumented immigrants

Militant/Diane Wang

Committee for Human Rights). Among the participants were activists from the Tucson and Phoenix Call for Action committees.

Some 150 people picketed outside the International Women's Year convention in Houston, Texas, November 19, as Rosalyn Carter brought her husband's greetings to delegates inside.

At a brief rally following the picket line, Texas Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez explained that the protesters supported women's rights. He called on the women's conference to take up the problems of women who are undocumented immigrants.

The following day Houston activists picketed outside a hotel where Immigration Commissioner Leonel Castillo was receiving an award as the "Outstanding Mexican-American in Government."

In New York City, 150 people took part in a protest sponsored by the

Committee for the Defense of Immigrants, a coalition that includes many Latino social, cultural, and political groups.

In Miami 150 people attended a November 19 protest funeral for Clovis Joseph, a Haitian refugee who died on a boat en route to the United States. Haitian community leaders spoke about the plight of the 2,700 Haitians now seeking political asylum in the south Florida area. They placed responsibility for Joseph's death squarely where it belongs—on the hated dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier and the U.S. government, which supports the Haitian despot.

Earlier that day the Coalition for Human Rights for Haitian Refugees sponsored a march in downtown Miami.

A picket line was held at the INS offices in San Francisco November 18 under the auspices of the Mission

Raza Contra la Migra Committee. Similar protests in front of INS offices or federal buildings took place in San Diego, Milwaukee, Dallas, Albuquerque, and Phoenix.

In Seattle, antideportation activists sponsored a November 22 forum at the University of Washington. Speakers included Father José García, of the Blessed Sacrament Catholic Church; Gabriel Morales, representing the Chicano student organization at Chief South High School; Roberto Maestas, of El Centro de la Raza; Juan Soliz, an attorney with the Evergreen Legal Services; Ali Shokri, an Iranian fighting for political asylum in the United States; and Kate Daher, of the University of Washington Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR).

In Atlanta, SCAR sponsored two activities: a forum reporting on the San Antonio conference and a picket line in front of the federal building.

Texas court denies public education to 'aliens'

By Bruce Kimball

SAN ANTONIO—A Texas state court has ruled that for some children free public education "is not a fundamental constitutional right."

"The fact that a child leaves his country and covertly enters the state without complying with immigration laws should not somehow create a state responsibility to provide him with a free education," wrote Associate

Bruce Kimball is a teacher and a faculty representative of the Harlandale Teachers Association in San Antonio.

Justice Bob Shannon of the three-member Third Texas Court of Civil Appeals. The unanimous decision was handed down November 16.

The suit that led to the ruling began in 1974 as a challenge to a Houston Independent School District decision to charge ninety dollars a month tuition to children of undocumented immigrants. Filed on behalf of thirteen children, the suit charged they had been barred from school because their parents could provide neither documentation of citizenship or legal residence, nor the money for tuition.

It is unclear whether the ruling applies only to students who are themselves undocumented immigrants, or to all children of undocumented immigrants, including those born in the

United States.

Either way, tens of thousands of children in Texas are immediately affected by the decision. Houston school superintendent Billy Reagan estimated that there are 7,000 to 9,000 "illegal alien" children in that city. An official of one San Antonio school district said they have refused admittance to at least 1,000 children in the past six months because the children could not produce required documentation.

The implications of the ruling are wide-ranging and ominous.

First, it reinforces the status of undocumented immigrants as a super-oppressed layer that has only one right: the right to be exploited.

Second, it authorizes each school to operate as a branch office of the immigration cops. This could lead to witch-hunts in each classroom, with teachers looking for "illegal" seven- and nine-year-olds.

Third, it will lead to stepped-up harassment of all Chicanos and *mexicanos*, regardless of citizenship status.

Fourth, it strikes a direct blow to the right of universal public education, that was won in the late 1800s through struggles by workers and farmers, especially Blacks. Leaving aside how few undocumented immigrants can afford tuition, none can afford to turn themselves in to authorities, since this would lead to deportation. Underlying

the entire decision is the reactionary idea that each family should pay for the cost of educating its children.

Fifth, the court's opinion introduces dangerous new legal weapons to be used against immigrants. "The child should have no greater right to a free education due to his unlawful presence than those rights he would have had if he had not come to this country," the court said. With this reasoning, it could be argued the U.S. government should be allowed to torture immigrants, since torture is common in many Latin American countries.

Sixth, the ruling provides arguments

that can be used to attack special programs designed to give Blacks, Chicanos, and other minorities an equal education. The court justified tuition by stating, "there is limited revenue available for educational purposes" and "the testimony was that it is more expensive to educate these children than other children."

An appeal to the state supreme court is expected in the case. But because of its immediate effect on tens of thousands of children and because of its broader implications, it is necessary to sound the alarm about this ruling now.

Teachers: 'schooling for all'

By Justa García

SAN ANTONIO—On November 10 teachers from this area approved a resolution supporting the right of all children to a free, public education regardless of citizenship or immigration status.

A convention of District XX of the Texas State Teachers Association, which includes San Antonio and such border cities as Eagle Pass and Del Rio, voted 198-197 to approve the motion, which was presented by Harlandale delegates Bruce Kimball and Dixie Yarbrough. District Pres-

ident Gerald Sharp cast the tie-breaking vote.

Last March a TSTA convention voted to support anti-'alien' measures in education. District XX is the first district to oppose this position, and the issue is expected to come up again at the TSTA convention scheduled for early 1978.

The TSTA is the largest state affiliate of the National Education Association. The 1977 NEA convention voted to oppose any law "that has the effect of denying a free public education to children of immigrants without visas."

Antistrike legislation

Do teachers need 'balance' or repeal?

By Lynn Henderson

It was the longest teachers' strike in New York State history—forty-one days.

When it ended last month the Lakeland Federation of Teachers (LFT) was forced to accept a contract with a mere 13 percent wage increase over three years.

The settlement was just 1 percent more than the school board's offer and 7 percent below the modest increase the union had sought. It means a steady decline in purchasing power for the Lakeland teachers, since wages will not even keep pace with inflation.

But the most disquieting feature of the strike was the ruthless and effective use of New York State's strikebreaking Taylor Law—first to bludgeon the teachers into submission, then to make a humbling example of them with its crushing penalties.

The small (450-member) local was fined \$92,500. If the fine is not paid in thirty days the local loses all dues checkoff rights. There's \$190 in the local's treasury.

Eight teachers were arrested and thrown into the county jail for exercising their right not to work without a union contract. Six union officers were sentenced to thirty days each, the other two teachers to fifteen days. All eight must pay \$250 fines.

Every striking teacher in the Lakeland School District was fined two days' pay for each day on strike.

One teacher, Bill Keating, said that the strike was really only "half over" with the settlement. The "two for one" Taylor Law penalties mean teachers will be working without pay for two months until the fines are paid. "That's going to be the hardest part, and I just hope we have the emotional strength to handle it," he said.

Taylor Law

The Taylor Law was passed in 1967. It declares all strikes of public employees illegal and specifies vindictive penalties to be imposed on strikers.

The LFT is an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). AFT President Albert Shanker was moved to comment on the Lakeland teachers' plight and the Taylor Law in his union-paid column in the October 30 *New York Times*.

Teachers might expect their union president to demand the immediate repeal of the Taylor Law as a usurper of fundamental employee rights.

But no—Shanker explains that "aspects of the law were a step forward for public employees."

It granted them "exclusive representation by a union of their own choice" and, as Shanker describes in detail, "mandated procedures for bargaining."

"First there is a period during which the public employer and the union negotiate and try to resolve their differences. If these negotiations fail to bring about agreement, the State Public Employment Relations Board (PERB) appoints a mediator to try to bring the two sides together. In the overwhelming majority of cases this works. But if it fails, PERB appoints a fact-finder to recommend a settlement to the parties and finally to make the



ALBERT SHANKER: Finds 'a step forward for public employees' in union-busting Taylor Law.

terms of the recommendation public."

The LFT faithfully followed the Taylor Law's scenario. When their contract ran out in July 1976 they even extended it for a year with no salary increase while negotiations continued.

When the school board ignored the recommendations of the PERB fact-finder, the LFT went beyond the demands of the Taylor Law and offered to submit the dispute to binding arbitration.

Shanker decries the school board's intransigence and its open bid to destroy the union. It flaunts the spirit of the Taylor Law, he says.

"Dr. Taylor [the law's author] believed," Shanker claims, "... that school boards and other public employers would be forced by the weight of public opinion to accept [the fact-finders'] impartial recommendations."

In truth, the school board had a more accurate appreciation of the Taylor Law's "spirit" than Albert Shanker.

It just hung tough and relied on the Taylor Law's grinding penalties to smash the "illegally" striking teachers.

'Balance the power'?

Shanker concludes: "The Taylor Law should be revised to balance the power on each side of the bargaining table."

The essence of the Taylor Law—its outlawing of public employee strikes—goes unchallenged by Shanker.

He is also silent on just what revisions of the law

would "balance the power" between employers and employees.

He seems to imply that employers who refuse to "negotiate in good faith" should also be subject to the Taylor Law penalties—that courts, judges, and government boards should jail and fine them.

Perhaps Shanker is reluctant to spell this out because he doubts AFT members will be gullible enough to expect that the courts and government will hold it illegal for employers to deny wage increases to public employees.

Recent events testify to just the opposite.

In New York City the government and the Emergency Financial Control Board declared contracts with public employee unions illegal because they granted wage increases.

Reliance on government

But Shanker is fervently wedded to the belief that unionism is best promoted by reliance on the courts, the government, and Democratic and Republican politicians.

This is what enables him to imagine a "good side" to the monstrous Taylor Law. For him it represents the sort of accommodation that "responsible" unionism is based on.

In Shanker's eyes, the Taylor Law guarantees union recognition.

But union recognition is not the gift of law or employer. It is the unavoidable acknowledgement of the real collective power of an active and organized membership.

Union recognition based on anything else is illusory and fleeting. Many teachers are now learning this lesson firsthand.

As the economic crisis deepens and the attacks on organized labor escalate, the response not only of Shanker but of the entire top union officialdom is to turn more and more away from mobilizing the union ranks and toward relying on the courts and capitalist-party politicians.

By integrating the unions ever closer into the legal and political apparatus of the government, the labor bureaucrats seek relief from the heat of an intensifying class struggle.

This is the source of Shanker's support for the Taylor Law. It also explains his seemingly bizarre proposal a year ago that New York City teachers surrender collective bargaining rights for the duration of the budget crisis. Instead of bargaining, Shanker proposed that a government tripartite board be established "to take care of inequities."

This search for protection for labor inside the Democratic and Republican parties is in vain—these parties are owned and controlled by the rich.

Rather than holding back the employer attacks on labor, the course followed by Shanker and the rest of the union bureaucracy only weakens the unions.

Carried to its logical conclusion, Shanker's road means nothing less than the liquidation of the trade unions as organs of the working class.

It means the transformation of the unions into secondary instruments of the capitalist class for subduing and disciplining members in the mounting drive to cut workers' standard of living and suppress their rights.

Ohio teacher, fired for strike role, regains job

By Dean Athans

CINCINNATI—The Cincinnati Federation of Teachers (CFT) announced last month that teachers Jerome Tuggle and Charles Mitts had won reinstatement in the city school system.

Mitts and Tuggle were among seven teachers suspended for union activities during a nineteen-day strike last April and May.

CFT President Roger Stephens called the reinstatements a major victory. Six of the seven teachers suspended by the board of education have now been reinstated. The remaining teacher's case is due to be decided shortly.

In reinstating the CFT members the arbitrator granted full back pay to all except Mitts, who was found guilty of "misconduct."

Stephens said that although the arbitrator's award was unjust, it was still a victory, since the board had especially wanted Mitts fired.

"The reason the board wanted me fired," said Mitts, "is because I'm an active union builder and a socialist."

In 1974 Mitts ran for Congress in the First Congressional District as a Socialist Workers Party candidate.

Mitts played a leading role in the strike. He organized the strikers at the school where he taught and

frequently led car caravans of pickets to bolster picket lines at other schools. He was struck twice on the picket line by scab-driven cars.

The legal brief for the school board complained that Mitts was completely "unremorseful" about his strike activities.

As a result of his alleged "misconduct," Mitts had to attend an administrative conference before returning to work.

CFT President Stephens pointed out that the administrators' attitude confirmed that the board was discriminating against Mitts because of his socialist politics.

Roger Effrin, the principal of the school where Mitts has been assigned to teach, noted that Mitts was wearing a "Capitalism Fools Things Up" button. Effrin said he didn't want Mitts wearing such buttons on the job.

Stephens replied that if the administration tried to order Mitts not to wear political buttons, the union would not only give him legal support but within a week "a thousand teachers" would be wearing buttons.

Flustered, the administrators left the conference to "caucus." When they returned they had decided to back down.

Teachers' opposition to 'Bakke' grows

By Lynn Henderson

"People call the remedies for past racial discrimination 'preferential treatment for Black people.' You're damn right, we're entitled to some preferential treatment. Because white people have been getting preferential treatment for over 400 years."

The speaker was Raymond Burroughs of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision. He was participating in a panel discussion November 18 in New York City on "Defending Affirmative Action—Reverse the Bakke Decision!"

The Bakke decision, handed down by the California State Supreme Court, declared the affirmative-action program at the University of California

medical school at Davis unconstitutional. The program had set aside a quota of 16 out of 100 medical school openings for "disadvantaged" applicants.

The case is now before the U.S. Supreme Court. If upheld, it could lay the basis for wiping out affirmative-action programs across the country.

The Bakke decision has become a nationwide dividing line between those who support an end to discrimination against women and oppressed minorities in hiring and admission practices and those who wish to maintain discrimination.

One of the most prominent defenders of the racist Bakke decision is Albert Shanker, president of the American

Federation of Teachers (AFT). Under Shanker's leadership, the AFT has filed a "friend of the court" brief in support of Bakke.

Shanker claims to support affirmative-action programs, but he opposed all goals and quotas to implement these programs. He says quotas are "reverse discrimination" against whites.

Burroughs dealt specifically with this objection to quotas.

"Quotas have always been used," he said. "How? The quota for Black people and racial minorities was 0, therefore the quota for whites was 100 percent."

Dee Alpert, the national employment compliance coordinator of the National Organization for Women, also commented on quotas.

"The only time," Alpert said, "that institutions began rebelling against affirmative action is not when they had to issue a policy statement . . . What they got up tight about was when the federal government said: 'We want numbers, and we are going to hold you accountable.'"

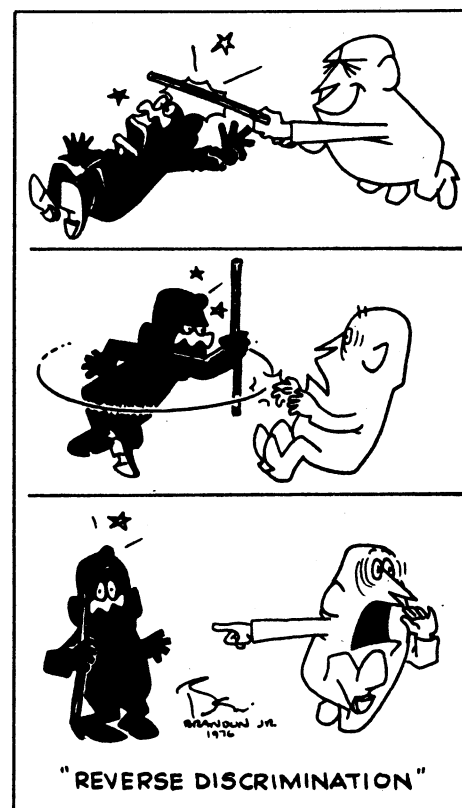
The final speaker was Judy Kleinberg from the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education. The desegregation caucus and Village-Chelsea NAACP cosponsored the meeting.

Along with the AFT Black Caucus, the desegregation caucus has played the leading role in mobilizing opposition within the AFT to Shanker's support of Bakke.

"A correct position on Bakke," Kleinberg explained, "is vital to the growth and very life of a teachers union."

"Attacks on minorities are the first step in a broader campaign aimed at the unions and all working people."

"In the AFT," Kleinberg concluded, "we need to build a movement that will change Shanker's racist policies—policies that have divided us from our allies."



"The revitalization of the Black Caucus and the formation of the Desegregation and Equality in Education Caucus are steps in the right direction."

Opposition within the AFT to Shanker's policies has grown significantly since he put the union on record with his friend-of-the-court brief.

Before the convention, the California Federation of Teachers formally adopted a resolution in opposition to Shanker's Bakke stance and filed a friend-of-the-court brief against Bakke.

Since the convention, this opposition has increased. The Washington Teachers Union, Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, Colorado Federation of Teachers, and Wisconsin Federation of Teachers have all adopted motions supporting affirmative action and denouncing the Bakke decision.

The silenced majority?

At the AFT's August national convention in Boston, 27 percent of the 2,500 delegates voted to oppose Shanker's support for the Bakke decision. This vote represented the first challenge in many years to Shanker's iron rule over the union.

But the breakdown of the actual vote—which only became available recently—shows that opposition to Shanker on this question was even larger than the overall total indicated.

Except for his stranglehold over New York City's Local 2, Shanker's position lost or barely carried in every other major urban AFT local.

Delegates from Chicago (the second largest AFT local) voted sixty-three to forty-seven against Shanker's support of the Bakke decision. Detroit's delegates voted forty-two to twelve against it, Los Angeles twenty-one to twelve against, and all twelve delegates from St. Louis opposed it.

Cleveland's delegation narrowly supported Shanker 14 to 17, and among delegates from Philadelphia (which has the reputation of being a strong Shanker local, 41 out of 106 delegates voted against Shanker.

Shanker imposes the notorious "unit rule" to suppress dissent within the AFT and maintain his control. Under this procedure, a minority in New York's Local 2—even if it were to receive 49 percent of the vote—has no representation among the local's nearly 500 delegates.

Then at the convention, Shanker imposed the "unit rule" voting system within the New York delegation, forcing it to vote as a block. At the Boston convention, all 481 of Local 2's votes were cast in support of Shanker's position on Bakke.

This block vote from Local 2, and similar control over the New York State delegations, gives Shanker a phony and virtually automatic majority at conventions. —L. H.

Arizona steel union leader:

'Foreign workers not to blame for layoffs'

The following interview with Frank Salas was obtained by Eloise Linger. Salas is president of the 1,500-member United Steelworkers of America Local 937 in Oracle, Arizona. Local 937 is one of the largest union locals in the state. Salas was the statewide organizer for the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign during last February's USWA elections.



FRANK SALAS

Question. How many workers have been laid off by the copper industry in Arizona?

Answer. There are between 6,000 and 8,000 laid off in the past month, with the complete shutdown of the Cyprus, Heckler, Pima, and Silverbell mines. Some of the layoffs may be temporary, but all we get are rumors.

Q. What do you think of the companies' excuses for having shut down the mines?

A. Some companies are saying that it's the lower prices of foreign copper causing this situation. But the same companies that talk so much about foreign copper are themselves the ones who own a lot of the foreign copper.

In one of our leaflets we said, "Who gets hurt? We get hurt because we lose our jobs, and the foreign worker gets hurt because he's being exploited with cheap wages."

Q. What have your local and the international union been doing to help those laid off?

A. First of all, our local has helped set up a Pima County office to help with the unemployment assistance program. We've put out some leaflets on how to collect the benefits and, as I mentioned earlier, tried to explain our view that the companies, not the for-

foreign workers, are to blame.

Then we met in Washington about what should be done about the copper industry. Our international representatives were there to discuss tariffs on imported copper, government stockpiling, the Trade Readjustment Act to help the unemployed copper workers.

Our international filed an application for benefits under the Trade Readjustment Act on behalf of all the local unions in this depressed area. The act itself would entitle the unemployed to 70 percent of their weekly wages.

Q. You were in Washington at the same time other USWA locals were there from Ohio and Illinois, weren't you?

A. Yes, we were there for a different kind of meeting (on copper) and we didn't know that these people from all these other locals would be there.

I talked to one of the leaders from a Chicago union, and he was telling me how they were shutting down steel mills as a way to get out of cleaning up the air, claiming they "can't afford to clean up."

That is just an excuse to move the steel industry into the South, where it will take another ten or twenty years for the new workers to get organized and up to being able to get decent wages and working conditions. The concept of unions in the South isn't exactly accepted.

Q. What do you think of the campaign in steel, copper, and the other areas to blame foreign imports for the downturn in the economy?

A. Well, I think there has to be a very deep investigation of this whole thing so we can uncover what is contrived and what isn't. All of us depend right now on what the supposed "experts" are saying.

We need to have more of the companies' facts and figures to really get at the truth. I don't know what the research will show.

Q. What is your view of the interest of the labor movement in supporting the undocumented workers?

A. I cannot speak for our international, but my own personal view is that we should organize anybody who works in this country—whether they are undocumented or not would be secondary.

Personally, I don't believe that these people who come across the border to find jobs are really taking anybody's job away.

I have to speak from my own experience in the mines: as far as I know, the company has a policy of not hiring undocumented workers. And the experience I've had in the past as a farm worker showed me that these people take the most difficult jobs at the lowest pay.

PROFIT DRIVE IN COAL

Behind attack on United Mine Workers

By Dick Roberts

The coal industry is out for blood.

In negotiations with the United Mine Workers union, the companies have laid out a series of demands that appear certain to provoke a nationwide strike:

- Strict penalties for wildcat strikes.
- Rollback of the authority of mine safety committees.
- A free hand to increase productivity and schedule continuous operation of the mines.

Barron's, a Wall Street magazine, wrote November 7 that "so far as the mine operators are concerned, this is finally the year to tell the union: 'Strike and be damned.'"

The giant corporations that own and control the industry dream of turning their coal mines into gold mines of profit. But this dream is running into a number of obstacles. Not least of these obstacles is a militant union rank and file, who are fighting for their very lives against the coal production speedup drive that figures so prominently in the coal bosses' plans.

Energy crisis

In 1973 the U.S.-controlled petroleum trust quadrupled world oil prices. That was a time when the owners of coal thought the path to heaven on earth had finally opened. Higher prices for oil meant that the price of steam coal, used by the utilities to produce electrical energy, would inevitably rise. More and more utilities would be forced to turn away from oil to coal. Meanwhile the coal bosses could drastically increase coal prices.

Look at the profit columns of Westmoreland Coal, one of the nation's biggest companies, operating mainly out of Virginia and West Virginia. The figures show the earnings per share of common stock in the company:

197165
197275
197369
1974	\$5.30
1975	\$8.22

The prices of Westmoreland's stock on Wall Street ran up from \$7.75 a share in 1973 to a high of \$65.375 a share in 1976—a nearly tenfold increase in the wealth of the owners of this coal mine company.

It was in this period too that the oil trust redoubled its efforts to buy up the coal industry. Here's the situation today:

- The second-largest coal company, Consolidation Coal, is owned by Continental Oil.
- The fourth-largest coal company, Island Creek Coal, is owned by Occidental Petroleum.
- Arch Mineral, the eighth-largest coal company, is jointly owned by Ashland Oil (48.9 percent) and Hunt Oil (48.9 percent).
- Old Ben Coal, the twelfth-largest, is owned by Standard Oil of Ohio.

Business Week calculates that "some 20% of total production and 30% of steam-coal production come from oil-owned companies." The newsletter *Coal Patrol* calculates that in the next eight years more than 50 percent of the new non-utility-owned coal will come from subsidiaries of the oil trust.

The immense profits that might be available in the coal mines make coal conversion a central part of the Carter administration's energy plans. Provided they can keep up oil and natural gas prices—

and this is Carter's main aim—coal prices will also rise. And it is a double-barreled proposition, as *Coal Patrol* editor Thomas Woodruff explains:

"Utilities that may wish to switch to coal will have to negotiate new coal-supply contracts with the very companies that will be losing their oil markets in the same transactions." The oil companies will consequently have a big stake in higher coal prices and profits.

But the stepped-up production of coal that began in 1974 is bogged down today. And the enormous conversion to coal on the scale President Carter called for in his energy plan is simply not underway. The reasons for this are interrelated.

Economic crisis

Most fundamental is the deepgoing crisis of the capitalist economy itself. The owners of industry are refusing to undertake massive investments to build the new plants and machinery that would process coal instead of oil as their energy sources. The profit outlook is too uncertain, in the capitalists' view.

In addition, the general lag in capital spending inevitably affects coal. For example, *metallurgical* coal is one of the main raw materials consumed in steel production. As the U.S. steel industry has fallen into one of its worst crises in history—closing down plants across the country and laying off thousands of steelworkers—sales of metallurgical coal have slumped, and so have coal profits.

From its \$8.82 earnings per share in 1975, Westmoreland's earnings slumped to an estimated \$1.65 in 1977. And with these figures in their heads, we can be sure, the owners of this company don't feel quite so immune to the effect of a strike as *Barron's* pretends.

The steel industry itself has a big direct stake in coal production. U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel, the biggest and second-biggest steel firms in this country, are also the sixth- and seventh-largest coal

producers in the United States. It is certain that the steel bosses will stop at nothing to drive up coal production with no regard whatever to the health and lives of the miners.

Productivity drive

This is the heart of the matter. To get that gold once again flowing out of the coal mines the capitalists want to break the back of mine safety regulations and to break the back of any union that is going to defend mine worker safety.

That also means putting an end to the wildcat strikes to which the miners frequently resort to defend themselves.

The dreams the capitalists have were indicated by the figures for a company that *Business Week* singled out as the ultimate model in future coal production.

"For sustained profitability," *Business Week* said, "the place to look is the nonunion mines. MAPCO Inc., which one analyst expects to mine 4.5 million tons of coal this year and to double that by 1980, produces an incredible 40 tons per man per day from an underground mine in western Kentucky."

To get an idea of just how "incredible" that is, the national average for coal productivity is nine tons per worker per day. They're talking about a nearly 500 percent increase in production per worker!

The contempt for human life doesn't stop there. Listen to a coal executive cited by *Business Week* argue that miners don't even need the safety regulations they presently have:

Ralph Bailey, chairman of Consolidation Coal (the second-biggest coal outfit in the country) declared: "Our studies show that only 15% of the accidents in mines are attributable to the elements covered by the [Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act]." *Business Week* continues, "The real causes, he claims, are lack of motivation, carelessness, and human error."

According to the November 3 *Charleston Gazette*, although coal mine production in West Virginia has declined this year, the number of West Virginia coal miners who died in mine accidents rose to twenty-two, compared to twenty-one last year.

Environment

Environmental legislation is also a key issue in the confrontation between the energy trust and the coal miners. The owners want to eliminate U.S. environmental protection laws that stand in their way. And they want to blackmail workers into supporting their antienvironment campaign.

One law at the top of their list is the Clean Air Act of 1977. Although its effective date has now been delayed until March 1978, the act's clean-air standards might hinder conversion of utilities and other companies from oil to coal consumption. This same Clean Air Act is also a target of the steel trust.

What the companies' attack boils down to is despoilation of the earth and even more human lives lost in the mines in order to get coal production running on a massive and lucrative scale for the rulers of this country.

They are going to have stiff opposition from the mine workers themselves, who have a proud history of struggle. But it should be obvious we all have a stake in this battle.

Aiding the coal miners on strike ought to be a top priority for every working person in this country.

Company and [owners]	1976 production, millions of tons
Peabody Coal [*]	70.5
Consolidated Coal [Continental Oil]	55.9
Amax Coal	23.1
Island Creek Coal [Occidental Petroleum]	17.6
Pittston	17.1
U.S. Steel	16.0
Bethlehem Steel	14.0
Arch Mineral [Ashland Oil, 48.9%; Hunt Oil, 48.9%]	13.6
Pacific Power & Light	12.1
North American Coal	10.7
American Electric Power	10.5
Old Ben Coal [Standard Oil (Ohio)]	9.5
Western Energy [Montana Power]	9.3
Westmoreland Coal	8.1
Peter Kiewit Sons	8.0

*Williams, 27.5%; Newmont Mining, 27.5%; Bechtel, 15%; Boeing, 15%; Fluor, 10%; Equitable Life Assurance, 5%

Who
owns
coal?

...Harry Patrick on coal strike

Continued from back page

be done, and unfortunately it hasn't been done. So not only are you going to have the government looking down your neck come December 6, you're going to have the public also.

Q. What about the 1974 contract? It set up an elaborate grievance machinery, but it doesn't seem to have worked very well.

Right to strike

A. In 1974 I was the one who wrote the proposal and actually put it on the table for the right to strike. At that time I really didn't know why I was doing it. But I found out that a contract is not worth the paper it's written on unless you can enforce it.

The company has all the right in the world to enforce it because they have court injunctions.

No matter how trivial the case or grievance might be, the company always takes it to arbitration because they have a fifty-fifty chance of

'I found out a contract is not worth the paper it's written on unless you can enforce it.'

winning. And at this point I'd say they have a seventy-five-twenty-five chance of winning. And everything they win just takes a little more away from your contract.

When you have no way to put any economic clout to them, such as shutting the company down, there's no way to enforce the contract.

The 1974 agreement was a good contract. I was proud of that contract, but it's reduced to about three pages right now. I can show you things in it in black and white that we don't have anymore.

But that's not only true in this union, that's true in every union. It frightens me to see labor unions veering more to a no-strike clause in contracts, such as the Steelworkers. I think it is a disaster.

If you're the guy down in the trenches doing the work, I don't think you can live with [a no-strike contract]. Unfortunately, my view hasn't prevailed.

Q. Are you familiar with the details of the right-to-strike clause that President Miller is proposing?

A. What I read into it is that it would have to be a national issue before you could strike. That doesn't get to the heart of the problem at all.

Part of the problem is right down at the local, at each separate mine. I started in the mines in a different era. I started in 1952. And you had the right to strike. There was never a clause written into the contract that said you had the right to strike—you just had that right as an American citizen.

You didn't have court injunctions. We didn't have any problem settling grievances at the local level, because the company knew they could only get away with so much before we'd shut them down.

Trouble for labor

It was only after this case in California [where the U.S. Supreme Court ruled] that if you have a grievance machinery in your contract, it is an implied no-strike clause. That's where all labor got into trouble. Because then court injunctions became the way of life in the labor movement.

If you don't write it into the contract, you don't have the right to strike.



Earl Dotter

That's the only way you're going to ever bring the companies to their knees.

Q. What kind of right-to-strike clause would you like to see in the next contract?

A. I think to some extent it has to be controlled. Give the whole membership the right to say, "We've had enough of this, we want to shut the mine down."

After 1969, whoever was the militant in the local (there were always a few, I was the one in mine, I guess), he would be the one to shut the mines down. The others didn't really have any say.

If your local is shut down and the company still refuses to come to an agreement, then locals with the same company should have the right to come out in sympathy and you should have the right to ask them. That's the

only kind of right to strike that's going to work. I've dealt with coal operators long enough to know that they're jealous and greedy.

No matter what kind of right to strike is written into the contract, there has got to be one.

Q. Do you think the majority of UMWA members support the right to strike as you see it?

A. That's hard to say. I campaigned for two months in the bath houses. I found out that a good 98 percent of them support the right to strike in some form. What really surprised me more than anything else was the age—it didn't seem to make any difference whether a guy was sixty, fifty, forty, or thirty, he believed in that concept.

Q. Do you believe miners will accept

a contract that doesn't have a right to strike in it?

A. The thing to remember is that the bulk of our membership is in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky [where the wildcats have been centered], so they're the people who will be faced with ratifying a contract.

If a guy is out of work for a couple of months, that right to strike may not seem nearly so important to him when he's a car payment behind or a house payment behind.

Medical funds

The one issue that would probably make them stay out is the medical funds question. [In July the miners' health benefits were cut, forcing each recipient to pay 40 percent of doctors' bills and up to \$250 for hospital stays.] You're talking about something that touches them all.

If they decide that first, and restore the cuts, probably miners would accept the rest of the contract. I wouldn't advise them to do that if I was advis-

'If the Mine Workers lose this strike, I think it is the death knell for labor as we know it.'

ing, but I'm very much afraid that they would.

Q. It was reported yesterday [November 21] that Miller made a statement threatening to run "communists" out of the coalfields.

A. I didn't hear that. It's really strange that he should resort to that tactic, that red-baiting that I've grown so accustomed to.

That was one of the things that turned me away from Miller. The very same thing people said about us in 1972, I found him repeating about other people.

It's a hell of good way to take the heat off yourself. You can say, "Well, it's all these here communists. They're the ones stirring up the trouble. I'm doing the right thing."

Everybody's got their own philosophy. As long as you pay your dues, you ought to have your say.

Q. Do you believe that other unions should come to the UMWA's aid during the strike?

A. Absolutely. If the Mine Workers lose this strike, I think it would be the death knell for labor, as we know it anyway. It would be the first step for the corporations to take on all labor unions.

You're getting the granddaddy of them all when you get the Mine Workers. I hope that other labor unions realize that.

Miners threatened with health fund cutoff

By Nancy Cole

As the *Militant* goes to press, a strike by the United Mine Workers looks inevitable when the union's national contract expires December 6.

Talks between the union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association resumed November 29, but the rank-and-file contract ratification procedure takes at least ten days. Miners staunchly abide by the tradition of "no contract, no work."

UMWA President Arnold Miller broke off the talks for the second time November 25, charging the BCOA had "repeatedly threatened" the union, calling it "weak and

divided" and "not the only game in town."

Miller says the coal operators refuse to seriously negotiate two of the key issues—the slashed health benefits and the right to strike.

Miller announced November 22 that trustees of the health and retirement fund have decided to immediately suspend *all* health and death benefits if the union strikes.

The fund is jointly administered by the union and BCOA and financed by royalties paid by the companies on coal mined and hours worked. The BCOA has laid the fund's depletion to wildcat strikes, although a West Virginia study

found the main cause to be soaring health costs.

Pensions would also be reduced in the event of a strike, Miller said. A spokesperson for the fund said that payments to the 80,000 pensioners might be totally cut off.

UMWA Secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick told the *Militant* that the move is an effort to put pressure on the miners.

"My guess is that it will make the miners more militant," Patrick said. "You could very well have a revolt that backfires. At the point negotiations are at this time—which is no place—maybe this is the rallying point we need."

Calendar

AUSTIN, TX.

CARTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA: MYTH VERSUS REALITY. Speaker: Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader. Fri., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Texas Austin, Jester Center Auditorium. Ausp: Ideas & Issues, Chicano Cultural Committee. For more information call (512) 459-9283.

BALTIMORE

STEEL LAYOFFS: IMPORTS OR PROFITS TO BLAME? Speaker: Andy Rose, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

SLIDE SHOW PRESENTATION ON CUBA. Followed by discussion. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 2 Central Square, 2nd fl. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Dec. 1: Racism, sexism, and revolution; Dec. 8: What is socialism?; Dec. 15: Making a revolution. 2 Central Square, 2nd fl. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE

WOMEN'S FIGHT FOR EQUALITY. Speakers: Brenda Eichelberger, president, National Alliance of Black Feminists; Ann Gerhardt, president, South Suburban NOW; Betsey Stone, SWP. Fri., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. 2251 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

THE 'BAKKE' DECISION: THREAT TO CIVIL RIGHTS. Speakers: Richard Wright, Black American Law Students Association; Paul Bigman, National Lawyers Guild & National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision; Cecil Lampkin, SWP. Fri., Dec. 16, 7:30 p.m. 2251 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

CINCINNATI

CARTER'S FIRST YEAR: A SOCIALIST VIEW. Speaker: Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

SOUTH AFRICA: NEW CRACKDOWN ON BLACK RIGHTS. Film, *There is no crisis*. Speaker: Sam Manuel. Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST

WHY ARE NATIVE AMERICANS VICTIMIZED? Speakers: Michael Mora, Skyhorse-Mohawk Defense Committee; Ernie Peters, AIM; Dave Brown, SWP. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn, Huntington Park. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

THE CRISIS IN STEEL. Speakers: Lalo Sánchez, recording secretary, USWA Local 5504; Jack Sheppard, veteran steel unionist; other steelworkers. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn, Huntington Park. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

TESTIMONY: JUSTICE VS. J.P. STEVENS. A film documenting the struggle of textile workers in the South. Speaker: Rick Gantly, Louisville J.P. Stevens Boycott coordinator, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 840. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

UNITED MINE WORKERS ON STRIKE. What's at stake in the national UMWA strike. A panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MIAMI

ISLAND PRISON: HAITI & THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. Speakers: representatives of Human Rights for Haitian Refugees and Partido Revolucionario Dominicano; a former Haitian political prisoner. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. New YWCA, 210 NE 18th St. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 266-4381.

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL

THE IRON RANGE STRIKE: THE STEELWORKERS TELL THEIR STORY. Speakers: Bill Larson, president, Local 4757 USWA; Joe Samargia, president, Local 1938 USWA; Willard Anderson, president, Local 2660 USWA. Tues., Dec. 6, 7:30 p.m. Coffman Union theater lecture hall, Univ. of Minn. Ausp: Coffman Union Program Council; Labor Education Services; AFSCME Local 1164; Univ. of Minn. Education Association; Political Science department; Kathy Kelly, past president, NSA; Dick Wilke, president, Univ. of Minn. student body. For more information call (612) 373-2545 or 825-6663 or 222-8929.

MORGANTOWN, W. VA.

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. Speaker: Frank Lovell, labor columnist for the *Militant*. Thurs., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. Mountain Lair, Cacapon Room, West Virginia University. Ausp: SWP, YSA. For more information call (304) 292-7406.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speakers: Pearl Clark, YSA; Marian Gladhill, Bronx NOW. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

WHAT IS SOCIALISM CLASSES. Every Thursday in December, 7:30 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave., Brooklyn. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

PITTSBURGH

RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT.' Speaker: Frank Lovell, labor columnist for the *Militant*. Sat., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

PORTLAND, ORE.

REPRESSION IN IRAN. Speaker: representative from Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

PORTLAND CITY COUNCIL—THE REAL RECORD. Speaker: Vernon Cope, SWP candidate for Portland City Council. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

SAN ANTONIO, TX.

CARTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA: MYTH VERSUS REALITY. Speaker: Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader. Thurs., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. Our Lady of the Lake University, Thiry Auditorium. Ausp: Student Association. For more information call (512) 927-5515.

SEATTLE

RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT.' Speaker: Pedro Vázquez. Fri., Dec. 9, social at 6 p.m., buffet at 7 p.m., rally at 8 p.m. Washington Hall, 153 14th. Donation: \$2.50, buffet; rally free. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

TACOMA, WASH.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Fri., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m.: *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*. Film. Sat., Dec. 10, 2 p.m.: Socialism and the fight for women's rights. Speaker: Mary Smith, SWP, NOW. 8 p.m. *Militant* rally. Speaker: Pedro Vázquez, SWP National Committee. Refreshments at 7 p.m. Unitarian Church, 5502 S. 12th St. Donation: \$4 for weekend. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

TOLEDO, OHIO

SOUTH AFRICA: CRACKDOWN ON BLACK RIGHTS. Panel discussion. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM AT THE MILITANT BOOKSTORE. What a socialist America would look like. Tues., Dec. 13, noon to 1 p.m. or 7 to 8 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Ausp: Militant Bookstore, SWP. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

IMPORTS & UNEMPLOYMENT. Speaker: Erich Martel, SWP. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 2416 18th St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

WASHINGTON, D.C. GEORGIA AVE.

WHO OWNS THE PANAMA CANAL? Speakers: Phil Wheaton, member EPICA; Craig Landberg, SWP. slide show on current conditions in Panama. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. Howard University, Douglass Hall, rm. 143. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum, YSA. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Reports from Houston

DETROIT: EAST SIDE

Sun., Dec. 11, 7:30-9:30 p.m. 12920 Mack. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5676.

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST

Speakers: Susan Chacin, CLUW; Jeanne Cordova, publisher of the *Tide*; Janice Lynn, SWP; Bernadette Cormier, Coalition for Human Rights. Thurs., Dec. 8, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave. Huntington Park. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

MIAMI

Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. Miami-Dade Community College, North Campus, room 1107. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 266-4381.

PHOENIX

Speakers: Jill Fein, SWP; Millie Phillips, Feminists United for Action; Mary Rose Garrido-Wilcox, IWY delegate; Jennifer Sharkey, at-large delegate and Women's Affairs Board. ASU. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

ST. PAUL

Speakers: Sandra Fizer Jones, Women of Color Caucus, IWY delegate; Betty Benjamin, Abortion Rights Council; Ginny Burke, St. Paul NOW, SWP; others. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. Weyerhaeuser Chapel, Macalester College. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Macalester Feminists, St. Paul NOW, Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT

Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

SAN JOSE

Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 942 E. Santa Clara St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

...attacks

Continued from page 8

conservative bourgeois party, the Partido Republicano Nacional. Her brother, Rafael A. Calderón Fournier, is a deputy in the national assembly. There was thus a big stir in the news media earlier this year when Alejandra Calderón applied for legal recognition of the OST in her capacity as its chairperson.

Marvin Wright Lindo is the central leader of the Partido Auténtico Limonense (PAL—Limón Authentic Party), which he recently founded. The PAL is based among the Black workers of Limón province.

The Oduber government's repressive moves have generated protests. Eight hundred persons demonstrated in Limón November 25 to demand that the eight activists be released and that the manhunt for Wright cease. The OST has distributed 20,000 leaflets with similar demands.

Statements of solidarity with the government's victims have been issued by the headquarters of nearly all the country's major trade unions. Only the Confederación General de los Trabajadores, which is dominated by the Partido Vanguardia Popular, the Costa Rican Communist Party, has so far failed to respond.

The Costa Rican bourgeoisie has

long prided itself on maintaining democratic forms of rule, with regular elections, no press controls, and a constitution that guarantees civil liberties.

This sudden turn to repressive measures on the part of the government may be an attempt to test the relationship of forces in the country.

Among the political changes that have occurred relatively recently are the formation and growth of the OST and the increased radicalization among Blacks that has given rise to the PAL. Marvin Wright has worked closely with the OST in recent months, and another Black leader, Guillermo Joseph Wignal, has joined the OST and is its candidate for first vice-president.

The government may be probing to see how far it can go in heading off further development of revolutionary socialism and Black nationalism and the growing links between the two.

International solidarity is needed to help put a stop to the Costa Rican government's repressive measures. Telegrams and letters demanding the dropping of charges against the eight imprisoned activists and Marvin Wright, and an end to police harassment of the OST should be sent to Costa Rican embassies or to President Daniel Oduber Quirós, San José, Costa Rica.

Strikers gain little from Boeing's record profits

By Phil Kingsley

TACOMA—Striking machinists at the Boeing Company voted November 17 to accept a three-year contract and end their seven-week walkout, which idled 24,000 workers in Washington, Oregon, and Kansas.

Officials of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) reported that 78 percent of the strikers voted to accept the contract.

While the new pact contained some gains for the machinists, it also included significant setbacks. The contract reflected Boeing's desire to hold the line on wages and benefits while further dividing the work force.

Despite Boeing's record profits this year—the highest in the company's history—the agreement provides for only a 13 percent wage increase spread over three years.

The increases that the machinists did get came mainly in the form of fringe benefits. These consist primarily of improved pension and medical benefits, including provisions that allow workers to retire between the ages of fifty-five and sixty-two and draw 74 percent of their total pension.

The aerospace industry has been trying to find ways to increase the "flexibility" of its work force by reducing the percentage of older, high-seniority employees.

Despite the feeling among many IAM members that a closed shop was an important gain to fight for, the union leadership insisted it was "not an issue in these negotiations." On the contrary, IAM members at Portland, Oregon, who were brought under the general contract with Boeing for the first time, lost the union-shop provision they had previously won.

At the meeting where the contract proposal was presented to the membership, the negotiating committee re-

fused to take responsibility for either endorsing or condemning it.

However, the union's chief negotiator, Al Schultz, repeatedly told members the proposal was all that could be gotten from Boeing and was the best contract that they could negotiate.

One striking worker summed up the mood by commenting: "It's not all that good a contract. But why should we stay out any longer knowing that the union has given up fighting."

Throughout the strike the union refused to assign more than two pickets to a plant gate even though members on their own organized larger lines on several occasions.

A motion to reach out to the public in the Puget Sound area by holding public rallies was raised at the November meeting of IAM Local 751F but was tabled by union officials as "too dangerous."

The IAM leadership's reluctance to reach beyond their own membership was a major weakness in the strike. No attempt was made to ask other union members at Boeing to honor the picket lines.

Even though IAM members at Lockheed Corporation are also on strike, no attempt was made to coordinate negotiations and thereby take a significant step toward an industry-wide contract.

Instead the IAM has recently lost ground in obtaining this crucial goal. Eight hundred machinists at Cape Kennedy were removed from the contract's jurisdiction when Boeing reorganized its division there.

IAM officials did urge union members to write letters to Washington senators "Scoop" Jackson and Warren Magnuson. Jackson's close ties with Boeing bosses have earned him the title "the senator from Boeing."

The Lesser Evil?

**Peter Camejo
George Breitman
Jack Barnes**

VS.

**Michael Harrington
Carl Haessler
Stanley Aronowitz**

What is the Democratic Party—the 'party of the people' or a dead end? Should feminists, Black people, union militants, socialists, and others support the Democratic Party? Or should they run their own candidates in opposition?

The Lesser Evil? contains three debates that examine the alternatives in light of the cold war witch-hunt, the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, women's liberation, the New York City budget crisis—and in the broader context of the socialist perspective.

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Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

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Coal strike

Harry Patrick speaks out on the issues



HARRY PATRICK

Militant/Nancy Cole

The current United Mine Workers contract expires December 6. That agreement, ratified in 1974, was the first negotiated by the Miners For Democracy leadership, elected to office in 1972.

UMWA Secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick served as part of the 1974 negotiating team. Prior to his election, Patrick worked as a miner for eighteen years in Barrackville, West Virginia.

Early this year, Patrick publicly broke with UMWA President Arnold Miller, announcing he would oppose Miller in the June 1977 union election. Patrick lost that bid, receiving 34,523 votes to Miller's 55,275 and Lee Roy Patterson's 49,042.

Patrick's term of office as secretary-treasurer expires December 22.

The following is the first part of an interview with Patrick conducted by 'Militant' staff writer Nancy Cole in Washington. In this part Patrick offers his views on issues in the impending UMWA strike. A future article will present his views on labor political action.

Question: What do the coal operators have in mind during contract negotiations with the United Mine Workers? It seems they hope to deal a substantial blow to the union, if not destroy it altogether.

Answer: That's a question that's been asked me pretty frequently lately. I don't think they really want to destroy the organization. They're smart enough to know that some kind of structure where we have some discipline over the miners we sign a contract for is better than what we had thirty years ago when we signed separate contracts in every district.

But I do think they are teaching the United Mine Workers a lesson. They're saying, "Look, we're going to sign a contract, we're going to negotiate a contract with you, but we can break you if we want to."

There's no question that they're in a strong bargaining position this time around. One reason is the new emphasis on energy and coal, and they're hoping that the government will take some hand in it.

Bituminous Coal Operators Association is making at the bargaining table, such as those calling for a retreat on safety in the next contract?

A. That [retreat on safety] is so totally ridiculous, and I think they know that. I think it's a lot of propaganda from their side. Their tactics are to take the strongest possible position.

There's no question in my mind that they're bluffing, but what everybody has got to realize at this point is they are in a position to bluff.

The tip-off came from Ray Marshall, secretary of labor. He was asked, what is the government going to do, are we going to be hit with a crippling coal strike? And he said, "We're not really worried about it, the United Mine Workers only controls 50 percent of coal production to start with."

That's the tip-off that they've got their heads together—industry and government—and they've said, "Let's teach these boys a lesson. We don't care how many are getting killed down there or anything, we'll teach them a lesson."

planning a direct role in the strike?

A. I think it would have to be a terribly long strike before they would step in. They would like to do it right away, but politics would hold them back from stepping in, especially with the Taft-Hartley Act. They've seen that Taft-Hartley doesn't mine coal. That would only make the miners more militant.

The Mine Workers has never really done a PR [public relations] job on the public. Coal miners are seen as crazy lunatics that want to strike all the time, and they don't really care about anybody else.

I think a lot has been lost because we haven't projected the kind of image that miners deserve. I've spoken before some pretty conservative groups, and they gasp when you tell them that there have been 100,000 miners killed since the turn of the century, and that by July of this year there were already seventy-some miners dead and more than 150 last year. And that the injury frequency rate is about four times what it is in any other industry.

That's the kind of PR job that has to

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Q. What about the demands the

Q. Do you believe the government is

Scotia Coal Co. crimes revealed

By Nancy Cole

Murder. On a mass scale. For profit.

A judge covers up the evidence. And goes after those who expose the crime.

That's the story that emerges around a federal report on the Scotia mine disaster in 1976.

Twenty-six men died in two explosions because the Scotia Coal Company violated at least a dozen federal mine safety regulations.

The company falsified a map of the mine's ventilation plan. The map was used by a team of eight miners and three federal inspectors investigating the first explosion.

All eleven died in the second blast.

The company crimes were pinpointed by a federal Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration report on the Scotia disaster.

A federal judge has suppressed the MESA study. But *Coal Outlook*, a Washington newsletter, obtained a copy and reported on its contents in early November.

Scotia Coal's parent firm is the Blue Diamond Coal Company, a notorious antiunion operation. Blue Diamond also owns the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky, where 160 miners have been striking for recognition of the United Mine Workers since July 1976.

Scotia miners had only a company union at the time of the disaster, and thus had no organized power to force

the company to abide by safety laws.

The first explosion on March 9, 1976, was caused by a spark igniting methane gas that had accumulated in the mine section.

MESA attributes the blast to illegal and inadequate ventilation. The mine section where it occurred did not have a permanent ventilation system, although it had been open for more than a month. MESA found that the temporary system short-circuited often, allowing methane to accumulate.

The required examination of mine

sections before each shift might have detected the methane buildup. But that inspection was not made, even though the examiner recorded he had done so.

A MESA inspector the day before also might have noticed the gas, but he bypassed the disaster area.

The locomotive thought to have ignited the first explosion also violated several insulation and wiring requirements.

The second explosion was also caused by inadequate ventilation. The inspection team's efforts to increase

ventilation "failed primarily because of the inaccurate mine map which was prepared by the company. . . .

"Several critical ventilation controls shown on the map submitted with the plan had not been installed or had been removed," the study says.

MESA also found that Scotia miners had received no training in self-rescue devices or in methane-detecting equipment.

Why did Scotia persistently violate safety laws? The answer is obvious—safety would have cost money. Protecting miners' lives might have cut into company profits.

U.S. District Court Judge H. Davis Hermansdorfer ordered the MESA report suppressed in early September at the request of Blue Diamond.

Widows of the miners killed at Scotia were suing Blue Diamond for \$60 million. The coal company claimed release of the report would bias the case, charging MESA had produced a study "deficient, arbitrary, biased, and punitive in motive."

Judge Hermansdorfer gladly complied. But even after he threw out the widows' suit, he continued the ban on the MESA report.

According to the *Mountain Eagle*, Hermansdorfer has yet to schedule a hearing on release of the study. But he has begun an inquiry into its leak to *Coal Outlook*.



Twenty-six dead because of greed

Earl Dotter