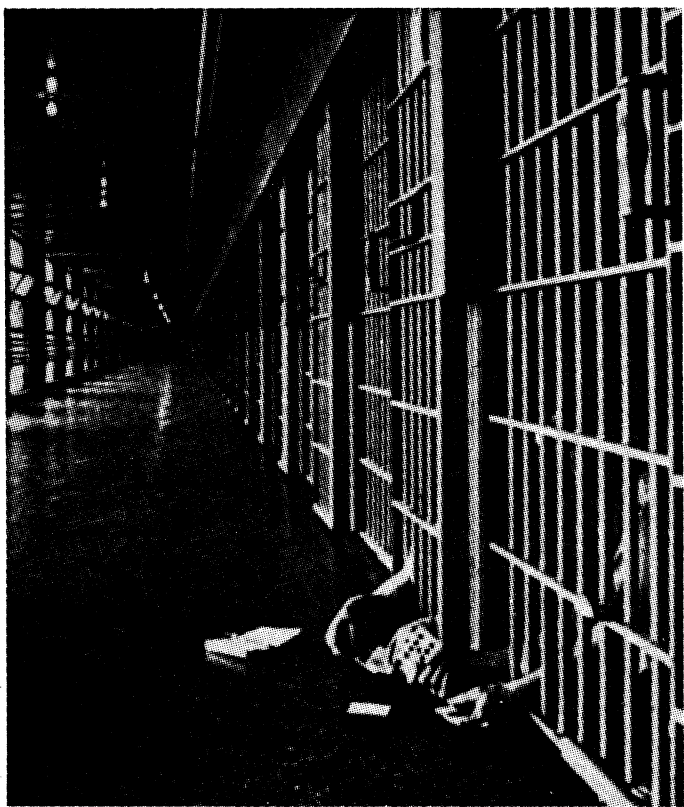


THE MILITANT

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



Christmas '77

No human rights in Carter's prisons

Earlier this month, when President Carter attended his nephew's wedding in Fayetteville, North Carolina, chants of "Free the Wilmington Ten" floated into the church during the ceremony.

In order to avoid the picketers, Carter left by a side door.

The Wilmington Ten are civil rights activists—nine Black men and a white woman—who were convicted on frame-up arson charges following protests in 1971 against segregation of Wilmington, North Carolina, schools.

Responding to a question about this frame-up at a news conference only two days before the wedding, Carter claimed that he was not familiar with

An editorial

the details and that he couldn't do anything about the case anyway while it was still in state courts.

Ironically, Carter opened that same news conference with a pious declaration about Human Rights Week. "I've worked day and night to make sure a concern for human rights is woven through everything our government does," Carter said, "both at home and abroad."

Yet Carter's callousness toward the plight of these imprisoned civil rights activists reveals his

Continued on page 10

Urgent fight to halt Marroquin deportation Jan. 17 hearing set

By Larry Seigle

The fight of Héctor Marroquín for political asylum in the United States is at an urgent turning point.

The government has scheduled a deportation hearing for January 17, overriding defense pleas for adequate time to prepare the case. The Carter administration is rushing toward its goal of turning Marroquín over to the Mexican cops, torture chambers, and assassination squads.

Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and an activist in the labor and antideportation movements, faces fabricated charges in Mexico of "guerilla activity." (Earlier story on page 4).

With only weeks to go before the hearing, the Immigration and Naturalization Service must immediately get the message from all supporters of human rights:

Stop the Deportation!

Political Asylum for Marroquín!

Palestinians denounce U.S.-Israeli schemes

By David Frankel

While President Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance have greeted Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's latest "peace" plan, Palestinians denounced Begin's proposals as yet another attempt to deny them their rights.

Begin's plan was called a "fair basis" for further negotiations by Carter and a "constructive" proposal by Vance December 18. But the real content of Begin's plan, which is the same as one offered by the Israeli regime two years ago, was summed up in different words by Majad Abu Sharar of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) December 19.

"Begin's proposals, which were announced yesterday, do not provide any serious solution to the Palestine question," the head of the PLO's information service declared in Beirut.

The PLO leader emphasized that Begin's plan was an attempt "to give permanence to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan River and Gaza."

Carter, who had already denounced the PLO December 15 because it wouldn't fall in with his Mideast plans, claims that he wants to see "that at least moderate Palestinians are included" in Mideast negotiations.

After negative reaction to Begin's plan in the Arab world, and perhaps in hopes of encouraging "moderate Palestinians," White House officials tried to tone down the administration's original approval of Begin's proposal. Word was leaked that U.S. officials had urged Begin to improve the "packaging" of his position, but administration aides continued to stress how encouraged they were by the "flexibility" of the Israeli prime minister.

But Carter has not yet found a way to overcome the determination of the Palestinian masses to fight for their full rights and not to settle for anything less. This mood was reflected during a Palestinian demonstration in Damur, Lebanon, December 18. Demonstrators organized by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine marched through the town chanting "I will go back to Palestine again!"

As one glassworker told *New York Times* correspondent Marvine Howe at the demonstration: "There can be no peace without the Palestinians, all the Palestinians, including the Palestinians of Damur."

For further analysis of the current Mideast negotiations, see page 3.

Readers put 'Militant' fund \$10,000 over top

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK
Business Manager: HARVEY McARTHUR
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

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NUKE PROTESTERS FREED: Militant correspondent Paul Freeman reports from Portland, Oregon, that all eighty-two anti-nuclear power protesters arrested last August at the Trojan nuclear power plant in Rainier were acquitted December 16.

The trial judge allowed the defendants to present fifteen expert witnesses on the dangers of nuclear power but then refused to allow the jury to consider their evidence.

The case was dismissed on a technicality. However, Freeman reports, a juror told him that the jury unanimously believed the nuclear plant posed an "imminent danger"—and all twelve jurors would have voted for acquittal on these grounds.

EXECUTIONS SET: Johnny Harris and Donald Thigpen, both Black, will be electrocuted next March 10 if a December 14 decision of the Alabama Supreme Court stands.

The two men are the first to be sentenced to death under the state's new death penalty law. The old one was thrown out by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1972.

Palestine rights protest



Militant/David Frankel

Forty people picketed the Israeli consulate in New York City December 15 demanding freedom for Taysir al-Aruri. Al-Aruri is a Palestinian professor imprisoned without charges by the Israeli government. The action was called by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. The next day, twenty-five people picketed the San Francisco Israeli consulate. The San Francisco demonstration was covered on local TV and radio stations.

COP INDICTED IN KILLING: A New York City cop was indicted December 12, charged with killing a teen-ager on September 2. It was the second indictment this year of a white cop accused of killing a young Black. In the first case, policeman Robert Torsney escaped justice by pleading not guilty by reason of insanity in the shooting death of fifteen-year-old Randolph Evans.

Four other New York City cops have been indicted in recent years in homicide cases. All four have been white. All their victims were Black or Hispanic.

A WIN FOR RUSSO: Los Angeles County health officials have agreed to rehire Anthony Russo, with some \$8,000 in back pay. Russo, who had been a codefendant with Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon Papers case, had been fired as "unqualified." He challenged this and forced a public hearing at which he established he had been found competent until a supervisor didn't like a study he wrote proposing an alternative to the county's inhuman treatment of alcoholics.

ABORTION RIGHTS VICTORY: On December 12 the Massachusetts State Senate upheld Gov. Michael Dukakis's veto of a bill that would have cut off state funds for abortions for Medicaid recipients.

ABORTION INITIATIVE LAUNCHED: The committee for Equal Access to Health Care in Tucson, Arizona, announced December 5 it was launching a drive to put an initiative on the November ballot calling on Pima County to provide funds for abortion at the county hospital. The county board of supervisors cut off abortion funding in September.

Placing the initiative on the ballot requires 24,000 valid signatures.

SUGAR STRIKE ENDS: A seventeen-day strike by 7,000 Hawaiian sugar workers, represented by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, was settled November 19. The fifteen-month agreement brings the labor grade I rate to \$4.59 an hour and grade II to \$6.72. It specifically prohibits all plantations from ending sugar operations.

This settlement is said to be the workers' share of a union lobbying effort in Washington last summer that won government sugar subsidies for the industry of \$45 million in price supports and another \$25 million in retroactive pay.

ILWU President Jim Herman has asked the Agriculture Department to fix the modest union scale as the minimum wage for unorganized field workers, mostly in Texas, Louisiana, and Florida. The government has never used its authority to raise sub-standard wages in this subsidized industry.

HANDBOOK ON PRISONERS' RIGHTS: The American Civil Liberties Union has issued a new book, *The Rights of Prisoners*. The book deals with such subjects as disciplinary actions, punishments, communication, discrimination, political rights, privacy, medical care, jail conditions, and parole. It is available free to prisoners or for \$1.50 from Avon Books.

REPORTER VERSUS WHITE HOUSE: Journalist Robert Sherrill won a victory in his fight for a White House press pass December 17 when a federal appeals court ruled that a "bona fide Washington correspondent" has a right to such credentials. Sherrill's request for a pass had been turned down in 1966. He couldn't even get a reason for the refusal until 1972, when he was told it was "for reasons of security."

Sherrill is the Washington, D.C., correspondent for the *Nation* magazine.

—Arnold Weissberg

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At expense of Arab rights

Carter and Begin push for a Mideast deal

By David Frankel

Is peace at hand in the Middle East?

Millions of people around the world have been led to believe that the answer is yes. "We have before us a unique opportunity to achieve peace in the Middle East," Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance declared on the eve of three days of meetings between President Carter and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, after talking to Carter by phone, insisted that he was "more optimistic than ever." And Begin announced December 19 that he and Sadat would meet in Egypt on Christmas day to discuss Israeli proposals for a peace agreement.

Since Sadat has staked so much on the prospect of an accord, it seems almost certain that he will eventually come up with some type of agreement. He has little choice. But the shape of such an agreement, whatever the cosmetic additions, will be a far cry from the "ultimate comprehensive peace settlement" promised by Carter.

What Begin really wants

Speaking at his December 15 news conference, Carter noted that both Sadat and Begin "have stated publicly that they are not seeking a strictly bilateral agreement."

Two day earlier, Begin was even more categorical on this issue. When *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis asked him in an interview about the possibility of a separate deal with Sadat, Begin claimed: "It never even occurred to us to make such a suggestion. We want peace agreements and treaties with all our neighbors."

Such disclaimers are pure hypocrisy. As journalist Shmuel Schnitzer commented in the November 25 issue of the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv*: "The wedge we promised not to drive into the Arab world exists anyhow, and it would be stupid to disregard the fact."

Outlining the real Israeli negotiating position, Schnitzer argued that Sadat "can not promise in the name of all the Arabs, that there will be no more war. . . . The territorial price he demands from Israel includes all fronts; in return he can only promise on behalf of Egypt."

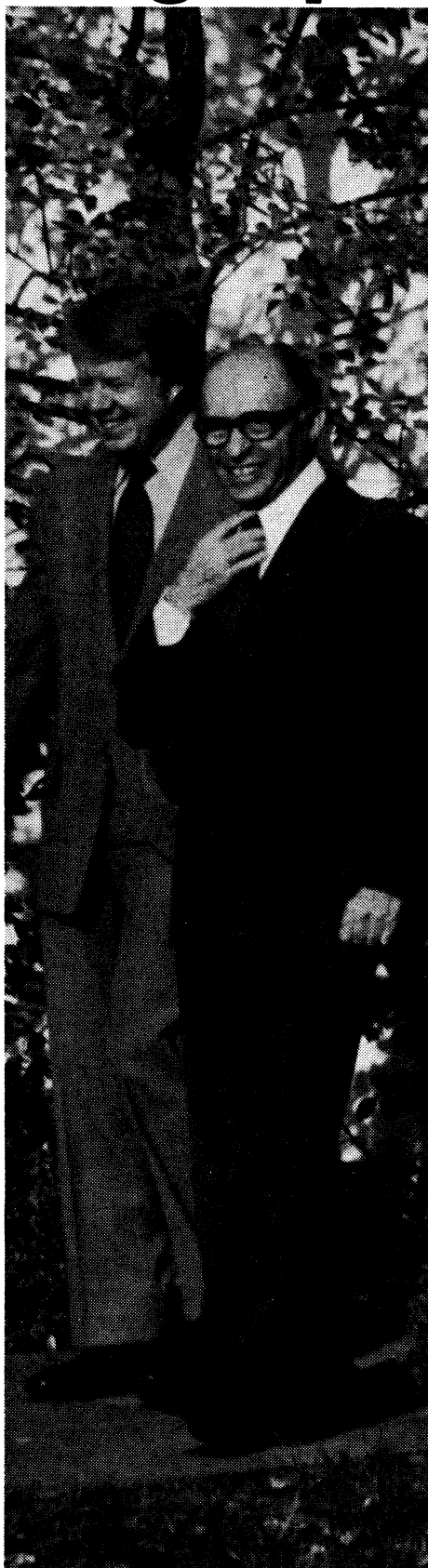
Schnitzer concludes that "our interest lies in deepening the wedge already in the Arab world until it splits completely" (emphasis in original).

This is Begin's real program: he hopes either to conclude a separate deal with Sadat, or to force a capitulation by the other Arab regimes through the threat of such a deal.

Begin's approach was endorsed by the editors of the *Washington Post* December 12. As they saw it, "tactically speaking, it would be foolish and self-denying not to leave open the possibility of a separate peace. It is precisely the prospect of being frozen out that is most likely to draw into the peace process the parties now outside it. . . . If anything will induce the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] to rethink its rejectionism, it is the spectacle of West Bank-Gaza Palestinians responding to the hand offered them by Israel and Egypt."

The *Post* editorial about the hand offered the Palestinians by Israel appeared only three days before Begin leaked his proposal for the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza. It was a proposal for continued military control and continued Israeli settlement, with a sugar coating of "local autonomy."

As Marvin Howe commented in the December 20 *New York Times*, "it was essentially the same as a plan that



CARTER & BEGIN: Driving a wedge into Arab world while talking about peace.

was offered to King Hussein two years ago and rejected." Two years ago, however, Sadat had not yet gone to Jerusalem and made clear that he was ready to negotiate a deal at the expense of the rest of the Arab world.

Not surprisingly, when *Times* reporter Flora Lewis interviewed Begin she found that he was in a state of "happy excitement at the way the situation has been developing."

Behind Israeli intransigence

The Israeli regime has made it clear that in return for a deal with Sadat it is prepared to recognize Egyptian sovereignty over the whole Sinai Peninsula and return most of the territory to Egyptian control. However, the Zionist regime has also made clear that it intends to maintain basic control of the other areas occupied by it in the June 1967 Mideast war—that is, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank.

What is behind the Israeli refusal to withdraw to the June 1967 borders?

To begin with, there is an ideological factor that has considerable force. Virtually everybody in Israel knows that the country was built on land stolen from another people. While lib-

eral supporters of Israel in the United States try to deny this fact, the expulsion of the Palestinian people is a fact that is openly acknowledged and defended by major figures in the Israeli government.

For instance, the Israeli daily *Haretz* quoted an address by Moshe Dayan—now Begin's foreign minister—to a class of high school seniors in its May 20, 1973, issue. "The establishment of the State of Israel," Dayan said, "was fundamentally at the expense of the Arabs. There is no escaping this fact. In most instances, Jewish settlers replaced Arab settlers. At times we bought lands, [but] we acquired a lot more as a result of the 1948 war."

In defending this fact, the Zionists are ultimately forced to rely on the irrational appeal of their reactionary nationalism—the ideology of the biblical mandate and the chosen people. This explains the constant rightward movement of Israeli politics, to the point where Begin, who was denounced as a criminal and a rightist demagogue by the founding leaders of the Zionist state, is now its prime minister.

But in addition to the irrational expansionism of the Zionist zealots, there is also a rational basis for Israeli expansionism that flows from the nature of the Zionist state. Because it is a colonial-settler state, locked in conflict with the Arab masses, Israel must constantly expand its base of power in order to compensate for the numerical superiority of the Arabs, and for their potential military superiority.

This dynamic was illustrated most clearly by the October 1973 Middle East war. Within three years of the end of that war, Washington had given the Israeli regime as much military and economic aid as it had received from the U.S. government in the preceding twenty-five years.

The 1973 war also reaffirmed the determination of Israeli military planners to retain direct military control over the West Bank and the Golan Heights. Although the Israeli high command is well aware that it has nothing to fear in the West Bank from a King Hussein, they also know that Hussein might not be around ten years from now. The Zionists fear a rebellion of the Jordanian masses that would topple Hussein as much as they fear a Palestinian state. And that is why they will not withdraw their troops from the West Bank.

A shift away from Israel?

This brings us to the question of the Carter administration and its Mideast policy. Carter has attempted to portray the U.S. role in the negotiations as that of an honest broker, "a trusted intermediary," as he said at his December 15 news conference. This stance might be more convincing if it weren't for the fact that the Pentagon is responsible for arming the Israeli war machine.

Yet some capitalist commentators go even further than Carter's "honest broker" claim and argue that Washington is actually pushing for Israeli concessions. For example, Joseph C. Harsch says in the December 16 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"For Washington the ideal would be for Israel to surrender all of its 1967 conquests except for minor frontier adjustments, thus producing a lasting settlement that could be accepted, even endorsed, by Moscow."

If it were true that the American ruling class had adopted such a policy in regard to the Middle East, it would represent an important shift. For more than six years after the June 1967 war,

there was no question that Washington's basic policy was to give de facto support to Israeli occupation of the Arab territories seized in that war.

After the October 1973 war and the rise in the price of oil that followed it, however, the argument was raised that there had been a basic change in the relationship of forces in the area—that the Arab regimes had been qualitatively strengthened, and that this would require a new U.S. policy.

For a while, the capitalist media were filled with articles portraying Saudi Arabia as an incipient superpower. In the meantime, U.S. energy monopolies raked in superprofits through the jump in oil prices that they helped engineer. And, while the Saudi royal family was able to build up hefty bank accounts and stock portfolios, it has hardly entered the ranks of the imperialist powers.

On the military front, Arab power in relation to Israel declined sharply after the October 1973 war as a result of huge U.S. arms shipments to the Zionist regime. Nevertheless, the illusion that Washington is somehow trying to pressure the Israeli regime and placate the Arab states because of a supposed shift in the relationship of forces persists.

What Washington wants

In reality, maintenance of absolute Israeli military superiority over the Arab states is the keystone of U.S. policy in the Middle East. It is not that the American imperialists are indifferent to the Arab regimes. They appreciate the fact that King Hussein of Jordan, Sadat, and the Saudi Arabian royal family vie with each other in their servility to U.S. interests.

These regimes, however, have an important drawback from the point of view of the imperialists. No matter how servile they may be, they are subject to anti-imperialist pressures from their own peoples, including the ultimate pressure of being overthrown.

The relatively weak and insecure capitalist regimes in the semicolonial countries must periodically turn to the imperialists for support in the face of their own working class. The dissatisfaction of the workers and peasants in the semicolonial countries is sharpened by the foreign domination of their economies and the inability of their "own" governments to consistently oppose this domination.

The entire history of the Middle East
Continued on next page



New York Times

...Mideast

Continued from page 3

since World War II illustrates the dangers for the imperialists in relying too heavily on one or another neocolonial regime. From the overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy in 1952, to the fall of the Iraqi royal family in 1958, to the near-destruction of the Lebanese regime in the recent civil war there, the lesson has been the same.

Role of Israel

Unlike the Arab regimes, the state of Israel is able to provide a secure military and political base for American imperialism in the Middle East. This is true regardless of the particular government in power there because of the fact that Israel is a colonial-settler state.

Having established itself through the expulsion of the native Palestinian population, Israel can only survive by constantly putting down the Palestinians and the Arab masses who support their struggle. It requires ever-increasing amounts of U.S. military aid in this never-ending battle.

Preservation of the economic weakness and political division of the Arab world is a vital interest of the Zionist state. And what is required by Israel for its continued existence is required by the imperialists in order to maintain their domination of the Arab world.

These realities determine the policies of any Israeli government. They also explain why the American ruling class is willing to subsidize the Israeli military machine to the tune of \$1.5 billion a year.

When social revolution threatens imperialist interests in the Middle East, and when the proimperialist Arab regimes stand helpless, Israel is prepared to intervene. During the civil war in Jordan in September 1970, for example, the Israeli government made clear that it would go to war to preserve King Hussein's dictatorship.

Yoel Marcus, one of Israel's most prominent columnists, bragged about the Israeli role in the Middle East in the March 7, 1973, issue of *Haaretz*. As Marcus explained, "the Israeli army, with its real and not just relative power, presents a first line of defense for American interests in the Mediterranean area . . ."

He added, "we are in reality the only guarantor of the pro-American Muslim governments . . ."

Carter's 'peace' plan

Bitter as the truth is, it must be said that the "peace" being cooked up under the supervision of the Carter administration is like the "peace" of Versailles that followed World War I, or the Geneva agreement of 1954 that ended the French colonial war in Indochina. It is a "peace" that will only lead to new and bloodier wars in the future.

Primary responsibility for this sorry state of affairs should be placed squarely on the doorstep of the U.S. government. As Sadat has frequently said, it is Washington that holds 99 percent of the cards in the Middle East poker game.

As in every other part of the world, Washington calculates its actions in the Middle East on the basis of what will most efficiently advance its military domination of the area and guarantee the security of American corporate investments. U.S. officials call this policy the search for "peace and stability," just as they called the savage war against the people of Vietnam a fight for "freedom and democracy."

It is this imperialist policy of seeking to maintain economic and military domination of the Middle East that dictates U.S. support to the Israeli state and that is preparing new wars in the region.

Gov't ransom demand met

Marroquin released from jail

By Arnold Weissberg

Mexican political refugee Héctor Marroquin walked out of the Maverick County Jail in Eagle Pass, Texas, December 21, free on \$10,000 bail.

Marroquin, who is seeking political asylum here, served a ninety-day sentence for "attempting to illegally enter the country."

"I want to thank everyone who has helped me these past few months," Marroquin told the *Militant* as he was released. "I am especially grateful to those people who generously gave money so that I could post the huge bail demanded by the authorities and meet the expenses of carrying out a legal and political fight for my rights."

"My release today is a victory—not just for me, but for everyone who is working on my behalf. And it is a victory for all the sisters and brothers victimized by the U.S. government's immigration policies."

The government's \$10,000 ransom demand forced Marroquin to spend nearly a week more behind bars while the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) worked to raise the money.

Although he is now out of jail, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has restricted Marroquin to Harris County (Houston). He can travel only with INS permission. The INS has also refused to grant Marroquin a work permit.

Marroquin's attorney, Margaret Winter, has filed court challenges to these unfair restrictions and the high bail.

Marroquin fled Mexico and came to the United States in April 1974 after he

was falsely accused of a murder in Monterrey. He believed his life was in danger because he had been a political activist at the university there. The Mexican government is notorious for its violation of the human rights of political dissidents—so notorious it has drawn criticism even from the U.S. State Department.

There is little doubt Marroquin would face torture and long imprisonment—if not death—were he forced to return to Mexico.

Even though he has lived in the U.S. since 1974, the Mexican government has accused him of participating in a series of holdups and shootouts in Mexico.

One of the students who was accused with Marroquin of the Monterrey murder was arrested in April, 1975. No one has heard from him since.

Marroquin was arrested at the border last September as he returned from a visit to Mexico to see an attorney. At the time of his arrest, the U.S. government threatened to "exclude" him—that is, merely ship him back to Mexico after only the most perfunctory hearing.

An emergency campaign by USLA slowed the government's drive, and won hundreds of endorsers of Marroquin's right to political asylum.

"The support I have gotten convinces me that we can win my case," Marroquin said. "It also shows we can build a powerful movement in this country against *la migra* and against the discriminatory U.S. policy on granting asylum."

The INS granted Marroquin a "pre-



Militant/Margaret Winter
HECTOR MARROQUIN

liminary interview" on his asylum request in November. Despite efforts by attorney Winter to introduce further evidence on Marroquin's case after the interview, the INS has forwarded its files on him to the State Department for an "advisory opinion."

Any negative ruling will be appealed, Winter told the *Militant*.

Meanwhile, the INS has begun its attempt to deport Marroquin. A deportation hearing is scheduled for January 17.

Funds are urgently needed for the preparation of Marroquin's defense against deportation and to continue his fight for political asylum. Send donations to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

Deportation threatened

Pitt. school expels Zimbabweans

By Omari Musa

On December 10 Carnegie-Mellon University officially expelled eight Zimbabwean students who had been boycotting classes in protest of the school's link to the white-minority regime of Ian Smith. The eight face the threat of swift deportation. Their return to Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) would mean certain imprisonment and possible death at the hands of the racist Smith regime.

When CMU expelled the students it immediately reported the fact to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. School authorities gave the students until December 31 to vacate their university-leased apartments.

The students have obtained the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union to fight deportation.

In a letter to the eight students Dean

Otto Davis of the School of Urban and Public Affairs (SUPA) said, "I have come to the reluctant conclusion that I have no alternative but to implement the decision of the faculty to expel you . . . from the program in public management and policy in SUPA because you have not maintained adequate academic performance."

The students have been refusing to attend classes because of the political implications and publicity associated with the SUPA program, known as the "Rhodesia Project."

When the eight were offered scholarships to CMU, university officials claimed the program was not political. But since the students' arrival in this country last August, CMU officials have depicted the Zimbabweans in news releases as future top administrators in a Black-ruled Zimbabwe.

The university claimed it had been misquoted by the press. The students put the lie to this hypocrisy in several news releases of their own.

On December 14 they declared, "It is hard to believe that they [CMU] could be misquoted for over two months in spite of our protests against this adverse publicity. The irony of the matter is that SUPA has categorically refused to publicly refute these 'misquotes' despite our insistence."

Clifford Cooper, Pennsylvania state chairperson of the NAACP Legal Action Committee and an attorney for the Zimbabwean students, scored CMU's "vindictiveness."

"I'm sure they're being punished for their boycott. The university would ordinarily wait to the end of the term and flunk them out. But I think they felt they had to do something with these students right away. . . ."

The Western Pennsylvania Black Political Assembly and the Pittsburgh Urban League also support the students.

The case of the Zimbabwe Eight illustrates the complicity of U.S. corporations, universities, and the government in supporting the white-minority regimes in southern Africa.

For example, Allegheny Ludlum's steel division is deeply involved in the "Rhodesia Project." The company's head buyer, E.F. Andrews, originated the program. The steel division is the largest stainless steel producer in the United States. A key component of Allegheny Ludlum's production is Rhodesian chrome.

The Zimbabwe Eight urgently need messages of support and financial contributions. These should be sent to: Zimbabwe Eight Scholarship and Support Fund, 304 Wood Street, mezzanine floor, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222.



Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith. If deported, Zimbabweans face prison and possible death at hands of his regime.

Carter backs down on two more promises

By Diane Wang

Add two more items to the long list of Carter's unkept promises.

This month Carter made it clear that his administration will not provide the money necessary for national health insurance or to help the residents of America's decaying cities.

The need for federally financed, comprehensive health care has been spotlighted by the current coal miners' strike. A major demand of the strikers is restoration of the health benefits that have been cut by greedy coal operators. The mine workers' fight shows the need for a government program to provide free, quality health care to everyone in this country, *as a right*.

Even Carter seemed to acknowledge that need—at least while running for office. "It's time for a nationwide comprehensive health program for all our people," Carter declared when he accepted the Democratic Party nomination.

Now officials at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) are saying that chances of passing a health insurance bill, even if one is introduced, are nil.

The *New York Times* quoted one HEW official who explained, "The Administration has to go through at least the symbolism of trying to get a national health insurance bill through by the next election because the support of labor is vital to Jimmy Carter's re-election chances. But the result will be a gesture and little else."

As an alternative, Carter is now talking about health-care plans in which people pay monthly fees instead of paying for each visit to the doctor. But how much good will that do working people, with health-care costs rising at almost twice the rate of overall living costs?

When it comes to aid for the cities, Carter dramatized his promises with a flashy trip to New York's South Bronx last October. Viewing the poverty and rubble, Carter turned to the secretary of housing and urban development (HUD) and demanded, "See which areas can still be salvaged. . . . Get a map of the whole area, and show me what could be done."

But according to White House and HUD officials, Carter decided at a recent meeting not to ask for



additional money for urban programs in next year's budget

Apparently, Carter has rejected even the modest recommendations in a 150-page report submitted by his Urban and Regional Policy Group. Those recommendations would have cost \$8-12 billion. That's a

drop in the bucket compared to the \$130 billion budgeted for the military.

So Carter is simply extending the approach to social issues he proclaimed last July:

"As you know," Carter said, "there are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't. But I don't believe that the federal government should take action to try to make these opportunities exactly equal. . . ."

At the time, Carter was talking about the plight of poor women denied Medicaid funds for abortions. But he could just as well have been talking about health care or housing.

These two new broken promises are a slap in the face of working people and oppressed nationalities. Yet it was the current leaders of the labor and Black movements who drummed up the support a year ago to put Carter in office.

Black leaders, for example, who mobilized a massive vote for Carter, had a disappointing meeting with the president on December 14. Vernon Jordan of the Urban League said that Carter made "no commitment in terms of money."

Nonetheless, the delegation, representing more than a dozen national Black organizations, still expressed some confidence in Carter's good intentions.

But the president's wholesale retreat on social programs demonstrates that such confidence is misplaced.

Carter's refusal to push through a health-care program or increase financial aid to the cities is just like his recently announced support for an amended version of the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill. This bill, which even in its original form provided no jobs whatsoever, had to be watered down still more before Carter would OK it.

Carter, no less than Gerald Ford before him, is pursuing a belt-tightening program to boost profits for the big-business interests that own both the Democratic and Republican parties. That means slashing government funds for social services. It means a do-nothing policy on unemployment.

For working people, candidate Carter offered big talk but little money. President Carter is giving us no money and—more and more—not even many promises.

Dayton decision & fight for equal rights

In the midst of an assault on many affirmative-action measures designed to eliminate race and sex discrimination, a federal judge has overturned the court-ordered desegregation plan in Dayton, Ohio.

The attack on busing in Dayton once again underscores the seriousness of the government's intent to take away affirmative-action gains in education, in jobs, and in social services. And it underlines the need for a powerful response by all supporters of equal rights.

After little more than one year's existence, the plan in Dayton was overturned December 15 by

AS I SEE IT

Federal District Judge Carl Rubin. Five years earlier Rubin had ruled that Dayton's schools were deliberately segregated.

In handing down his ruling Rubin relieved the Dayton Board of Education of legal obligation to carry out the plan, which involved the busing of 16,700 students. To deodorize his decision, Rubin told the board that it had a moral obligation to reduce racial imbalance in the schools.

But Rubin's appeal to morality will have little effect on the hearts and minds of Dayton School Board members. They have waged a five-year legal battle against school desegregation.

In fact, it was the board's appeal of Rubin's original desegregation order to the U.S. Supreme Court that paved the way for overturning the plan.

In June the court ruled that evidence in the case did not justify a system-wide desegregation

plan. According to the court, such sweeping plans could be ordered only where intentional system-wide segregation was found. On that basis the court returned the plan to Rubin for review.

The Supreme Court's Dayton decision was the first against a school desegregation plan *already in progress*. In addition, despite the Dayton School Board's opposition to it, the plan had run into no mass resistance from racist busing opponents as occurred in Boston.

Rubin's overturn of the Dayton plan, like the Supreme Court's decision, opens the way for similar legal assaults on desegregation plans in other cities. Without doubt racist opponents of school busing will use the decision to back up their segregationist aims.

Richard Austin, assistant counsel for the NAACP—the chief plaintiff in the case—told the *Washington Post* the same day the decision was handed down that if other cases resulted in similar rulings, "we would be back to pre-Brown vs. Board of Education days in which we had segregated schools."

Meanwhile, Nathaniel Jones, NAACP chief counsel, announced that the organization plans to appeal Rubin's ruling.

A favorable outcome of such an appeal would help reverse the damage done to school desegregation efforts by the courts over the past few years. But such an outcome will depend on more than a skillful legal defense.

Court decisions over the past year on race discrimination cases have gone almost without fail against oppressed minorities. Sex discrimination cases have met a similar fate. Nor have the courts been in any mood to grant concessions in areas that effect working people as a whole.

Reversing this drive by the ruling class and its

government will take the organization and mobilization of the Black movement and its natural allies—other oppressed minorities, women, and labor—in mass action.

During the 1960s, the massive civil rights movement and the ghetto rebellions forced concessions from the government. Similarly, the anti-Vietnam War movement and women's movement won significant concessions through mass action.

Such an approach is even more necessary today when the ruling rich and the government are seeking a way out of the economic crisis by cutting back on social services and production.

The possibility of beginning to organize such a movement presents itself today around the "reverse discrimination" *Bakke* case. *Bakke* is the tip of the ice-berg in the assault on affirmative-action programs to end discrimination in employment and education.

As the October protests to reverse the *Bakke* decision showed, opposition to this ruling runs deep among oppressed minorities, women, and trade unionists. The April 15 national march on Washington called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision can mobilize this opposition in a powerful show of force.

It can have a significant impact on how the Court decides the *Bakke* case, which in turn will set a precedent for how future cases will be decided.

More importantly, it can lay the basis for future, more powerful mobilizations in defense of affirmative-action measures in all areas.

As such it deserves the support of all advocates of equality for oppressed minorities and women, especially of the civil rights organizations, which can play a large role in making it a success.

—John Hawkins

The growing farmers protest movement

By Doug Jenness

The massive protest movement of working farmers sweeping the country like a prairie fire is the largest since the Farm Holiday movement of the early 1930s. Since August, scores of rallies and tractorcades have mobilized tens of thousands of angry farmers to demand that the government guarantee a price high enough for their products so they can make a living.

Local protests, beginning with a tractor parade and rally in Clarkfield, Minnesota, on August 30, built up to a national action on December 10, where thousands of farmers drove their tractors into thirty state capitals and Washington, D.C. The largest action occurred in President Carter's home state of Georgia where more than 8,000 tractors converged on Atlanta. In Oklahoma City protesters hung Secretary of Agriculture Robert Bergland in effigy.

Placards and bumper stickers bore slogans that captured the spirit of the protesters: "Crime doesn't pay, neither does farming," "Try eating your money, big shot!" "If the good Lord had intended for farmers to be broke, he wouldn't have made overalls with pockets," and "Parity not charity."

Strike called

When the Carter administration refused to even consider their demands, the protesting farmers, loosely organized in the American Agriculture Movement, launched a strike on December 14. The strikers are determined to withhold their products from the market, to refuse to buy anything except bare necessities, and to refuse to produce at the next planting season. At the end of the first week, strike leaders said it was too early to determine the strike's effectiveness.

The strength of the strikers appears to be greatest in Kansas, Texas, and Georgia. Some small towns in these states virtually closed down on the first day of the strike, as local merchants solidarized with the farmers. Many warehouses and stockyards were closed, and blockades halted shipments to supermarkets.

Tractorcades and rallies continue in many towns. On December 7, for example, 300 tractors paraded in Fayetteville, North Carolina, where President Carter was attending a wedding.

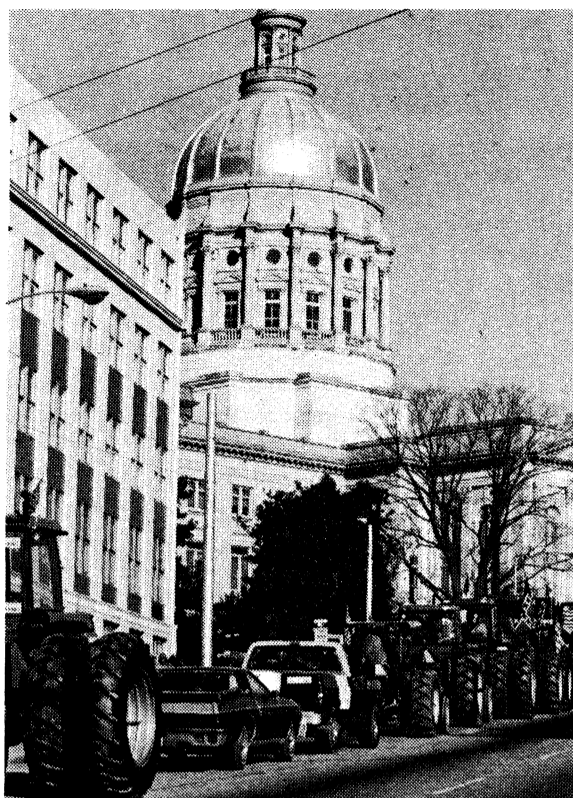
Generally, the protesters are being led by young farmers in their thirties, many of them college-educated. Most of the participants are family farmers who produce corn, wheat, and soy beans. Some beef and hog farmers are also involved. Typical participants have machinery worth \$100,000 to \$200,000 (on which they are still making payments) and own or rent land (many do both) worth \$1-2 million. Family members—and if necessary a hired hand or two during certain seasons—work the land.

Double squeeze

To the average wage worker who doesn't own much property, these figures may seem staggering. But the costs of paying for this machinery and land and for employing them in production are great. The average working farmer's income in good years is about the same as that of many wage workers. However, in bad years such as 1977 farmers face a desperate situation.

In terms of what their earned dollars can buy, their income is the lowest since the 1930s. They are caught in a terrible vice between the increasing costs of fertilizer, fuel, machinery, food and clothing, interest payments, and taxes on one hand, and low market prices for their products on the other.

The cost of producing wheat, corn,



Largest recent protest was in Carter's home state of Georgia at the state capitol in Atlanta. Despite rebuff from Teamsters head Frank Fitzsimmons, Georgia farmers won support from local trucker.

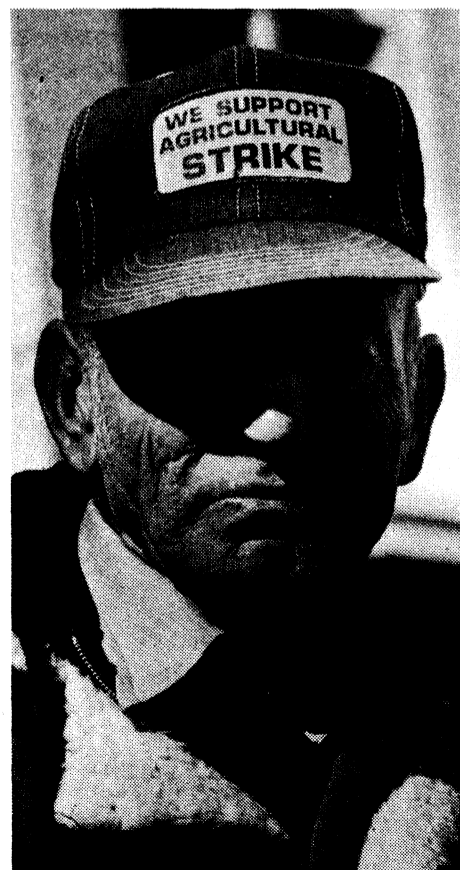
and several other basic farm products is generally greater now than what the farmer can sell it for on the market. The situation is worsened by the heavy debts many farmers acquired when they invested in new machinery and land when farm prices were high in the early 1970s. American farmers are now deeper in debt than at any time in history. Farmers in sections of the country struck by floods or droughts this year are doubly hurt.

Carter's policy

Many farmers had great hopes that Carter, who made a big point during his campaign of being a "farmer," would take steps to help them. But the actions of this "peanut farmer" are a bitter disappointment.

The 1977 Farm bill, debated by Congress for nearly nine months earlier this year, was signed by Carter on September 29. It slightly increases price supports but does not even come close to providing the assistance necessary for farmers to meet their costs of production.

Carter, in fact, successfully intervened to get Congress to reduce price supports even more than the Senate originally proposed. Farmers were spurred to protest when it became clear that Carter was opposed to them.



Militant/Richard Ratherns

Their demand is that farm prices be pegged at 100 percent of parity. Parity prices are determined by comparing current crop prices and costs of production with those of 1910-1914, which were relatively more favorable years for farmers. For example, wheat, which is presently selling for \$2.75 a bushel, at the parity price would be \$5.03. The protesters are demanding that the government pay the difference.

Carter and Bergland claim that present price supports make it possible for farmers to meet the cost of production. They accuse farmers of demanding price increases so excessive that they will drive up food prices for consumers.

This is the time-worn ruling-class trick of pitting labor against working farmers by blaming the farmers for high food prices. Conversely, the employers blame workers for inflationary price increases when they fight for higher wages.

But it's not the demands of the working farmer for a living income that forces food prices up. It's the food monopolies that buy the farm products, process them, and retail them who jack the prices way up and extort huge profits.

Fitzsimmons's rebuff

In combating the food monopolies and the capitalist parties that defend them, working farmers and labor have a common cause. Unfortunately, the self-seeking officials of today's labor movement don't see it that way.

Many farmers hoped that truckers would honor their picket lines. But Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, says that despite his "sympathy" for the farmers, the Teamsters have contracts that prevent them from honoring picket lines except those set up by other labor organizations.

Many Teamsters would be interested to learn that in Minneapolis in the 1930s, striking Teamsters forged an effective alliance with working farmers. (See *Teamsters Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs, Pathfinder Press, \$2.25.)

It's also ironic that Fitzsimmons rebuffs a farmers movement that is today more openly using the language and examples of the workers movement. Up until now, protesting farmers have usually avoided the term "strike" and have called their actions "holidays," "holding actions," and so forth, so as not to be so explicitly identified with the tactics of labor.



But as one Colorado farmer passing out leaflets to United Steel Workers members at their plant gate explained to a *Washington Post* reporter, "I've cursed strikers all my life. I'll never do it again. I thought they were lower class. Now look where they are and look at the farmer."

Many women are active in the protest movement, and the three-year-old, 3,000-member American Agri-Women endorsed the strike at its national convention in November.

The present protest movement has developed outside the more established farm organizations—the Farm Bureau, the National Farmers Union, and the National Farmers Organization. But it has drawn into its actions many members of these organizations as well as some local affiliates and leaders. Some members of the staid Farm Bureau have demonstratively resigned to protest the no-government-intervention position of that organization's national leadership.

The NFU concentrates almost exclusively on lobbying for more favorable legislation.

The NFO, which was established in 1955 and became prominent for its militant holding actions, limits its activity to attempting to win contracts whereby prices would be established through collective bargaining with the processors and distributors. Its principal tactic is to get as many producers as possible to hold their products off the market in order to force the processors to sign a contract. So far, the NFO has not won any contracts.

Political movement

Unlike the other farm organizations, the AAM is not a membership organization, nor does it have officers. Rather it is a more loosely organized network of local action committees. An office in Springfield, Colorado, with eighteen phones helps serve as a communication center for activists around the country. Leaders that come forward in one place are often called upon to speak in other towns.

The orientation of the AAM so far has been to mobilize as broad a political protest movement as possible. Through direct action it has attempted to attract national attention for the plight of farmers, win supporters for their cause, and build up pressure for government action. In this context the present strike is even more important as a political protest than an economic action, where its impact is likely to be more limited.

Charges dropped against Dawson Five

By Don Davis

DAWSON, Ga.—The prosecution in the Dawson Five case dropped its frame-up murder charges December 19, following a judge's ruling that the state's evidence against the young Blacks cannot be used in court.

The five defendants set free are Roosevelt and Henderson Watson, their cousin J.A. Davenport, and brothers James and Johnny Jackson. They were accused of killing a white rancher. The prosecution's main evidence was so-called confessions wrung from them under threat of death.

Judge Walter Geer ruled December 14 that the supposed confessions were not admissible. Prosecutors had admitted that they had virtually no case without the confessions.

The judge's decision was the second time the "confessions" had been ruled inadmissible. When the judge threw out the "confessions," chief defense lawyer Millard Farmer felt victory was near after a twenty-three-month-long fight.

"It's obvious to everyone down there they got the wrong people, and they're looking for ways to back down out of that," Farmer told the *Militant*. "They know now what we've known for two years."

On a recent fund-raising speaking

tour of northeastern colleges by the Dawson Five, supporters sold buttons that aptly summarize the case: "The new South? Ask the Dawson Five."

The five defendants, now eighteen to twenty-two years old, were accused in January 1976 of killing the white rancher in a rural grocery.

The cops said the case was open and shut. The grocer, a white man, identified the defendants, and they confessed, the police said. The prosecutors said they would seek the death penalty for all five. The local climate suggested they would get it.

However, the Team Defense Project, an Atlanta-based anti-death penalty group, quickly established that the grocer's identification came at least a day after the killing—even though the grocer knew some of the defendants well.

The defendants maintained their innocence, explaining they were forced to confess because the police threatened them with death.

The main witness for the defense in this summer's hearings was the former chief investigator of the Dawson police department, William Rucker. Rucker testified that he saw a deputy sheriff put a cocked pistol to the head of James Jackson and threaten to pull the trigger if Jackson did not admit

knowing the location of the murder weapon.

Neither the gun, the money allegedly stolen from the grocery, nor any physical evidence linking the five to the killing had ever been presented.

The hearing in August, packed with national news reporters and local

Blacks, also outlined the continued white-minority rule in Terrell County: segregation in churches, education, housing, jobs, recreation; and police spying and harassment of Black activists in Dawson, twenty-one miles south of Jimmy Carter's hometown of Plains.



DAWSON FIVE (from left): J.D. Davenport; Henderson Watson; James Jackson, Jr.; Roosevelt Watson; Johnny Jackson.

Case of political harassment

Immigration counselor framed in Texas

By José G. Pérez

Delia Gonzalez, a Del Rio, Texas, legal secretary, has been hit with a thirteen-count federal indictment charging that she "encouraged and induced" Mexicans to enter and reside in the United States in violation of immigration laws. She faces sixty-five years in prison and \$26,000 in fines if convicted.

Gonzalez denies she violated any laws. All she did, she explains, was provide strictly legal immigration counseling. In a phone interview with the *Militant*, she charged the indict-

ment was politically motivated harassment against her and her family.

"Everybody in Del Rio knows that my husband and I have always fought for the *mexicano*," Gonzalez told the *Militant*. "The charges stem from that."

She also sees the indictment as part of a broader repressive campaign against Mexican immigrants. "The gringos see that there are a lot of *mexicanos* coming over here and they think the *mexicanos* are going to take over after a while, which they don't like."

Delia Gonzalez and her spouse, Mike Gonzalez, are prominent political personalities in Del Rio, a border city of 21,000 people, 150 miles west of San Antonio. She was a delegate to the 1976 Democratic National Convention. Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe recently appointed her a commissioner of the Greater South Texas Cultural Basin, a government-funded antipoverty effort. Mike Gonzalez is an attorney who heads the legal office where Delia Gonzalez works, and he is a member of the Del Rio City Council.

Delia Gonzalez says she and her husband have been involved in several local controversies. One was a civil rights suit against a country club for barring Chicanos and *mexicanos*. Another was a lawsuit to consolidate the two school districts in Del Rio because the 99 percent *mexicano* school district was being shortchanged on federal funds through the division into two districts.

Delia Gonzalez says these political activities have led to harassment from racists and government officials. For example, several years ago the federal government charged Mike Gonzalez with smuggling from Mexico one carton of cigarettes and one case of scotch. After spending much time fighting the charge, he won an acquittal.

The latest fight against federal government harassment started when Delia Gonzalez was called to testify before a grand jury.

"When the U.S. attorney called me in to testify he tried to say that I had prepared a fraudulent marriage between a Mexican citizen and a U.S. citizen so the *mexicano* could get residence," Gonzalez reports. "I answered those charges, showing they were false."

"Then they were stating I had forged signatures," Gonzalez submitted handwriting samples that showed this, too, was false.

On November 16, the grand jury returned the indictment on charges of encouraging and inducing illegal entry and residence. Gonzalez was surprised because "it was something they didn't ask me about in the grand jury. If I had been given an opportunity to

explain to the grand jury what the law says, there wouldn't have been any indictment."

As soon as she was indicted, the government tried to throw her in jail unless she could come up with \$50,000 cash bond on the spot. This was lowered to \$20,000, and two friends put up property for her bond so she wouldn't go to jail.

Gonzalez explained that the thirteen persons she allegedly induced and encouraged to illegally enter the United States in fact entered legally with "local border crossing cards" given out by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and that she worked with these people after they had already entered.

In addition, all thirteen have filed petitions with the Immigration and Naturalization Service for residence permits, and the INS has yet to rule on whether they qualify under immigration law. Gonzalez said her law office has handled 2,000 such cases now pending with INS.

She noted the procedure is very common, and the charges against her are "selective prosecution."

"I know of a certain retired immigration officer in Eagle Pass [another Texas border city] who is doing exactly the same thing I was: telling people to remain here while adjusting their status. But of course, he's a gringo and he wasn't indicted, and I'm a Mexican and I'm Mike Gonzalez's wife, and that makes the difference."

In response to a question, she said she saw many parallels between her case and that of the Manzo Four. The four are Tucson, Arizona, immigration counselors who were indicted on charges stemming from their activities helping undocumented people obtain legal residence permits. The government dropped charges in the Manzo case after a nationwide outpouring of protests.

If the government succeeds in establishing a precedent through her case, Gonzalez said, any immigration counselor or lawyer could be indicted, as well as any immigrants who have adjusted their status after arriving in the United States or are in the process of doing so.

Costa Rican activists freed



Militant

The Costa Rican government has released the eight activists arrested after a demonstration for better housing conditions in Limoncito. The prisoners—who still face trial—were freed following an international protest campaign. Above is a December 6 picket line sponsored in San Francisco by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

Speakers hit politicians, McBride

500 rally to celebrate iron range victory

By Stu Singer

HIBBING, Minn.—Five hundred steelworkers and their supporters rallied at an ice rink in the Memorial Building here Saturday, December 17. The rally was called last month by the Minnesota AFL-CIO to support the long strike of Mesabi Iron Range steelworkers.

With the last local ending the strike the previous day, the rally turned into a victory celebration. It was an impressive example of labor solidarity.

It was probably not coincidental that the strike was settled just before the date set for the rally. An earlier rally held on November 6 had forced a major retreat by the companies.

United Steelworkers of America President Lloyd McBride had shown up there to announce a secret deal he had negotiated with U.S. Steel. Until that rally of 2,500 people, the corporations had refused to negotiate at all and were trying to break the strike with court action.

Noticeable by their absence from the December 17 rally here were official representatives of the USWA international leadership. But they were not forgotten. One of the best-received speeches of the day was by USWA District 33 Director Linus Wampler:

"The international sent in some Judases to sell stale fish to these miners," he said. "I'm very sorry that some of the people that are paid by this international union saw fit to come in here and attempt to sell you people a bill of goods. . . .

"You took care of it very neatly by staying on strike until you had at least a partial victory. I say it was a tremendous victory. I have nothing but praise for the brave men and women of the Steelworkers union who stood up

and fought these steel companies so valiantly."

About half the people at the rally arrived in buses and cars from throughout the state.

State AFL-CIO President David Roe spoke. More than \$20,000 was contributed from the union movement throughout the state, it was announced. A large quantity of food was also contributed.

One of the Teamster officials who made a contribution recalled the role the Teamsters had played in building the Minnesota union movement in 1934. He saw this rally as continuing that tradition.

Two West Germans presented \$2,800 in cash, which had been raised from collections among German steelworkers and others in support of the strike.

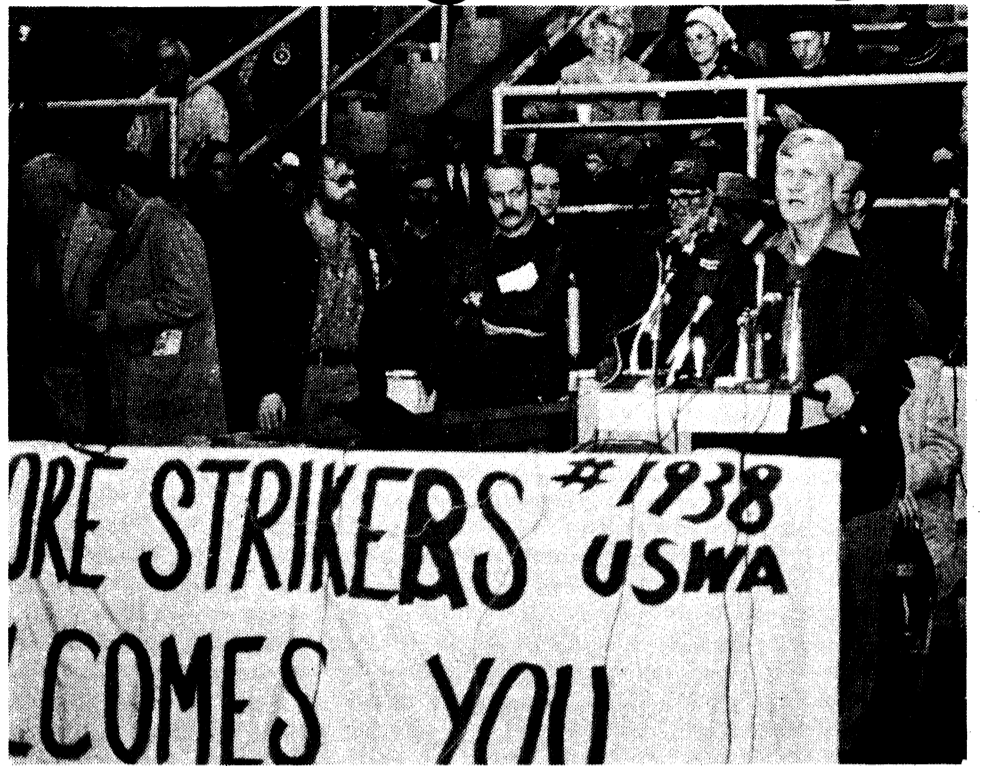
Gene Skraba, vice-president of the Steelworkers local at Eveleth Taconite, reported to the rally on his trip to Houston a few days earlier, where he addressed a public meeting on the Iron Range strike. Skraba expressed the hope that there would be more opportunities to meet with steelworkers and others around the country to exchange ideas and experiences.

"I think those steelworkers in Houston deserve a round of applause," he said. "They are sympathetic to us."

Jim Balanoff, director of USWA District 31 from Chicago, spoke and brought greetings from Ed Sadlowski. Sadlowski had been scheduled to speak but couldn't make it.

The rally was chaired by Local 1938 President Joe Samargia. Willard Anderson, president of Local 2660 at Hanna Mining Company, opened the rally with a warning to the politicians in attendance.

"Don't take labor people for



WILLARD ANDERSON: 'It's about time the business of governing was turned around.'

granted," he said. "We understand the problems of this country. We had a hell of a time getting help for our people on food stamps and welfare. They figure we're asking for too much. Who pays the biggest share of the taxes in this country?"

"We do," came shouts from the audience.

Anderson continued, "I think it's about time that the business of governing is turned around."

Four top Minnesota politicians showed up at the rally. They stayed together off to one side, looking somewhat uncomfortable during Ander-

son's remarks.

Gov. Rudy Perpich, who has tried to cultivate a prolabor image, never uttered a word of support for the strike while it was going on. In his remarks to the rally, he made an effort to defend himself and the Democratic Party from the charges made by Anderson.

"I say to you," he concluded, "that the leadership of this state has the best interests of labor at heart."

U.S. Sen. Wendell Anderson used the show of solidarity by the West German steelworkers to launch a harangue about Japan putting German and

'Time to spread solidarity'

Last Mesabi steel strikers return to work

By Stu Singer

VIRGINIA, Minn.—The iron range strike is over.

After 138 days, United Steelworkers of America Local 6115 at Inland Steel's Minnaca plant here voted by a two-to-one majority to return to work December 16.

The key vote actually took place the day before, when more than 2,000 workers at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant voted at the Miners Memorial Hall in Virginia.

Steelworkers at Minntac and two smaller U.S. Steel iron ore facilities voted 1,565 to 742 to end the long walkout.

USWA Local 1938 at Minntac with 3,400 members is the largest local on the Mesabi Iron Range and played a central role in the strike. Local 1938 President Joe Samargia emerged as the main spokesperson for the strikers.

The Local 1938 strike vote meeting was set for noon. It had been announced only the night before on radio and TV. But steelworkers started showing up at 11:00 a.m.

Two local union activists stood by the doors leafleting all the workers about attending the Saturday labor solidarity rally in Hibbing.

Reporters were not allowed in the meeting. Steelworkers who attended told the *Militant* afterward that the meeting began with a report by Samargia outlining the proposed contract terms.

When Samargia finished many workers left immediately to vote in an adjoining room. Discussion among



Members of USWA Local 1938 arrive to vote on contract proposal in Virginia, Minnesota.

those who remained was apparently dominated by workers urging a "no" vote. They felt more could be won on local issues and incentive-pay coverage by staying out longer.

But no member of the negotiating committee spoke against the proposal.

The voting was done in voting booths on a printed ballot. The Minntac votes were combined with those from smaller locals at the Sherman Mine near Buhl and a local in Coleraine. The ballots were all taken to a USWA office in Hibbing to be counted.

The results were announced by Sa-

marginia around 11:00 p.m. The pickets at the Minntac gate immediately went home, and by midnight the company was calling people back to work.

Along with the election results Samargia made a few remarks. "The strike was a big victory," he said, "because the membership stuck together. We had a lot of local issues to catch up on, which our last district director, Benzoni, signed away from us in the last contract."

"We have to eliminate the ENA [Experimental Negotiating Agreement, in which the USWA gives up the right

to conduct a national steel strike] in order to take on the steel companies like they should be taken on. The only power of the unions is to withhold our work."

The contract approved by U.S. Steelworkers was similar to that approved by the other Minnesota locals in the past few weeks. Some progress was made on local health, safety, seniority, and vacation issues.

A partial victory was won on the demand for incentive-pay bonuses similar to those in the steel mills. The formula specifies that a minimum of 75 percent of workers will be covered by incentives, including all maintenance and production employees, beginning in November 1979.

With Samargia when the vote was announced was Ed Walberg, a Minntac picket captain and a key organizer of the December 17 rally. Speaking of the rally, Walberg said, "We'll celebrate our victory, and then we'll spread our solidarity around the world—to the coal miners, to the farmers."

That afternoon, as Local 1938 members finished voting, there seemed to be a mood of some relief that the long strike was over. But there was widespread dissatisfaction with the contract, even larger than the sizeable vote against it.

Few steelworkers felt good about the new contract, but the majority agreed with the negotiating committee that this was the best contract that could be gotten at this point.

There was little sense of defeat. The workers marched out together and—after forcing the company to back

American steelworkers out of work. His remarks were booed by the audience.

Local 4108 President Joe Smilanich explained the blow his local suffered when Erie Mining Company laid off 90 percent of their members as soon as they voted to return to work. Overall, though, he felt the strike successful. It's like "hitting a mule over the head with a two-by-four," he said. "At least we got the attention of the companies."

Bill Larson, president of Local 4757 at Reserve Mining Company, said, "Solidarity led us to this victory. We faced an enemy. He used every dirty trick in the book to break our people. Your right to strike was nearly lost and now remains seriously jeopardized by a new ENA agreement [between top union and company officials to curb local strikes], which evidently can be changed at any time without your consent."

"Brother and sister steelworkers, we must bring the leadership of the international union back under the control of its members."

Houston meet

HOUSTON—More than fifty people attended a meeting here December 15 to hear a representative of the Mesabi Iron Range steelworkers.

Gene Skraba, vice-president of the Steelworkers local union at Eveleth Taconite, addressed an audience that included members of the Steelworkers, Teamsters, Carpenters, Teachers, Railroad, Communications Workers, and Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers unions.

A total of more than \$600 was raised before and at the meeting to bring Skraba to Houston and to donate to the strikers.

The meeting was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Mesabi Iron Range Strikers.

down on its refusal to grant incentive pay—they marched back in together.

John Perko, the young president of Local 6115 at Inland, told the *Militant* his impression of the strike outcome.

"I just learned what power people have if they stick together. Take a look at these companies. You're in lawsuits for a month-and-a-half because they claim that the strike is illegal on a certain issue [incentive], and five months later you come back and you're victorious. You've gotten them to reverse their position in the courts. You've won a major victory on the issue."

"I can't help but think that people should realize—and I know a lot of them do—that if you stand up and voice your opinion about what you feel is right, and if you stay at it long enough, sooner or later you'll get there."

A clarification

A discussion I had with Bill Larson and another member of the negotiating committee from Local 4757 at Reserve Mining indicates that readers may get the wrong impression from an article in the December 16 *Militant*.

The article could be interpreted to mean that the local went back to work without any signed contract with the company. This is not true.

Their contract was signed—except for a "handshake" and a verbal agreement concerning the categories of workers covered under the incentive-pay plan.

According to Bill Larson, "Our entire agreement is signed. The only exception to that is the side letter of interpretation as to the mechanics of how the incentive program will be implemented."

Judge hits gov't 'misconduct'

Filipina nurses win new trial

By Diane Wang

Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez, two Filipina nurses convicted last July on frame-up poisoning charges, have won a new trial. Federal Judge Philip Pratt declared December 19 that "judicial conscience" demanded a new trial because the prosecutors' misconduct had "polluted the waters of justice."

The nurses were originally charged with killing five men and poisoning ten others by injecting a muscle-paralyzing drug into patients' intravenous medication tubes. The prosecution case was so weak that during the trial the judge threw out more than half the original charges for lack of evidence.

The government called seventy-eight prosecution witnesses and spent \$250,000 on FBI chemical analysis. But the best it could do was place the nurses in the vicinity of the patients when the poisoning was discovered.

So the prosecution resorted to what Judge Pratt described as "persistent misconduct [that] prevented the jurors from receiving the case free from taint."

For example, prosecutors tried to prevent defense lawyers from preparing the nurses' case by withholding information. Judge Pratt condemned that tactic for reducing "the trial from a search for the truth to a game of five-card stud poker."

Pratt declared that the prosecution had "presented improper suggestions of fact and law to the jury" so that the



Nurses Leonora Perez and Filipina Narciso after news of victory

guilty verdicts "could not reasonably have been reached free of the influence of the numerous improprieties" committed by the government.

The prosecution resorted to such tactics because of the overwhelming evidence pointing to the nurses' innocence.

When the poisonings happened in 1975 virtually any hospital worker, patient, or visitor had access to the victims. The muscle relaxant was kept in an unlocked refrigerator.

A former hospital patient who had a room across the hall from one victim testified he had seen neither Narciso nor Perez in the victim's room before the poisoning.

Further, one of the victims who recovered from a poisoning attack swore that it was a man he saw running from his room before he lost consciousness.

And as if that were not enough, a nurse supervisor who killed herself last February had admitted that she poisoned the patients.

Since the nurses' conviction last summer petitions and picket lines around the country have demanded a new trial.

U.S. Attorney James Robinson has said he is planning to review the case before deciding whether to retry the two women or drop charges.

January women's protests

Virginia ERA rally gains support

By Diane Wang

National leaders of the feminist and labor movements are scheduled to address the January 22 demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia.

Among the speakers are Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW); Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); and William Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and international secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The January 22 rally in Richmond will climax a week of pro-ERA activity organized by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), a coalition of Virginia trade unions initiated by locals of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union.

Demonstrators will assemble at Monroe Park in Richmond at 12:30 p.m. for a march to the state capitol. The rally at the capitol will begin at 2:30 p.m.

Other speakers at the Richmond rally will include Julian Carper, president of the Virginia AFL-CIO; Marianne Fowler of Virginians for the ERA Political Action Committee; Leon Schachter of the Meat Cutters union; and a representative of the Virginia ERA Ratification Council.

The rally has won endorsement from many trade-union locals and women's rights groups, as well as from the Virginia Education Association; United Auto Workers, region 8; and the Greater Washington, D.C., Central La-

bor Council, AFL-CIO.

National organizations such as NOW, CLUW, the CBTU, and ERAmerica have also endorsed.

Organizations wishing to add their names to the endorsement list should contact: Labor for Equal Rights Now, 1022 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 2310, Arlington, Virginia 22209.

The Richmond rally is attracting people not only from Virginia but from other states also. The NOW-New York chapter, for example, is organizing transportation to Richmond.

* * *

A pro-ERA rally will also be held in Phoenix, Arizona, on January 21.

Since January 22 marks the fifth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, NOW chapters and coalitions are planning protests around that date in defense of women's right to choose abortion:

- A statewide rally in **Sacramento, California**, is planned for January 23.

- A statewide rally in **Akron, Ohio**, on January 23 will focus protest against an anti-abortion bill being considered by the Akron City Council.

- A demonstration is planned for **Frankfort, Kentucky**, on January 22.

- A statewide rally will be held in **Annapolis, Maryland**, on January 22.

- A speakout on abortion will be held at Rutgers University in **Newark, New Jersey**, on January 29.

- NOW-New York is holding a teach-in on abortion January 21 at the

headquarters of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, in New York City. Speakers will include author Betty Friedan and anthropologist Evelyn Reed.

NOW nat'l board meets

The national board of the National Organization for Women met in San Francisco December 2-4. A high point of the meeting was a report on NOW's growth. In October and November 20,000 new members joined the organization. Three to four new chapters have been chartered each day, bringing the total of local chapters up to 770.

The meeting assessed NOW's participation at the Houston National Women's Conference and discussed ratification work and activities to commemorate the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

Brenda Fraser of NOW's Minority Women's Task Force reported that three minority women's conferences will be held this spring, perhaps in conjunction with NOW's April regional conferences.

The 1978 NOW national convention has been set for Washington, D.C., during October.

...no human rights

Continued from front page

true attitude toward human rights. It shows what political prisoners in this country and around the world can expect this Christmas from the holier-than-thou hypocrite in the White House.

Just look at the human rights situation in this country under Carter:

- **Stearns miners.** Ten Kentucky coal miners are serving a six-month jail term simply for striking to win union recognition.

- **Puerto Rican Nationalists.** These four independence fighters—Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, Lolita Lebrón, and Rafael Cancel Miranda—are among the longest-held political prisoners in this hemisphere.

- **Leonard Peltier.** This American Indian Movement activist is being held in a federal maximum-security prison on trumped-up murder charges. Many other AIM activists are also now under indictment on various phony counts.

- **Gary Tyler.** Racist Louisiana courts have denied this nineteen-year-old Black youth a retrial, even though the sole prosecution witness at the murder trial has now recanted.

- **Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis.** They are still in New Jersey prisons, having been convicted in a retrial one year ago. Key recantations were also ignored here.

- **Héctor Marroquín.** Although just released from a Texas jail (see page 4), this Mexican political activist still faces deportation. His case is similar to that of another exiled Mexican activist, José Jacques Medina, as well as those of the many Haitian political refugees fighting for asylum in this country.

These cases, and many others, deserve our active support. The nationwide publicity focused on the two Filipina nurses and the Dawson Five won the victories reported on elsewhere in this issue. In neither case did Carter lift a finger for human rights, although the Dawson frame-up took place only a short distance from his Plains, Georgia, home.

The White House record on political rights abroad is no better.

Torture, imprisonment, and ruthless suppression of democratic rights are a way of life today under the notorious regimes in South Africa, Iran, South Korea, Chile, Argentina, and the Philippines. The most widely publicized outrage recently was the South African government's sham inquest clearing itself of murder charges against jailed Black leader Steve Biko.

Yet the U.S. government and giant American corporations continue to prop up these repressive regimes.

- **South Africa.** The Carter administration opposes any economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. U.S. banks and corporations hold \$1.7 billion in investments there and have extended loans and credits amounting to \$2.2 billion.

- **Iran.** Since 1972 Washington has sold or agreed to sell the hated government there \$18.2 billion in military equipment. And Carter plans to ring in the new year by visiting with the shah.

- **South Korea.** Carter has asked Congress for \$280 million in military aid for the repressive Park regime next year.

- **Philippines.** Washington sent \$19.6 million dollars in military aid this year to dictator Marcos. Marcos is asking for \$1 billion in military aid over the next five years and may well get it.

- **Chile, Argentina, Brazil.** Carter's cutoff of direct aid to these dictatorships is offset by the huge loans that still pour in from the U.S.-dominated World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and from major American banks.

In addition, Washington is the mainstay of the Israeli Zionist government, which has dispossessed the Palestinians of their homeland and holds thousands of Arab political prisoners in its jails.

Carter tries to hide his own heinous record on human rights, by hypocritically pointing to the Stalinist repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. These regimes, which falsely parade as socialist, give Carter and other capitalist politicians an ill-deserved handle for their human rights demogogy.

The *Militant* champions the struggles of all the oppressed, whether in the bureaucratized workers states or in the capitalist countries. For revolutionists in this country, that means first and foremost exposing Washington's crimes and fighting to replace the inhuman capitalist system with a socialist world that will tear down the prison walls once and for all.

Less 'critical support'

I'm enclosing money for subscriptions for two people I think would be interested in your paper. I think your paper is well-written and truthful. But while I think most of your criticisms are validly based, I would like to see more coverage of the positive aspects of socialist development in Vietnam, North Korea, Mozambique, Angola, etc.

I feel that emphasis on criticism, and not the support inherent in "critical support," leaves me sometimes feeling pessimistic and defeatist after reading the *Militant*. Otherwise, keep up the good work.

John Gilbert
Ithaca, New York

Selling to miners

Three of us went to Finleyville, Pennsylvania, a mining community, on December 3. In forty-five minutes we sold five single copies of the *Militant* and three subscriptions. Two of the three were to United Mine Workers members.

G.H.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Randolph Evans

I am an incarcerated individual who would like to give his condolences to the family of Mrs. Evans, whose son Randolph was killed by a New York cop. (See December 16 *Militant*.)

I am very sorry to have heard of the death of her son; his death has moved many individual comrades at Attica State Penitentiary.

I would like to say to the world's leaders that it's a shame how you sit around like pampered babies watching an innocent child be murdered by these racist-minded people.

Year after year my people have been subjected to the worst crimes a race of people can be victims of.

Four hundred years ago our foreparents were robbed, beaten, our women raped, our men hanged. And now we still go through the same thing, but now it's the kids.

Where are our leaders who speak with such authority, who go from here to Africa, to Boston, to the shores of Asia and back?

I urge you, brothers and sisters, young and old, that the death of this child cannot be overlooked. This child is the extension of each and every one of us.

A prisoner
New York

'One of the best'

I just got a dental insurance check for dental work I had done a while ago.

Among all the uses I could put this money towards, I feel the *Militant* is one of the best.

The *Militant* is an important tool for spreading the truth and fighting back against the ruling-class offensive. Hope this check helps meet the \$50,000 goal and keeps the *Militant* at thirty-two pages every week.

M.K.
Albany, New York

Firm Believer

I've been a firm believer in the "socialist alternative" now for some five years and have been reading and enjoying the *Militant* for almost as long. Good luck in the new year, and keep up the good work.

W.L.
Clinton, Massachusetts

Looks forward to each copy

I presently subscribe to the *Militant* and intend to do so for many years to come. I look forward to each copy, because I find the newsweekly educational and informative.

The *Militant* provides me with a more realistic interpretation of the socio-political events occurring in our world today—a perspective that is definitely lacking in most popular forms of the media.

R. S.
Shippensburg, Pennsylvania

Disagrees on abortion

I'm a prisoner, caged from the world, thus I need not tell you how glad I am to be given your paper every week. Yet, without meaning any disrespect, I must speak out against your views concerning abortion.

A prisoner
Attica, New York



'Don't worry about it. One day you're feeling down and you dish out twenty years to some poor devil. The next day you feel great and everybody gets a suspended sentence. It all evens out in the end.'

A boss. . . is a boss

The Young Radiator Company of Matton, Illinois, has decided that its employees, who have been on strike since April 1, are not worth it. Mr. Young's proposals are as follows: infringement on the union shop; the entire deletion of checkoff proposals; decrease in insurance benefits, such as standby on surgery, surgery outpatient, and the elimination of all private rooms.

Mr. Young does not believe in hiring Blacks, but he does believe in hiring scabs.

M. W.
Chicago, Illinois

In need of 'Militant'

I am sending this letter to you about receiving copies of the *Militant*. I was getting deep off into the paper just as I was being transferred to this correctional institution.

Presently being imprisoned, I am without funds. Other brothers imprisoned here can also benefit from sharing these copies of the *Militant*, if I can receive them without having to pay for them.

Brothers are in need of the *Militant* to keep them going!

A prisoner
Memphis, Tennessee



Impressed with speaker

I was really impressed by the speaker from the *Militant* who came to Milwaukee Area Technical College last month. Cathy Sedwick gave a very intellectual viewpoint on the *Bakke* case and other issues. I, and I'm sure everyone else as well, enjoyed hearing her.

K.S.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Tom Watson and racism

The report in the December 23 *Militant* on a farmers' demonstration in Atlanta mentions a statue of Tom Watson, the populist leader and former senator from Georgia, that stands on the lawn of the state capitol where the protests took place.

It would be unfortunate if the growing farmers movement were to uncritically hail Watson as a hero. Although he held radical views on some questions, with the rise of Jim Crow toward the end of the nineteenth century Watson adopted extremely racist opinions.

In a 1905 editorial in his magazine, Watson attacked Black educator Booker T. Washington in these terms:

"What does Civilization owe to the negro?

Nothing!

Nothing!

NOTHING!!!!"

In 1906 Watson campaigned for Hoke Smith, a Georgia politician with openly segregationist and racist views.

Working farmers today can only win their demands through an alliance with all other sections of society fighting against capitalist exploitation—Blacks, Chicanos, women, and the working class as a whole. And that will mean decisively repudiating the racist bigotry of figures such as Tom Watson.

Peter Archer

New York, New York

Wrong and disruptive

I would appreciate your discontinuing sending me your paper. I find your attitude to the USSR both wrong and disruptive of the solidarity that is necessary for the defeat of the capitalist enemy.

R.B.

San Francisco, California

Commitment to working class

I am enclosing a check for the amount of ten dollars to help you in your present financial difficulty; I only wish it could be more.

The news in the *Militant* is not always pleasant, and the small victories won by the working class constitute a message that there is still a very long way to go, but when I receive my copy of the *Militant* or purchase one downtown, I know there is still a great group of people who have made their commitment to the working class and to all the oppressed without retreat or compromise.

Cliff Nyberg

Seattle, Washington

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.

Bert Lance & the miners

It happened that former U.S. Budget Director Bert Lance recently spoke at West Virginia University in Morgantown at about the same time that two coal miners from Stearns, Kentucky, along with members of the Justus Mine Women's Club, were also invited to speak.

What the reasons were for inviting Lance and what this former Carter administration appointee could tell an audience of university students that would be of any use to them is not known for sure. It is certain, however, that Lance is reluctant to talk about his shady banking practices and his misleading statements to the U.S. Senate when he was seeking confirmation in his highly paid prestigious government job earlier in the year.

The present state of Lance's personal finances is something of a mystery, but he remains a major shareholder in the multi-million-dollar National Bank of Georgia and is not thought to be a poor man.

There is a question about whether he ought to be allowed to continue in the banking business, because other bankers have complained that he discredited their image. But Lance contends he is as honest as any banker can be, and besides everyone knows bankers are in business to make money.

The people from Stearns, who drove 400 miles to the university, are the victims of bankers and other money makers.

The miners are on strike, and they have been subsisting on strike benefits for a long time. The women are strike supporters.

Since the strike against the Blue Diamond Coal Company began seventeen months ago, the 160 strikers have been shot at by company security guards, beaten and arrested by Kentucky state police, fined and jailed by a local judge. Their only crime is that they voted for the United Mine Workers and demanded the company sign up with the union and comply with federal mine safety laws.

These miners are badly in need of moral, political, and financial support. And they are anxious to plead their case wherever they can. At West Virginia Univer-

sity they described how the coal company gets away with safety violations, and they showed a film of the October 17 state police attack that sent some strikers to the hospital and ten to jail.

According to all accounts the miners' meeting in Morgantown was highly successful. It was attended by 150 people who learned about unsafe mine conditions, and nearly all pledged to help the strikers in every way possible.

In the coalfields miners get only the most grudging help from government agencies. They must rely on their own organized strength, support from the union movement, sympathetic students, and others in the working class.

A sharp distinction is made everywhere between miners and members of the ruling class, as if there were a natural instead of a social division between them.

This was demonstrated by the treatment of the miners in contrast to the manner of the university in arranging the appearance of banker Bert Lance. Lance, of course, is accustomed to receiving high fees whether he needs or deserves them. So he was given a \$4,000 honorarium for his brief appearance.

In the miners' case, the university authorities initially agreed to allow a mere \$200 to cover travel expenses and food and lodging for the four of them.

Then even that pittance was lost when the campus Forum Festival refused to allocate the funds. To top it off, the group that reserved the meeting room was later put on probation for "soliciting of funds without a permit" because the hat was passed to raise some money to send the Stearns people back home.

A representative of the West Virginia University Stearns Mine Workers Support Committee, Brian Williams, wrote in the school paper: "We . . . appeal for student administration funds in the same proud spirit as the miners' struggle itself—in the name of human rights."

Human rights get short shrift where bankers' rights are served.

Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



Soft cops, hard cops

The following is a guest column by Shelley Kramer.

The fight was fixed from the start. Both the House and Senate agreed that poor women would be the losers—the first victims of the government's campaign against abortion rights.

But the public had to be softened up for the kill. After all, a majority of Americans support a woman's right to choose. They know that denying federal funds for abortions eliminates this right for poor women. So the reactionary Hyde amendment had to go through some cosmetic changes before being passed through Congress again.

Rep. Henry Hyde and his cronies in the House played the hard cops: abortions only to save a woman's life. Sen. Edward Brooke led the Senate's soft-cop contingent: extend funds to include abortions when "medically necessary." The soft-cop liberals appealed to the women's movement to go along with the "medically necessary" hoax as a "lesser evil"—the "only way" to beat back the right wing. They wanted some feminist cover for what would be a massive retreat from the idea that abortion—medically necessary or not—is the right of women on demand.

The hook was baited by aiming the attack against the most vulnerable women—Blacks, Latinas, women on welfare, and teen-agers. As they have from the start, the enemies of abortion rights played on race and class divisions among women to weaken resistance to their moves.

The government's inroads into the rights of women are a cutting edge in its offensive against the rights and expectations of all working people. Carter, the administrator of this offensive, made it all quite clear: life is just unfair if you don't happen to be rich.

Right to an education? Not for women or the oppressed nationalities, who depend on affirmative-action quotas for an equal education. In fact, not for

any students in the growing number of cities where the banks are foreclosing on the schools.

Right to health care? Not for women on Medicaid. Not for workers subjected to deadly hazards on the job. Not for the miners whose clinics have been shut down.

Right to a job? Not for the millions of youth, women, Blacks, and Latinos on the unemployment lines. Not for thousands of steelworkers laid off to salvage corporate profits.

The only rights and expectations Carter, the Democrats, and the Republicans respect and safeguard are those of the ruling rich.

From their standpoint, women's rights must increasingly come under the gun in this offensive.

It's the job of the Democrats and Republicans to administer these blows either as "soft cops" or "hard cops." They may be forced to make a few concessions, but these will be withdrawn the moment the women's movement lets its defenses down. The fate of abortion rights since 1973 proves this.

The women's movement needs to go on the offensive for abortion rights. Mass, militant protests against the Hyde amendment are urgently needed.

But feminists should also draw some lessons about political action from this defeat.

It is suicidal for women to continue to deliver votes into the hands of our enemies—male or female, Democrat or Republican. Acceptance of the "lesser evil" is literally becoming a life-and-death question.

Women have a vital stake in uniting with the victims of the ruling class in a party that represents our interests: a labor party that brings women, Blacks, Chicanos, and all working people behind a program that expresses our needs. A party that will fight for an end to discrimination against women, to racism, and to attacks upon the standard of living of all workers.

A party to finally put an end to this "soft cop"-"hard cop" con game.



No help needed—The Immigration and Naturalization Service says it caught 1,017,000 people trying to cross the Mexican border without papers during the fiscal year ending September 30. This is 20 percent higher than the previous year and the most since 1954. And that's without the KKK.

The ties that bind—The new chief counsel for the Federal Drug Administration, Richard Cooper, was a member of the law firm that represents Coca Cola, the nation's top producer of saccharin-sweetened soda; Pfizer, the drug giant; and Michigan Chemical, the outfit that contaminated cattle feed

with the chemical PBB, causing widespread illness among farm families.

Old reliable—Bayer advertises heavily to cope with the growing public realization that the cheapest aspirin is the same as the most expensive (Bayer's). Now a Senate committee reveals that Bayer doesn't even make all its aspirin but simply stamps its brand name on batches purchased abroad.

Coffin clubs—Toronto researchers found that the carbon monoxide level in night clubs is 50 percent higher than average. They said this is due to

cigarette smoke and is particularly harmful to club employees with heart disease.

Clarification—We recently reported the view of Prof. Edward Hobbs, a religious scholar, that few serious theologians would argue that Christ literally arose bodily from the grave. But now Hobbs is explaining he meant "physically," not "bodily." The difference? Bodily refers to a "spiritual body."

Sociology dep't—A wire-service story from Chicago says that the plush restaurants there are plagued by customer theft. At one swank beanery

the waiters are instructed to whisk the salt and pepper shakers off the tables as soon as the customers are finished eating.

Little wonder—President Carter, whose administration will be paying more than \$1 billion each for nuclear-armed submarines, told Congress the nation cannot afford any increase in Social Security benefits.

Holy christ—The Massachusetts Senate rejected a bill to repeal a 1697 antiblephemy statute. It provides for fines of up to \$300 for profane comments involving god or other things divine.

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins



Open files on Malcolm X

Many unanswered questions surround the assassination of Malcolm X, close to thirteen years after the Black nationalist leader was gunned down in New York.

Earlier this year the *Militant* reported on the contents of more than 1,300 pages of files the FBI kept on Malcolm. The files were released to the *Militant* through a Freedom of Information Act request.

Although they were heavily censored, the files clearly showed the constant surveillance and detailed reports on Malcolm ordered by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. They also contained some damning information about FBI attempts to disrupt the activities of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity.

However, the files contained a glaring omission—not one word dealt with the actual plot that culminated in Malcolm's assassination February 21, 1965. This despite hundreds of pages reporting all kinds of rumors of plots against his life.

At that time we asked, "What is the FBI trying to hide?"

This question was and still is on the minds of many. After the revelations of brazen government lying about the war in Vietnam, the Watergate scandal, and the uncovering of CIA plots to assassinate foreign leaders and heads of state, demands for an answer to this question have grown.

Some light could be shed on it if the New York State Supreme Court follows up on an affidavit filed with it December 6. The affidavit, filed by Talmadge Hayer—also known as Thomas Hagan, one of three men convicted in 1966 for Malcolm's murder—states that the other two men currently serving life sentences for the murder "had nothing to do with this crime whatsoever."

During the 1966 trial Hayer confessed to the assassination. He not only exonerated the other two men standing trial with him—Norman (3X) Butler and Thomas (15X) Johnson, but gave a detailed description of how the murder was committed.

At that time, however, Hayer refused to name his accomplices.

But according to the December 7 *New York Times*, Hayer is ready to provide new evidence that

would clear Butler and Johnson. In addition, in his affidavit Hayer gives the first names of four men he says aided him in the assassination.

On the basis of Hayer's new evidence, attorney William Kunstler is seeking a dismissal of the indictments against Johnson and Butler and a new trial or hearing at which Hayer would testify.

If the New York State Supreme Court takes action on this new evidence, it could amount to a reopening of the case. Undoubtedly those, such as the FBI, who wish to leave the questions surrounding Malcolm's assassination unanswered will do whatever they can to block such a development.

Those who want to know the truth about the assassination should demand that the court not only allow Kunstler to present arguments December 21, as he has requested, but should also demand that all FBI, CIA, and other government files surrounding Malcolm's murder be opened.

Surely that would aid the court in determining the validity of Hayer's testimony. It would also help unravel the more-than-a-decade-long cover-up in this case.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Letter from Ramsey Muniz

The following letter from Ramsey Muñiz is reprinted from the October 1977 'Para la Gente,' a paper put out by activists associated with the Texas Raza Unida Party. Muñiz was the Raza Unida candidate for governor of Texas in 1972 and 1974 and won about 6 percent of the vote each time. After the 1974 race, he was charged with drug-related offenses and sentenced to prison.

Dear Staff:

First of all, let me express my congratulations on the excellent job that you are performing with *Para La Gente*. Without question it will be a step toward the goals and objectives of our people.

As for me, I am having a rough time with the institution. Recently, I was confined in segregation detention (the hole) based on two incident reports.

One of the incident reports I have already beat, but on the other they denied preparation of defense, access to telephone call, access to counsel, access to law library, denied the right to present witnesses on my behalf, denied the right of cross-examination, denied the right of confrontation of witnesses and illegally confined me in the hole.

I've been illegally confined in the hole (6 x 9' cell)

for the last 21 days. I volunteered for a "lie detector test" under their complete supervision—that was also denied.

This damn government is not interested in the truth but only concerned with the fact that I was elected President of all *mejicanos* and Latinos in this institution, and are concerned with the fact that we were in the process of organizing all other *mejicano* and Latino organizations throughout the prison system under on National Pinto [prisoner] organization.

Never in my life have I witnessed such injustices and lack of respect for humanity. There is no respect for humanity, especially against *mejicanos*, and I am a *mejicano* that cannot close his eyes and heart and proceed as if nothing occurred.

They can keep me in the hole for the rest of my life, but I can assure you that I shall be fighting and struggling to gain the respect that is due to my people incarcerated. The hole is really hell—but that is the price that one must pay when you seek what is right and just.

Relate to José Angel Gutiérrez and other members of the party that there is no question in my mind that the direction and path that Raza Unida has

taken is the one and only solution for our people in this country.

This government under the Democratic Party administration does not know a damn thing about human rights. They treat us like animals and have no respect for humanity. I refuse to be treated as such because I am a *mejicano* (proud) and my race was never classified as animals.

If there is any question about our direction, let me express that I am a victim of this so-called democracy. The hole is a place that should not exist in this society, especially when the President and Democrats speak about human rights.

Hoping to hear from you and others.

I remain . . .

Sinceramente,

Ramiro Ramsey Muñiz

Box No. 1000

Steilacoom, Washington 98388

"The degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons." —Dostoevsky

"There is an iron curtain drawn between the constitution and the prisons of this country."

—Muñiz (October 11, 1977) from the Hole

Steel profits vs. environment

Companies drag feet on cleaning air and water

By Arnold Weissberg

Because of pressure from working people and environmentalists, steel towns such as Pittsburgh, Gary, Baltimore, and South Chicago are no longer the grimy, soot-covered places they once were.

Pollutants pouring from steel mills into the air and water have been sharply reduced. But steelmaking today is still a dirty business. And if the steel corporations have their way, those steel towns will take a big step backward toward the nineteenth century.

The steel industry has launched a campaign to increase its profits by restricting competition from imported steel, getting tax handouts from Washington, closing down less efficient plants, and speeding up production.

A prime target in this corporate profit drive is environmental protection laws. Steel companies blame the "high cost" of cleaning up pollution for their own refusal to invest in modern equipment and keep steelworkers on the job.

Having fostered a panic atmosphere by laying off thousands of workers, the steel companies threaten further plant shutdowns unless they are granted exemptions from pollution regulations.

Pittsburgh referendum

After a series of mill closings and layoffs earlier this year, Allegheny County (Pittsburgh area) voters were asked to respond to this question on their ballot last Election Day: "Should county and municipal elected officials fight to change federal environmental laws in order to preserve existing jobs in the steel industry?"

The chorus for a "yes" vote included the steel companies, Democratic and Republican politicians, and the capitalist-controlled media.

This high-powered lineup had little difficulty in frightening a majority of Pittsburgh voters into pulling the "yes" lever, and the referendum passed by 160,000 to 76,000.

The vote might have been closer if Pittsburgh's labor movement—especially the powerful United Steelworkers union—had called on its members to reject the industry's false counterposition of jobs and clean environment by voting "no."

But the officials of the steel union, unwilling to rock the good ship *Labor Peace* they crew for the industry, instead urged voters to "ignore" the referendum in an apparent hope that it would just go away.

The union missed a choice opportunity to expose steel corporation profiteering at the expense of human health.

Socialist Workers Party candidate Howard Beck didn't share these hesitations. He used his campaign as a platform from which to blast steel industry lies.

Beck pointed out that even the wording of the referendum was dishonest: "An honest referendum would read, 'Should the steel industry clean up and provide jobs for all who wish to work, even if it means cutting into their billions of dollars in profits?'"

With the ballot proposition approved, Pittsburgh-area steel plants have a virtual license to step up pollution. The steel companies will also be encouraged to continue to violate agreements to end pollution, as they have already done time after time.

A dirty business

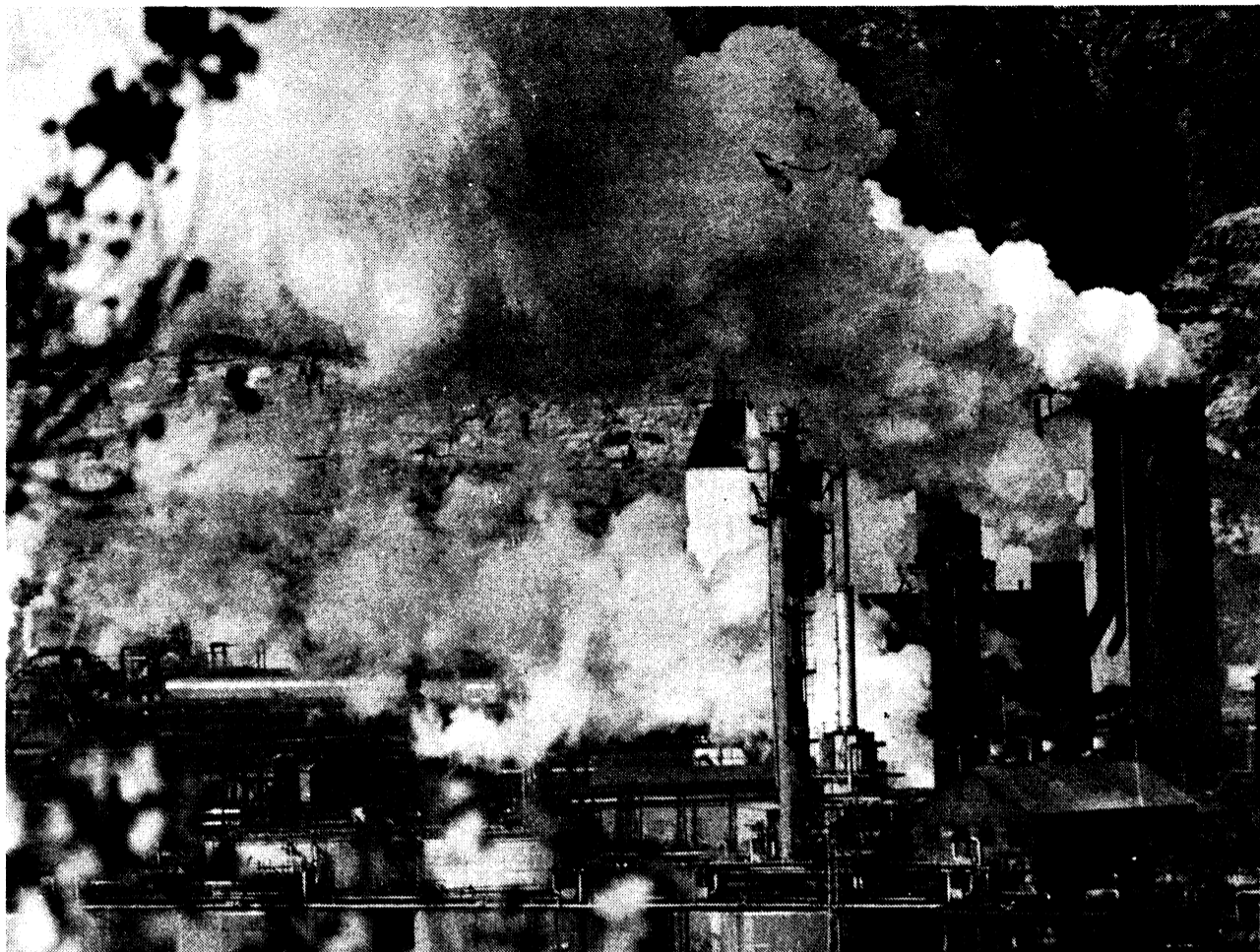
Just outside Pittsburgh, U.S. Steel's Clairton Works, the largest cokemaking plant in the world, daily pumps out half the area's solid and liquid particle air pollution.

Coke, a purified form of coal, is vital to steel production. Most American coke plants are outdated, and the cokemaking equipment leaks poisonous and cancer-causing gases. Coke workers get lung cancer two-and-a-half times as frequently as the rest of the population. Many of the gases endangering the health of coke-oven workers go right up the plant stacks and out into the general environment.

(Cokemaking needn't be so dangerous. Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union, for example, use up-to-date plants that are far safer for workers.)

The Clairton coke plant was the worst air polluter in the steel industry, according to a 1977 survey by the Council on Economic Priorities.

In 1975, the most recent year for which data were available, Clairton dumped *more than 10,000 pounds of filth every hour* into the air, an increase of 267 percent over 1972.



U.S. Steel's Clairton coke works

(The CEP study noted that U.S. Steel claimed a new process would cut those figures by 40 percent in 1976—down to a mere 6,000 pounds an hour.)

Clairton Works also emitted more than 7,000 pounds an hour of sulfur dioxide, a byproduct of coke production. The gas dissolves in rain to form sulfuric acid. Recent studies in Europe and North America have discovered a phenomenon called "acid rain"—rain with a high sulfuric acid content—which is harmful to crops, wildlife, and fish.

Sulfur dioxide has serious effects on human health. It attacks the nose, throat, and windpipe, and can cause fatal lung disease. Long-term breathing of sulfur dioxide can cause bronchitis and emphysema.

After years of legal battles, U.S. Steel agreed in 1972 to clean up Clairton's air pollution. A year later, the state of Pennsylvania and Allegheny County charged the company with violating its agreement. Both sides went back into court. Three years later U.S. Steel signed still another agreement, this one giving the company until 1993 to stop polluting the air.

Meanwhile, U.S. Steel spent not one dime to control air pollution at Clairton.

The latest accord calls for U.S. Steel to put \$600 million into Clairton over the next fifteen years. Three out of four of those dollars will go to updating the plant, money U.S. Steel probably would have spent anyway. In any case, after U.S. Steel's 1976 profit of \$410 million, the company should be able to afford it.

Clairton Works also fouls the waters of the Monongahela River. In 1975, 20,000 pounds of various chemical wastes went into the water each day, including 116 pounds of the deadly poison cyanide. Cyanide dumping went up 625 percent from 1972 to 1975.

Allegheny County floated a \$22 million Environmental Improvement Revenue Bond to finance water pollution control at Clairton Works. Pittsburgh's working people will pay the taxes to pay the interest on those bonds. U.S. Steel gets a free ride.

Sparrows Point

The huge Bethlehem Steel complex at Sparrows Point outside Baltimore includes a coke plant, the world's largest rolling mill, and other steelmaking facilities. In some ways, it is even dirtier than Clairton.

In 1975, Sparrows Point threw out more than 6,000 pounds of sulfur dioxide *every hour*. The plant also dumped more than 100,000 pounds of solid and liquid wastes *every day* into Chesapeake Bay, including 4,000 pounds of cyanide and 20,000 pounds of ammonia.

Baltimore has one of the highest cancer rates in

the country—a direct effect of the environmental pollution by the city's concentrated heavy industry.

What little Bethlehem has done to clean up the air and water has been largely financed by pollution control bonds. Bethlehem, like U.S. Steel, forces working people to pay for the elementary democratic right of clean air and water.

As dirty as Clairton and Sparrows Point are, they are not the worst polluters. Inland Steel's Indiana Harbor facility had the dubious honor of the worst 1975 record for sulfur dioxide emissions—an incredible 14,000 pounds every hour. Another 6,000 pounds of solid and liquid particles were dumped into the air every hour.

Jones & Laughlin's Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, plant dumped 78,000 pounds of suspended solids into the Ohio River each day of 1975. U.S. Steel's Edgar Thompson works, near Pittsburgh, spewed more than 20,000 pounds of oil and grease each day into the Monongahela, more than four times the 1972 level.

Environmental blackmail

In 1976, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, U.S. Steel, and Republic Steel asked the federal Environmental Protection Agency to exempt their Youngstown, Ohio, plants on the Mahoning River from federal water pollution standards.

Asserting the plants simply weren't profitable, the corporations claimed the cost of compliance would be so great they might be forced to close and put thousands of steelworkers out of their jobs.

The Mahoning River in Youngstown has been an open sewer for as long as anyone can remember. Its banks are coated with grease and oil and empty of any wildlife. The water is brown and spotted with oil slicks.

Because they had been allowed to use the river as a free waste disposal system for more than 100 years, the steel companies objected when it appeared they might have to spend some money to clean up.

Ironically, the state of Pennsylvania opposed the companies' request for an exemption, because the Mahoning runs across the state line and provides drinking water for some Pennsylvania towns.

The companies refused to guarantee they would keep the plants open if they got the exemption.

A year later Youngstown Sheet & Tube announced it was shutting down its main plant and laying off 5,000 workers. U.S. Steel laid off 200 workers.

The Youngstown closings provided dramatic proof that environmental costs weren't responsible for the loss of jobs. The companies said environmental protection was too expensive. The government gave in and let them keep on polluting. But the companies shut down their plants anyway.

\$60,696 raised in fund drive

'Militant' readers boost us

By Cindy Jaquith

Militant readers have just completed the biggest fund drive in our newspaper's history. A total of \$60,696.82—more than \$10,000 over our original \$50,000 goal—has been raised to help the *Militant* meet rising costs and continue bringing the socialist message to the American people.

The unprecedented response to this drive is a major victory for the newspaper and all our readers.

Sums big and small

Where did the money come from? From every corner of the country, in sums big and small.

An initial \$26,970 was collected from a rally for the *Militant* held during the Socialist Workers Party convention last August.

More than \$16,000 was raised at special *Militant* rallies in some forty cities this fall. National leaders of the SWP addressed those rallies, which attracted hundreds of people interested in socialist ideas.

A donation of \$10,000 came from one friend of the *Militant*, who offered to match dollar for dollar every other contribution we received up to the \$10,000 figure.

And \$7,036 came in from individual readers of the *Militant* through our appeals in the paper itself.

Two hundred forty-one people alone responded to our call for aid in the last month, sending in \$4,207. This included a significant number of people who had bought their first *Militant* subscription during our fall circulation drive.

Leaders in the labor, women's and antiracist movements, along with political prisoners and prominent civil liberties activists, boosted the drive by sending greetings to the *Militant* (see box). This support helped convince others of the urgency of our appeal.

One of the final rallies took place in New York City. The featured speaker was *Militant* editor Mary-Alice Waters.

"The many donations we have received, and the solidarity messages sent to us, give us a measure of the *Militant's* worth," she said.

"Where has this support come from? First and foremost, from women and men who are active fighters against all the myriad forms of oppression created by the rotten, decaying capitalist system.

'Acid test'

"This is the acid test for any newspaper and for any party:

"That it speaks for the oppressed; that it has no interests in contradiction with those of the exploited masses; that it tells the truth and calls things

by their right names, whether popular or not.

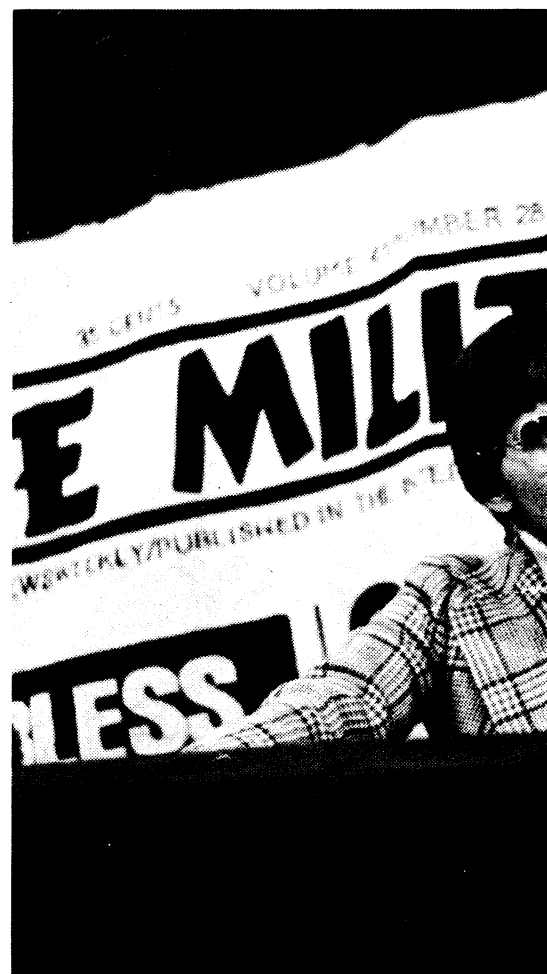
"The *Militant* does something else that is equally important. We say, the truth will set you free—if you organize to make that happen. The *Militant* is published to help the oppressed organize, have confidence in themselves, and to understand their historic role in bringing about a society free of injustice, a socialist society."

Soaring costs

The \$50,000 fund drive was launched late last summer to meet the soaring publishing costs we face. Postage, printing, and the cost of paper had all risen far beyond our means.

We were forced to increase the cover price and subscription rates of the paper. We also decided to close down our Washington, D.C., bureau.

Making these cutbacks was a difficult decision. And we must anticipate further increases in our costs, which may force us to trim our budget further. But the more than \$60,000 we have raised has played a big part in enabling us to meet our expenses for 1977. It has already helped us bring readers first-hand coverage of the coal miners' strike, the national women's conference in Houston, and the steelworkers' strike on the Mesabi Iron Range.



'Militant' editor Mary-Alice Waters speaking at

Socialist Workers Party

By Dick Roberts

MORGANTOWN, W.Va.—Morgantown is a university and coal mining town of about 58,000 people situated in the Monongahela Valley of northern West Virginia and western Pennsylvania.

The Monongahela River flows north from here to Pittsburgh, and it usually carries long barges loaded with coal to the steel mills and the electric utility companies of the Pittsburgh area.

Morgantown is surrounded by the sharp hills that are the source of its coal. And small mining communities dot the neighboring valleys, with many miners living in mobile homes, so expensive are the rents around here.

Today of course the barges are still. The mines are closed down, and the

people of Morgantown and nearby communities are braced for what could be a long and bitter struggle against the mining company bosses.

I came here to find out more about the problems coal miners face and to talk to members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance who are helping to build the socialist movement in this area.

In the December 16 *Militant* I described a rally for the striking Stearns miners held on the West Virginia University campus in the center of Morgantown.

SWP branch

A branch of the SWP existed in Morgantown from 1947 to 1951. The branch included miners.

With the radicalization of the 1960s, the stepped-up attack on workers by the American ruling class, and the rising militancy in the United Mine Workers union, many miners and other working people here are taking a renewed interest in socialist ideas.

This was quite evident to a team of five people who came to Morgantown last summer for two weeks to sell *Militant* subscriptions.

Joyce Stoller, a team member, said that she found more receptivity and interest in the *Militant* among coal miners than among other industrial workers—including steel workers in Chicago she had previously sold the newspaper to.

The feeling that coal miners in Morgantown are interested in reading a socialist newspaper was confirmed by the fact that the team sold 140 subscriptions to the *Militant* in two weeks. And that led to the decision this fall to explore the possibility of setting up branches of the SWP and YSA. These efforts have been very successful.

Linda-Mae Flint of the SWP organizing committee emphasized to me the central role the *Militant* has played in this process. "In fact," she said, "our



Morgantown, West Virginia

work here began with the addresses of the 140 *Militant* subscribers gained last summer.

"We have visited many of those people. We just called up and said 'We're from the Socialist Workers Party. That's the party that puts out the *Militant* you subscribe to. We're here in Morgantown trying to set up a branch of the SWP. Could we come over and talk to you?'"

Flint described the particularly warm response of an ore-mining family with whom she had a long discussion about socialism.

"They asked me: 'How will socialism come about?'"

"Will other people get involved and how?'"

"How will you make sure that the

new government is democratic?"

"You've got a two-or-three hour discussion right there!" Flint said.

Sub drive

At this time there was a national *Militant* subscription drive.

"We sold new subscriptions door to door in mining communities, at the portals of mines, and on campus," Flint said. "From an initial quota of 60 subscriptions we raised our quota to 85 and the final tally was 107."

Ken Shilman, the SWP organizer, drove me and *Militant* photographer Howard Petrick through Morgantown and to underground mines, strip mines, and mining villages in the surrounding area.

As we visited Osage, one of the



SWP organizer Ken Shilman selling 'Militant' subscriptions at a mine near Point Marion, Pennsylvania.

well over top



New York rally December 11

Militant/Mike Hebert

Of the total \$60,696, \$8,300 in recently made pledges to the drive has not been collected. We hope our readers will send in these contributions as soon as possible.

1978 anniversaries

The success of this drive comes as we begin preparing to celebrate the *Militant's* fiftieth anniversary, November 1978. The new year also marks the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Socialist Workers Party.

In our next issue we will feature special coverage on the significance of our movement's five decades in the fight for socialism.

In addition, September 1978 is the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

To commemorate the importance of each of these historic events, the *Militant* plans a year-long series of features on the history of the revolutionary socialist movement and its meaning for today.

Throughout our history, the *Militant* has relied on the financial and political support of our readers to continue publishing the truth. The success of our 1977 fund drive is in this proud tradition.

Messages to 'Militant'

Alvin Thornton

Coordinator, Baltimore chapter of National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision

"The *Militant* serves a useful, a very gallant function in explaining how the *Bakke* case relates to the economic conditions of capitalism in this country."

Sara Nelson

National coordinator, Labor Task Force of National Organization for Women

"I am impressed by the *Militant's* commitment to and energetic coverage of women's issues."

Stanton Story

Black prisoner sentenced to death in Pittsburgh on frame-up murder charges

"The *Militant* is a very important vehicle of information to the masses, without which I believe we would be further exploited and at the mercy of the distortion of the ruling-class news media.

"I support the *Militant* wholeheartedly, because it has proven to be vital in informing people directly of the atrocities happening to brothers and sisters in this country and around the world.

"I write this statement from the dungeon at Western Penitentiary, and I write as one who personally knows the positiveness, strength, and dedication of the *Militant*. In supporting it, we support ourselves."

Joanne Steele

Co-publisher, 'Majority Report'

"The *Militant* should flourish and grow. It's difficult to publish a newspaper when the FBI is bugging your phones and breaking into your offices. Of course we at *Majority Report* understand.

"The *Militant* at this time deserves our generous support. For us your newspaper is an important resource. . . .

"As a sister publication, and in solidarity, we wish you all the very best."

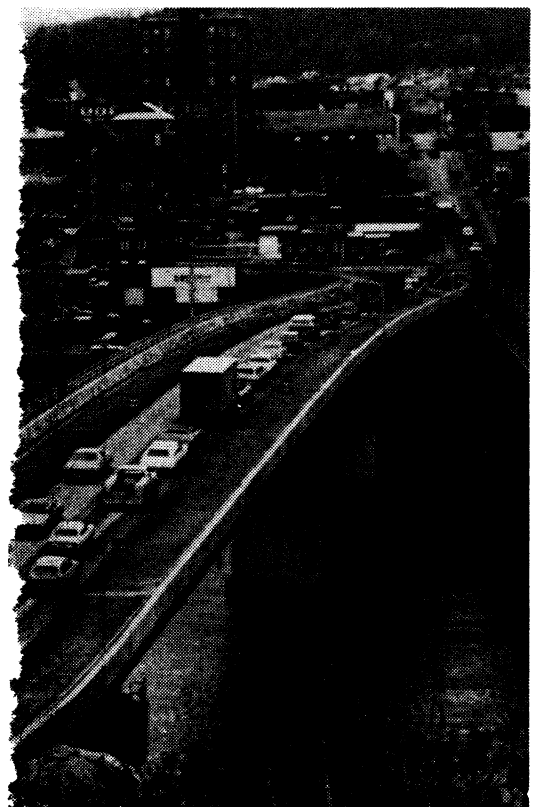
John Sanford

Steering committee member, Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision

"The *Militant* is one of the only papers around that has continuously dealt with the hard-hitting issues that affect the lives of poor people, minorities, people in struggle.

"I have seen no other paper that has had as consistent coverage of the *Bakke* case."

grows in Morgantown



Militant/Howard Petrick

man continued. "Virtually every company you visit to place applications for mine jobs you see women, younger and older, trying to get jobs."

Young Socialist Alliance

Both Shilman and Brian Williams, the YSA organizer in Morgantown, talked about the joint work of the SWP and YSA. "An active and growing YSA at West Virginia University will be a great help to the coal miners and other workers here," Shilman said.

Williams pointed out that on the campus itself there are many students who also work in the mines or elsewhere in the city; even more students come from mining families—and many hope to get mining jobs themselves.

The YSA members helped to launch the WVU Stearns Strike Support Committee that held the December 1 rally of 150 people. The audience was composed of both students and miners who heard about the meeting from leaflets passed out at the mines. The rally showed that students want to help coal miners and that miners want to join forces with students in this effort. And that this is an alliance with tremendous potential for the good of this country hardly needs to be added.

I talked with a local president of the UMW who had come to the rally. He said he had been a solid Boyle man before but that his son and daughter on the campus had persuaded him to support Arnold Miller and the Miners for Democracy movement.

'Above board'

Shilman also emphasized to me the open and aboveboard policies of the socialists. "We want to hold as many public activities as we can. We want everyone to know that our party is open to them. We're trying to spread the ideas of socialism and build the YSA and SWP."

A good example of this was a meet-

ing that occurred the week after the rally. The *Militant's* labor editor, Frank Lovell, came to Morgantown to talk on the "Prospects for Socialism in America."

To tell people about the meeting, the SWP had sent out letters to all the *Militant* readers, now numbering over 200, in the area.

We're pleased to announce that veteran socialist and union activist Frank Lovell will tour the northern West Virginia area," the letter began. Lovell's talk, it explained, "will examine the organized assault we are faced with now, on our living standards and democratic rights—where the attack comes from; why; and how we can fight back successfully against it."

The meeting for Lovell was held on the campus. More than forty people attended. Afterward, ten came over to Ken Shilman's place and talked to Lovell late into the evening. Two asked to join the SWP and one wanted to join the YSA.

One of my favorite interviews in Morgantown was with a YSA member who had come here to help build the YSA and intends to get a mine job.

"I'm pretty excited about what's going on here," he said. "I've never been in any other industrial city. But I think that the socialist movement has good prospects here."

And that is surely the understatement of the week.

places Black workers live near Morgantown, Shilman described the oppressive effect of the automation drive in the 1950s and 1960s in the coalfields. "Black miners were among the first fired. They and many other families live a hard existence here.

"That is undoubtedly one of the reasons people are interested in the *Militant*. They invite us into their homes to talk about many problems facing them. We sold a number of subscriptions to Black workers here in Osage."

Low wages in the jobs outside of the mining industry force many thousands of workers to mining jobs despite the hazardous conditions.

"That includes many women," Shil-



Coal mine tippie near Maudsville, West Virginia

Militant/Howard Petrick

Carter's 'tax cut': no relief

By Jon Britton
From Intercontinental Press

The U.S. ruling class has reached a consensus in favor of a series of tax cuts next year aimed at counteracting an expected slowdown in the American economy owing to lagging capital investment and the multi-billion-dollar tax hikes President Carter has demanded in Social Security and energy legislation now pending in Congress.

American workers should not hold their breath in anticipation of overall tax relief, however. All indications are that Carter and his big-business backers intend to further shift the federal tax burden onto the shoulders of working people.

The stimulative effect of the cuts being discussed will be modest indeed, if account is taken of the higher Social Security and energy taxes soon to be signed into law.

Carter campaigned for president on a promise of "reforming" the highly inequitable U.S. tax structure. Although the "reforms" he has been considering (such as reducing the tax deduction for "three-martini business lunches") would be little more than window-dressing, the mouthpieces of the employers and bankers have been telling him that first priority must be given to tax reductions. The editors of the *New York Times* said on November 7:

President Carter cannot have it both ways next year. If he tries to cut taxes at the same time that he tries to reform them, he may fail at both objectives. The tax cut deserves priority. Without it, the nation may sink again into recession. Tax reform . . . can wait until 1979 and a new Congress.

At a news conference November 30, Carter indicated that he had taken this advice to heart. He told reporters that he "would defer his more controversial tax-revision proposals next year to insure early enactment of 'substantial tax reductions.'"

Jimmy Carter's tax proposals will not be submitted to Congress until January, at the earliest. But indications are that the contemplated cuts are anything but substantial.

In October administration officials were projecting tax reductions totaling \$20-22 billion, to be phased in over several years. More recently, the figures have been lowered to \$15-20 billion.

Benefits for the rich

A major portion of these cuts will benefit big business and wealthy individuals. Sam Nakagama, chief economist at Kidder, Peabody & Co., a Wall Street firm, contended in late September that "this nation is on the brink of what promises to be the most favorable changes in the tax laws affecting savings and investment since 1947."

"The (indicated) \$5 billion to \$7 billion cut in corporate taxes is likely to take the form of a reduction in the corporate income tax from 48% to 45% or 46%, a boost in the investment tax credit, and possibly, one-year write-offs for pollution equipment," he said.

Even if half the projected cuts were to go to employed workers—and this is highly unlikely—the average reduction would amount to no more than \$80 to \$110 per worker, spread out over several years.

A further indication of the modest reductions being considered by Carter is provided by the deficit projected by the administration for fiscal year 1979 (which starts on October 1 of next year), when a tax bill passed in 1978 most likely would take effect.

Acting Budget Director James McIntyre, Jr., was quoted in the November 12 *New York Times* as saying that the budget for that fiscal year will show a deficit "in the neighborhood of \$40 billion." This is a sizable reduction from the red-ink figure of \$58.5 billion now estimated for the current fiscal year (1978), and is also lower than the \$45 billion deficit actually incurred in fiscal 1977. "We're going to have to show a steady decline in the deficit if we're going to balance the budget" by 1981 as President Carter has pledged, McIntyre told reporters November 10.

Carter has also said that he wants to bring federal spending down to 21% of the national income. Officials have estimated the ratio at 21.9% for 1977 and 22.4% for 1978, and have set a preliminary figure of 21.8% for 1979. The extent of cuts already made in government expenditures relative to national income is indicated by the fact that six years ago the ratio stood at nearly 25%.

This constraint on government spending, together with the reduced deficit projected for 1979, would imply an upper limit on any tax cut, assuming no further slowing of the economy, of something

less than the net tax increases that Congress mandates in the Social Security and energy bills it passes. (If the cut were greater than that, the deficit would go up.)

Thus what Carter is hoping to put over, slick demagoguery to the contrary, is an overall *increase* in taxes, with the added burden falling mainly on working people. What he is counting on to "stimulate" the economy is solely the multi-billion-dollar tax windfalls he plans for big business.

In view of the widely discussed (and feared) possibility that another worldwide economic downturn is in the making, why is the "populist" Jimmy



Carter following such a conservative course—projecting an increase in taxes and moving toward a balanced budget, the opposite of the traditional Keynesian prescription?

Carter's course also seems to conflict with the recommendation of the International Monetary Fund in September that "all countries in relatively strong [financial] positions should make every effort to ensure adequate growth of domestic demand compatible with containing inflation."

In reality it doesn't conflict. The fact is that the U.S. government is too weak financially to prudently step up the use of Keynesian pump-priming measures to boost the economy.

And to capitalist policy-makers, "containing inflation" means cutting back government spending on social services and accepting high levels of unemployment to keep wages down and discipline the work force—precisely Carter's policy.

The government's financial weakness is reflected in the decline of the dollar against gold. From July to late November, the value of the U.S. dollar by this important measure sank by about 13%. Since August 1976, it has declined by more than 35%.¹

1. Marx explained that paper money is merely a stand-in for gold: "Paper money is a symbol of gold, a symbol of

In fact, it is this decline, and what underlies it, that provides the key to understanding Carter's tax maneuvers.

The fall of the dollar and other paper currencies in relation to gold results from soaring government deficits, financed in part by resort to the printing press.

Government finances, in turn, have been gravely undermined by a deep-seated, long-term malady of the capitalist economy in the 1970s, namely the dimming prospects for profitable productive investment owing to sharpening international competition, the relative decline of some major capital-intensive industries, such as steel, a spreading crisis of overproduction, and soaring costs of new plant and equipment. The capitalist economy has become more susceptible to sudden shocks and breakdowns.

Depreciating dollar

A key indication of this economic malaise is a growing tendency of investors to seek to *preserve* their capital, as opposed to their normal tendency to seek ways to *expand* it. The depreciating dollar has become a less reliable store of value. Gold retains this function, however.

Dr. Henry Jarecki, chairman of the Mocatta Metals Corporation of New York and one of the world's leading experts on precious metals, said in a recent interview that in the United States, which has now taken the lead in gold dealings, gold futures trading has reached the "level of 10,000 to 20,000 contracts a day—somewhere between one million and two million ounces of metal, or \$165 million to \$330 million in daily value, \$1.5 billion a week or \$75 billion a year."

An estimated 22,000 tons of the metal are now in private hands worldwide, in comparison to official government holdings of roughly 32,000 tons.

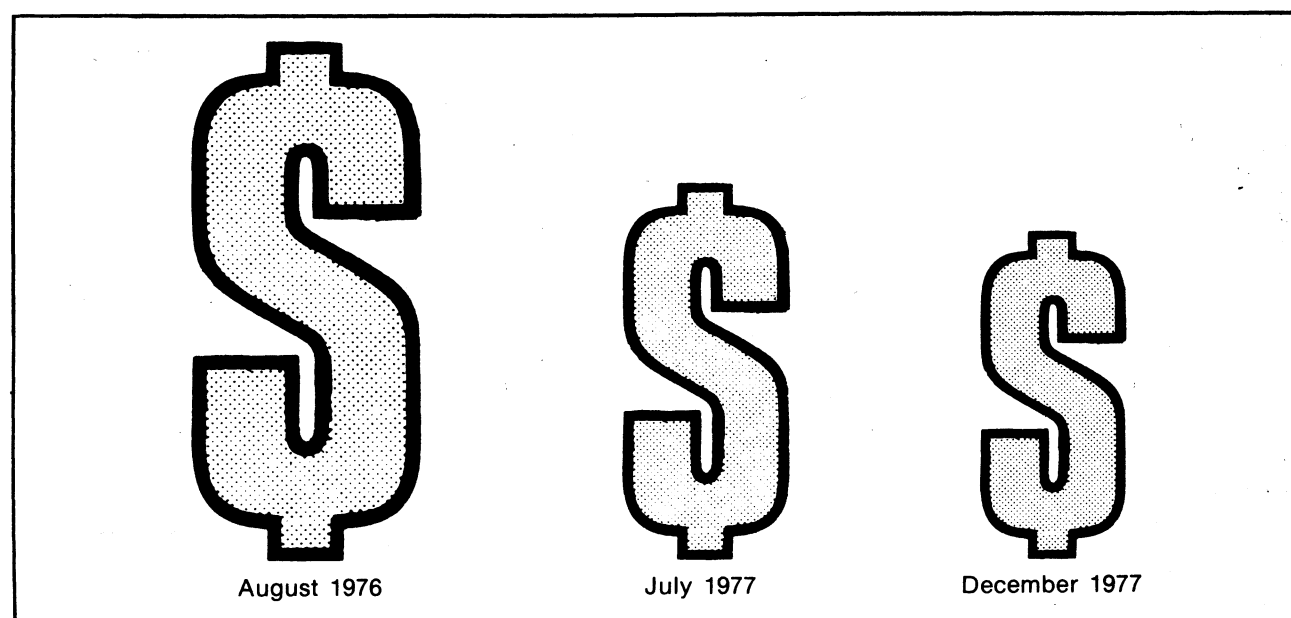
The period leading up to the 1974-75 slump provides a good illustration of the government's mounting financial woes, and the growing importance of gold as a haven for investors concerned about preserving their capital when economic storms begin to blow.

money. Its relation to the values of commodities consists only in this: they find imaginary expression in certain quantities of gold and the same quantities are symbolically and physically represented by the paper. Only in so far as paper money represents gold, which like all other commodities has value, is it a symbol of value" (*Capital, Volume One* [Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1976], p. 225).

The amount of gold represented by a unit of paper money, Marx explained, is determined by the ratio of the currency circulating to the amount of gold that would be needed if gold itself were used as the medium of circulation (*ibid.*, p. 224). In turn, the amount of circulating media of a given value needed (either gold or its representatives) is ultimately determined by the circulation of commodities (*ibid.*, p. 219).

Thus, if during a period of economic stagnation or decline the U.S. government meets a portion of its expenses by printing money, the above ratio tends to rise, causing the dollar to represent less value in terms of gold (as well as other commodities). In times of boom, on the other hand, the government can increase the amount of paper money in circulation with little or no loss in the gold value each dollar represents.

That gold retains its character as money was recently confirmed by Carter when on October 28 he put his signature to a bill allowing U.S. citizens to sign contracts tying payments to the value of gold.



How much gold will \$100 buy? August 1976: \$102/oz.; July 1977: \$140/oz.; December 1977: \$160/oz.

for working people

At that time, the prospect of a sharp downturn in the economy, which the big capitalists anticipated well in advance, caused American investors to shift part of their funds out of corporate stocks and bonds beginning in early 1973.

In earlier downturns, during the long post-World War II boom, capitalists generally purchased government securities with money temporarily taken out of stocks and other relatively risky investments, because such securities were nearly risk-free and paid interest.

This time, however, something new happened. A portion of this capital flowed instead into gold or shares in gold-mining companies. The prospect of declining tax revenues and a burgeoning federal deficit, on top of earlier deficits, had put a question mark over the government's creditworthiness and therefore over government securities and the dollar as stores of value.

The net result was a slide in security prices generally and an accompanying rise in interest rates to their highest levels since the Civil War of 1861-65.

Gold goes up

To prevent a collapse of the bond market and to slow the rise of interest rates, the Federal Reserve (the U.S. central bank) had to step in and buy up government bonds in massive quantities, paying for them, in effect, with newly printed dollars. Thus, between 1972 and 1974, Federal Reserve holdings of government bonds jumped from \$69.9 billion to \$80.5 billion. An explosive growth of the money supply ensued, and by late 1974 the price of gold had soared to nearly \$200 an ounce, up from around \$70 in early 1973.²

What these events signified in reality was the partial withdrawal of credit from their own government on the part of bankers and individual inves-



Trading gold futures

tors. The main difference between the fiscal crisis faced by the federal government and that of New York City in 1974-75 was the power of the former to meet a part of its deficit by printing money. The result was a new phenomenon: double-digit inflation in the midst of the slump.

Actually "slumpflation," as it came to be called, was new only in form, since prices in gold fell sharply (i.e., the purchasing power of gold rose), as has always been the case during generalized downturns in the past. But this new form was devastating to the working class and much of the middle class as prices and unemployment jumped simultaneously.

In the past year, with the economy showing early signs of another downturn, and with the government deficit mounting to a record peacetime level of close to \$60 billion, the same tendencies have begun to make their appearance once again: Stock and bond prices have tumbled while interest rates have climbed. The price of gold has risen, reflecting increased hoarding and an inordinate expansion of the money supply. The Federal Reserve once again has been forced to step in to support the government bond market and slow the rise of interest rates.³ Its holdings of government securities have jumped from \$91.6 billion a year ago to \$102.7 billion now.

The much-publicized "feud" between Carter and Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, by the

way, concerns a real tactical division in the U.S. ruling class over *the degree to which* the Federal Reserve should intervene in this fashion. Burns speaks for those who are more concerned about propping up the sagging dollar. Carter voices the worry that rising interest rates will choke off economic growth—and also worsen the Democrats' election chances in 1978.

It is now clear why Carter—in the face of a weakening economy—dropped the tax rebate proposal earlier this year, is now moving to raise taxes overall, and is aiming for a balanced budget by 1981. Any substantial increase in the government's deficit would require an even more massive outpouring of newly printed paper dollars to finance it, which in turn would accelerate the depreciation of the dollar and the flight into gold.

money," rising interest rates are brought about by the Federal Reserve. In reality, rising interest rates stem from heavy private and public borrowing in such periods.

Keep your hand on your wallet

By Lynn Henderson

When capitalist politicians talk about tax reform—keep your hand on your wallet.

Jimmy (born again) Carter made tax reform a central theme of his election campaign. That should have put us on our guard right off.

Carter was so "shocked" by the tax inequities he suddenly discovered during his pilgrimage to the presidency that he was moved to proclaim the system "a disgrace to the human race."

He vowed a "complete overhaul" of the tax laws to plug the loopholes that allow the superrich to escape with paying only nominal taxes—or even no taxes.

In truth, the "disgrace" of the U.S. tax system is not just a few loopholes that have inadvertently sprung up. From top to bottom, the system is designated to soak workers and poor people and reward the idle rich and wealthy corporations.

Many workers know from examining their weekly check stubs that they are being ripped off. Yet they often accept the myth that the tax system is at least moderately progressive (that those with high incomes pay a higher tax rate than those with low incomes).

In fact, when payroll taxes are taken into account, most taxpayers who earn \$10,000 a year pay virtually the same tax rate as someone who earns \$50,000 a year. Of course, many of the independently wealthy do even better. For example 50,000 persons with incomes of more than \$50,000 paid less than 10 percent in federal income taxes during 1975.

While taxes have soared for the average working person, they have been systematically cut for the wealthy and the large corporations.

Just since 1969 the tax rate corporations actually pay has fallen from 38 percent to 25 percent. In 1949 corporation and business taxes represented 47.5 percent of the total federal tax income. By 1976 only 31 percent of federal tax revenue came from such taxes, a 35 percent reduction.

While few people really expected the "complete overhaul" Carter promised, many dared hope that the most flagrant abominations would be cleaned up and the shift of the tax burden ever more onto the backs of working people would be reversed, or at least arrested.

A few months after his election, Carter began hinting that tax reform was more complicated than

Ironically, at the very time that the economy needs added governmental stimulus, Keynesian pump-priming has become not only relatively ineffectual but a real threat to capitalist stability. Jimmy Carter is being forced willy-nilly to adapt government spending and taxation to an economy in deep trouble. He must do so or run the risk of rapidly accelerating inflation and even a form of government bankruptcy.

To avoid such an outcome, Carter is shoring up government finances with increased taxes. At the same time, he is trying to coax more productive investment by reducing the tax load on big business, hoping that the slide toward another slump can be stemmed.

Indeed, it may work for a time; the late-November rally in the stock market and drop in gold prices indicate the capitalists think it might. But the underlying economic trends cannot be reversed. Another engineer who occupied the White House, Herbert Hoover, found that out in the early 1930s.

he had first realized.

The tax reform package promised in 1977 was put off until 1978, then postponed until 1979.

Through Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal, it was explained that the country needed not so much tax reform as "business investment and business confidence."

Then at his November 30 news conference Carter announced that "complex" tax reforms would be indefinitely postponed to allow quick action on a "substantial tax reduction."

Carter junked his promise to eliminate the preferential treatment for capital gains under which they are subject to a maximum tax of only 35 percent regardless of how large profits are. This item alone represented a \$3.67 billion gift to wealthy investors in 1976.

But Carter's tax announcement was a double dose of bad news. It involved much more than a retreat on promises of tax reform. It really means massive *tax increases* for working people and *further tax cuts* for the rich and powerful.

On December 5, Congress approved a whopping 24 percent increase in Social Security payroll taxes by 1990. This represents the largest peacetime tax increase to hit working people in the country's history.

Not far behind it in the congressional pipeline is Carter's energy tax program, which will mean further huge tax (or price) increases for working people and the poor.

These will more than wipe out any temporary reductions in income tax rates for working people.

But Carter's tax proposals are not all talk and razzle-dazzle. Some people will get "substantial tax reductions."

- Oil and gas companies will still pay low taxes, with wealthy, so-called "independent" producers paying as little as 5 or 10 percent on multi-million-dollar incomes.

- Electric utilities, half of which are already completely off the tax rolls, will get an additional tax break through an increase in the investment tax credit.

- Banks, now paying the lowest taxes of any major industry, will be allowed to continue tax-shelter leasing operations through which they avoid millions in taxes. Similarly, insurance companies would retain their favored tax treatment.

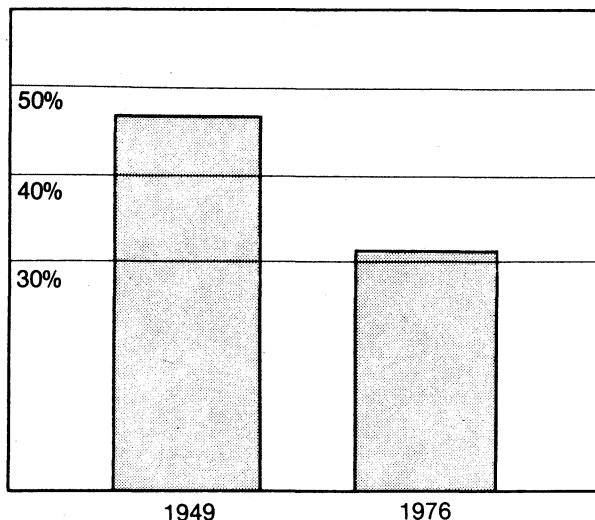
- Corporations will probably receive yet another across the board tax reduction of at least 2 percent.

During their first presidential debate in 1976, Carter denounced Ford for advocating "over \$5 billion in tax reductions for corporations, special interest groups, and the very, very wealthy who derive their income—not from labor—but from investments."

Carter's tax proposals would grant \$13 billion in annual tax giveaways to the large corporations and wealthy investors!

According to the Washington-based Public Citizen's Tax Reform Group, the proposals will mean that most individuals with yearly incomes of more than \$50,000 (the top 1.6 percent of the population) will have their taxes cut.

But perhaps the most telling example is Carter's own tax status. If these proposals had been in effect last year, the millionaire peanut tycoon from Plains, Georgia, would have had to pay a federal income tax of 3 percent.



Percentage of federal tax receipts paid by corporations.

2. Actually, "price of gold" is not a price in the strict sense. "Price" is the exchange ratio between a commodity and gold or its equivalent representative currency unit. "Price of gold," on the other hand, expresses what a given currency unit, such as the dollar, represents in terms of gold, the money commodity.

3. The media myth is that during periods of "tight

By John Sarge

HOUSTON—Steelworkers at the Hughes Tool Company plant here have come under an escalating company offensive ever since we returned to work October 23, ending a five-week strike.

The strike was conducted by United Steelworkers Local 1742, which represents some 3,500 production workers at Hughes, the nation's largest manufacturer of oil drilling equipment.

The antiunion campaign of victimizations and intimidation by Hughes is typical of the employers' offensive across the country. And it poses the same urgent problem faced by millions of workers—how can we strengthen our unions so they effectively defend our interests?

Since the strike at Hughes ended, management has:

- Fired at least fifty workers for allegedly not responding to return-to-

John Sarge works in the maintenance department at Hughes Tool and serves as a third-shift grievanceperson in USWA Local 1742.

work notices. Almost all of them have filed grievances protesting this.

- Fired a number of union activists, including local executive board member David Julian, shop steward Roy Tamayo, and his brother Jesús. Julian was a well-known supporter of insurgent Ed Sadlowski's campaign for USWA international president last winter.

- Filed criminal charges of assault against four workers for alleged actions during the strike. The company had mounted videotape cameras on the main plant gates to record picket line activity.

- Fired about ten more workers for strike activity.

- Kept nearly 800 strikebreakers on the job, according to the union newsletter.

- Refused to give many returning workers their old shifts or job classifications back.

- Stepped up harassment and imposition of disciplinary actions, including suspensions and firings over attendance, production rates, and length of lunch breaks.

Strike settlement

Local union President W.R. Morris initially opposed the strike settlement. But he later reversed himself and joined Sub-district Director Jack Golden and the rest of the negotiating committee in recommending acceptance.

It was essentially the same offer the union had voted to reject three weeks earlier. Nevertheless, Morris termed the settlement a victory and claimed that "this is a union the company fears."

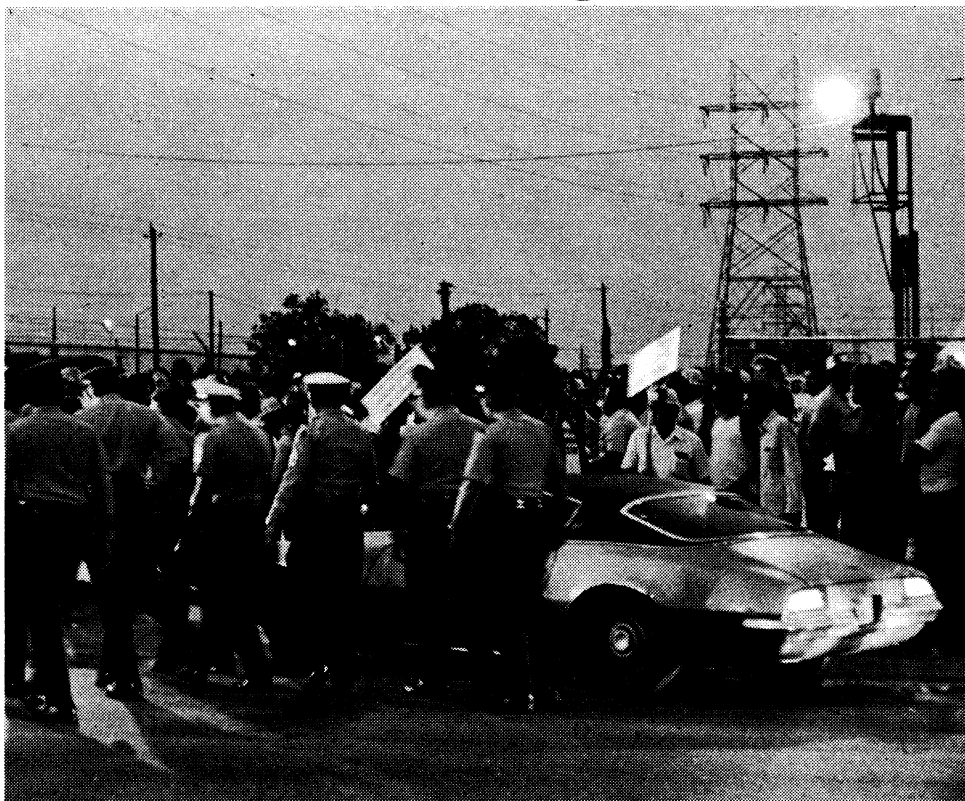
At the meeting that voted on the settlement offer, dissenting opinions were cut off by calling the question. The membership voted to accept the contract, but many were reluctant. More than 100 workers crowded around Morris after the meeting to demand some explanations.

Steelworkers trying to make their voices heard in the union are handicapped by a lack of democracy. Houston became notorious in the steelworkers union for physical attacks on union dissidents during the international election campaign, including the shooting of Sadlowski campaigner Ben Corum at the Hughes gates in July 1976.

Many Local 1742 activists had been encouraged by the election of Morris—a Chicano unionist with a militant reputation—as local president last December. Since his election, however, Morris's policies have tended to dovetail more and more with those of the international USWA officialdom and the district staff. A dramatic example was his switch from supporting Sadlowski early in the election to backing

Houston steelworkers under attack

Outcome of Hughes strike



Militant/Stu Singer

Hughes Tool has support of cops and courts in its union-busting offensive. Above, police seek to escort scabs into plant during recent strike.

"official family" candidate Lloyd McBride.

A number of workers who had supported Morris in his race for local president met informally before the contract negotiations to discuss possible union demands and how to win them. A leaflet with these ideas was circulated to solicit the response of the local membership.

Before the strike, though, Morris joined with other local and district officials in whipping up an atmosphere of intimidation against any proposals from the union ranks.

This antidemocratic effort to squelch ideas the officials considered "dangerous" also included a physical attack outside a union meeting on persons distributing campaign literature for Diane Sarge, a member of Local 1742 who was running for mayor of Houston on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Company emboldened

The company assault against the working conditions and on-the-job rights of Hughes workers began well before the strike.

Unfortunately, neither then nor now did the company act like it "feared the union." Rather, the company has been

emboldened by the failure of the union leadership to recognize the seriousness of the antilabor drive, and its lack of an effective strategy to fight back.

The many union activists and other workers unjustly fired in recent years have received only a weak and routine defense. Even before the strike, the union leadership agreed to extend the probationary period for new employees. It also conceded to weakening the health and safety and civil rights committees.

During the strike the company effectively took advantage of every area of union weakness. It hired several hundred minority and women workers, especially Blacks, as strikebreakers.

Since the union had never fought for affirmative action in hiring and promoting minority or women workers, nor defended them from discrimination and victimization on the job, many were susceptible to the company's intensive media campaign to recruit scabs. Some probably saw this as their best chance to get a job at Hughes.

The union's only response was to hand out one leaflet at the Hughes personnel office urging jobseekers to support the strike. Although the plant is located in a predominantly Chicano

and *mexicano* area and employs many workers from that community, no effort was made to mobilize this potential support for the strike.

Vietnamese

The company also brought in many non-English-speaking workers as strikebreakers, including a large number of Vietnamese.

Although most of these workers were undoubtedly kept in ignorance of the strike issues by the company, the union leadership never tried to win them over. It did nothing to combat racist hostility among the strikers, which was expressed by references to "gooks" and "fisheaters."

The striking steelworkers were handicapped by a leadership that refused to organize a consistent struggle against the company, mobilize the ranks, or reach out to potential allies.

Nevertheless, the ranks responded enthusiastically when called upon. The first day of the strike that the company tried to operate the plant, more than 500 workers turned out for mass picketing, shutting the plant down tight.

Hughes promptly obtained an anti-picketing injunction from a compliant judge. Weakened by the failure to mobilize broader labor and community support, the union saw no prospect for defeating this injunction. For the rest of the strike there were only two pickets per gate.

Grievances

Since the end of the strike the only defense offered by the union leadership has been to keep filing grievances with management.

The new contract provides for the "expedited arbitration" procedure highly touted by the USWA international leadership. This is supposed to get quick results without going through the normal time-consuming and expensive arbitration process.

Since the union movement today hardly ever enforces contract compliance by the company by direct action, few grievances—either by the "expedited" or normal route—end in justice for the worker. The final decision is left to high-paid lawyers and professors posing as "neutrals."

Hughes management's response to "expedited arbitration" has been to provoke a blizzard of new grievances, up to fifty a day, further tying the union down in paperwork and fruitless meetings.

The concessions made to Hughes and the lack of union response to the continuing attacks can only mean more trouble ahead.

The same union-busting process is going on in other oil-tool plants in Houston. These companies are demonstrating in practice their determination to beat back the limited gains won over the years by the unions, demoralize union activists, and eventually either cripple the unions or run them out of the plants.

Although the outcome of this fall's strike at Hughes has to be called a setback, some workers—including many who were drawn into activity through Sadlowski's and Morris's campaigns—are looking deeper into the issues involved.

Union members are getting an abrupt education in the inadequacy of the course followed by their present leadership. Many are beginning to look for alternatives.

More workers at Hughes are reading the *Militant*. Of special interest has been the *Militant's* coverage of a similar offensive—and similar discussions among union members—at Hydril, another oil-tool company in Houston. (See November 11 and November 25 issues.)

As a result of Diane Sarge's mayoral campaign, a number of workers have also become interested in the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party.

Socialist-minded workers will be contributing their ideas to this crucial discussion at Hughes about how to mobilize the power of labor and its allies against the employer attacks.

Profit drive at Hughes

What's behind the antiunion assault at Hughes Tool Company?

Part of the answer can be seen from the company's balance sheets. Hughes is an expanding operation, highly profitable for its owners.

In the first nine months of this year the company's profits were \$33.7 million, up 17 percent from the year before.

Its latest reported profit margin was 9.6 percent of sales—nearly double the average profit margin for all major industry.

Raymond Holliday, chairman and

chief executive officer of Hughes, recently announced that the company expects to increase its dividend to shareholders by 40 percent next year, and increase its capital spending (mostly for automated equipment) by nearly 30 percent.

Hughes has profited greatly from expansion of the oil drilling industry . . . and from sweating its workers to maximize production without regard for health or safety.

It is determined to prevent its employees from obtaining any share of these profits, and to wreck any union that stands in its way.

China in 1977

Peking bureaucrats assess damage under Mao regime

By Les Evans

From Intercontinental Press

The year after the death of Mao Tsetung was one of watchful waiting in China. There was nothing so dramatic as the events of 1976, which saw the Tien An Men demonstrations, the passing of Mao, Chou En-lai, and Chu Te, and the purge of Mao's faction, the so-called Gang of Four.

After those convulsions, 1977 had to make do with the anticlimactic rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, finally consummated in July, and the convening of the Eleventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party the following month. These were interesting as straws in the wind, indicating the composition and political direction of the post-Mao leadership. But the real story lay elsewhere, in the belated revelations of the shambles Mao's Cultural Revolution had made of China's economy, educational system, and the arts.

A series of national conferences were held to assess the damage to the economy in Mao's last decade and to formulate a new policy. These culminated in a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Fourth National People's Congress in October, where Minister of Economics Yu Ch'iu-li gave a sobering report on the true state of affairs.

There had been "grave damage to the national economy," Yu said on October 23, and "there was a stagnation in industrial and agricultural production and a decline in the output of a number of industrial products." (Hsin-hua, October 25, 1977.)

The specifics cited by Yu included the following. In "some localities and units," "Corruption and graft, theft, speculation and profiteering were rife and socialist ownership was undermined." On the collection of state revenues, there had been "several years of failure to fulfill state quotas." At the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, China's largest, "Production stagnated for a long time; accidents were frequent and equipment was seriously damaged." Szechwan province, once China's granary, was "reduced from a grain supplier to a grain deficient province and industrial production plummeted."

Yu said that the dislocations were so

extensive as to make them impossible to correct "within the short space of one year." He gave this summary of particular problem areas:

Firstly, the growth of agriculture and light industry falls short of demand for the country's construction and the people's life; secondly, the development of the fuel and power industries and the primary goods industry is not keeping pace with the growth of the whole national economy; thirdly, consolidation of economic management and the management of enterprises has just begun, and no significant improvement has yet been made as regards the poor quality of products, big consumption of material, low labour productivity, high production cost and the tying-up of too much funds, which continue in some of our enterprises.

Split within bureaucracy

Such reports confirm the opinion expressed by *Intercontinental Press* at the time of the arrest of Chiang Ch'ing that important economic failures under the Mao regime had provoked the split within the bureaucracy (see "Hua Kuo-feng Reveals Issues in Purge," *IP*, December 20, 1976, p. 1812).

The terminology used by the Western press to describe this split—"radicals" versus "moderates"—falls wide of the mark. But it is not farfetched to see in this intrabureaucratic rupture the reappearance of tendencies that had long divided the Chinese nationalist movement: on the one side, xenophobic, traditionalist ideologues (Mao and Chiang Ch'ing); on the other, Westernizing technocrats (Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-p'ing). One would look in vain here for the much-talked-about "proletarian revolutionary headquarters" that appears in the Maoist press.

It is becoming possible now to plumb the depths of what the Mao faction submitted China to in the name of creating a "proletarian culture." In December 1976 the new government began to publish interviews with political prisoners, held for a few months or years because of differences with Mao and Chiang Ch'ing over cultural matters. But beginning in the spring of 1977 a series of interviews with writers and performing artists were arranged for Western reporters that gave a more sweeping picture.

One of the first of these was with

Yuan Hsueh-fen, one of China's most famous actresses and singers in the 1950s and early 1960s. Journalists from the *Washington Post* were invited to speak with her in May in Shanghai. The Cultural Revolution had branded the traditional Shaohsing Opera she performed as "bourgeois." Yuan was consequently arrested in 1966, imprisoned for three years in a room of a Shanghai mansion, then barred from the stage for another seven years. She was even prohibited from revealing her identity to anyone under threat of being returned to imprisonment. (*Washington Post*, May 5, 1977.)

Artists under detention

By the end of the year interviews of this kind were commonplace, and it became apparent that many if not most of China's artists, writers, singers, actors, and musicians had been under detention in one form or another for the last ten years. In the late fall of 1977, the Chinese government arranged interviews between Harrison Salisbury of the *New York Times* and a number of cultural figures. Salisbury's account, which appeared in the December 4, 1977, *New York Times Magazine*, is an important document of life in Mao's China.

He comments that during an extended visit to China in 1972 he was able to meet only one writer. In 1977, he met many. "The riddle of the non-presence of writers and artists in 1972 was solved. Almost every person I met in 1977 had been in prison in 1972, or confined to his home, exiled to a farm in the countryside, or put to some other form of disgrace."

The government of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-p'ing has set itself on a "new course." After more than a year, however, the reforms that have been granted are painfully meager. The regime is intent on technological modernization, to be achieved by aid that Peking imagines will be forthcoming from Western imperialism in exchange for help in propping up Washington's client states in the semicolonial world.

Wage raise granted

To achieve this end domestically, Hua and Teng have begun to reestablish a system of higher education and

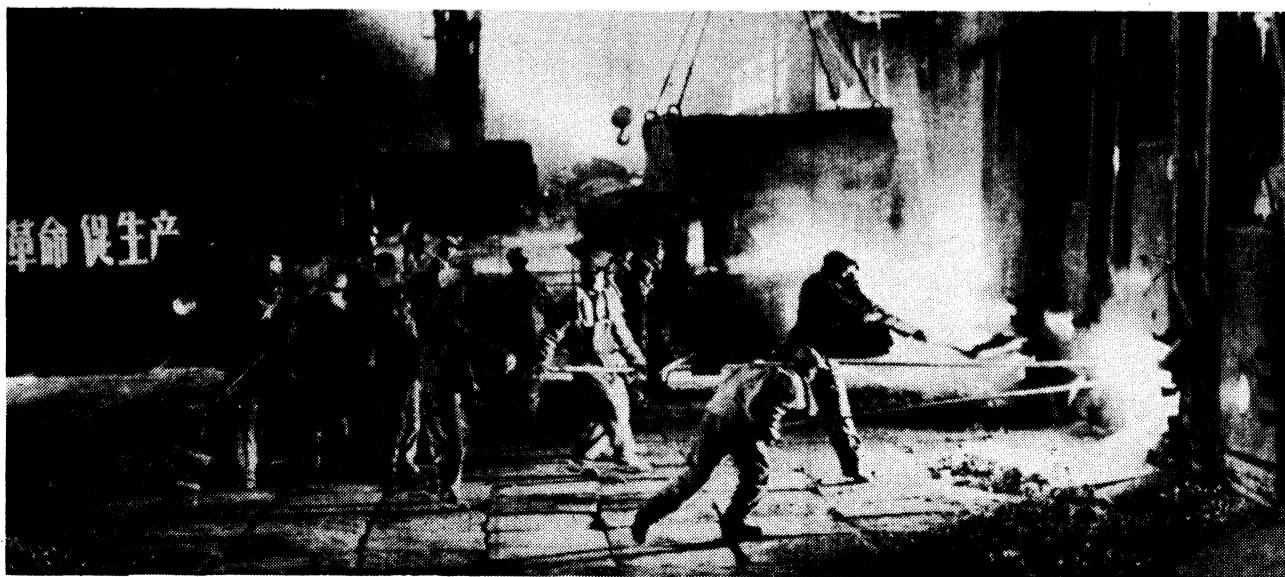


HUA: On 'new course' of technological modernization with expected aid from Western imperialism.

to do away with the seminars for the study of Mao Tsetung Thought set up by the previous government under the name of universities. A wage raise has been granted to about half of the urban workers—it does not apply to the peasants—although the government procrastinated for a year before coming through with this elementary concession. (Real wages in China before the new increase were lower in 1977 than they had been in 1957.)

It is, of course, a step forward for the writers and artists to be out of jail. But the only thing to be published so far is new editions of novels of the pre-Cultural Revolution period, including a few good ones from the 1930s by Pa Chin and Mao Tun.

The thaw, if it can be called that, has so far not been even so extensive as the cautious liberalization under Khrushchev in the Soviet Union in the late 1950s. Still, as well as one can read the mood from a distance, the feeling of the masses appears to be one of hopeful expectation. Things have begun to move again; the government is off balance and is making concessions. The old tyrant is gone and the bureaucracy has no one who can do for it what Mao did. It is the beginning of a new period, a period the Chinese masses are entering with high expectations and a readiness to return some of the blows they have been given by the privileged bureaucracy that rules over them.



Official report found 'production stagnated' and 'frequent accidents' at Anshan Iron and Steel Company



Agricultural growth fell 'short of demand'

At year's end

Contradictions sharpen for W. European CPs and SPs

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

In nearly all countries of capitalist Europe, the bulk of the workers are under the influence of mass Communist and Social Democratic parties. With the deepening crisis of capitalism, these parties have played a more and more central role in holding back mass upsurges that could threaten the capitalist system.

In 1977, the contradictions of the CPs and SPs, which are based on the working class but subordinate themselves to the interests of capitalism, sharpened considerably.

In Portugal, two years of running the government for the bourgeoisie has left the Soares leadership of the Socialist Party deeply discredited and the party itself demoralized and disintegrating.

In order to keep the party in line behind his procapitalist policies, Soares had to continue the purges that he began in the period leading up to the October 1976 SP congress. They reached a new stage when Lopes Cardoso, leader of the moderate left wing, was forced to leave the party formally on November 8.

Toward the end of 1977, the Portuguese bourgeoisie and the internationally dominant capitalist interests seemed to be preparing to give Soares his reward for rescuing their system in Portugal.

The International Monetary Fund presented him with an ultimatum, demanding all-out austerity. The interests behind the fund could not help but

be aware that it is extremely unlikely he could carry out such a program or survive the attempt.

At the same time, the representatives of Portuguese capitalism have been complaining more and more emphatically that not even the most right-wing or compliant Social Democratic leadership can be relied on to do the job they want done and that this job cannot be put off any longer.

Even without a new sharpening of austerity, the buying power of Portuguese workers has been pushed below the level that existed before the fall of the dictatorship. Inflation stands at 30% annually and unemployment at 15%.

Soares's promises

Soares's promises to bring a "European" standard of living to Portugal with the help of the more developed capitalist countries, especially those governed by "sister Socialist parties," have turned to ashes.

Expelled from the government after the November 25, 1975, crisis, the Portuguese Communist Party has continued to play an indispensable role in safeguarding the capitalist system. As the only mass opposition party, it has been able to defuse the growing discontent and prevent it from taking any concentrated and sustained form.

In 1977, the Spanish Communist and Socialist parties experienced an explosive growth similar to that of the Portuguese CP and SP in 1974-75. This process, which got under way follow-

ing the death of Franco, accelerated with the approach of the June 1977 vote for the first elected parliament since the end of the Spanish Civil War.

The SP and CP leaderships subordinated themselves to Franco's heir, Suárez, allowing the bourgeois government to keep a precarious grip on the political situation. However, the mass upsurge was too powerful for Suárez to be able to keep the workers parties in the background. He was forced to grant substantial freedom for the workers parties to campaign in the parliamentary elections. And even though he assured important trump cards for his Democratic Center Union, it failed to get a popular mandate. It even failed to get a majority in the lower house, although it received 47% of the seats with less than 34% of the vote.

In France, the breakup of the Union of the Left on the eve of certain victory in the French parliamentary elections scheduled for March 1978 has tended to create disillusionment with the bureaucratic parties.

The Trotskyists have opened up a campaign stressing the need for the workers themselves to discuss what the program for working-class unity in the elections should be and the need for the CP and SP to subordinate their narrow factional interests to the interests of the proletariat as a whole.

In Northern Europe, the traditionally dominant Social Democratic parties have proved less and less able to inspire confidence on the part of new radicalizing layers in particular, even though in the face of the economic crisis workers still look to them as the only means of defending their interests.

British Labour Party

The unpopularity of the Labour government in Britain continues to grow, as shown by the defeats of Labour Party candidates in local and by-elections. The Scottish and Welsh nationalists in particular continue to make inroads into the traditional support of the Labour Party.

Increasing tensions in British society are also shown by the growth of the racist National Front.

In West Germany and Scandinavia, socially critical currents have continued to crystallize around the movement against nuclear power that has grown up both outside and inside the SPs and in opposition to the Social Democratic political and union leaderships.

The emergence of a mass antinuclear movement in West Germany has given impetus to the development of opposition to the Schmidt leadership within the SP, which had already arisen on other issues. The massive witch-hunt campaign started up under the pretext of fighting terrorism has momentarily set back the growth of this opposition, but the deeper processes at work in West German society cannot be turned back so easily.

It is notable that nowhere in Northern Europe have Communist parties gained any credibility as political al-

ternatives to the Social Democratic parties. In Southern Europe, growing radicalization had created a dilemma for the mass CPs. It is hard to appeal to newly radicalizing layers without taking some distance from Stalinist dictatorship. However, it is difficult to do that without drawing the fire of the Kremlin, which encouraged a major split in the Swedish CP this year and opened up a campaign against the most outspoken "Eurocommunist" leader, Spanish CP head Santiago Carrillo.

Stalinists paid price

The lion's share of the left vote went to the SP, which had seemed to adopt more of an oppositionist stance toward the Suárez government than the CP. The Stalinists have been most anxious to convince the capitalists in Spain and internationally of their reliability. They paid a heavy price for this in the elections.

Following the elections, support for bourgeois politicians continued to decline. The polls indicated that a majority of the population looked to the workers parties for leadership.

However, even as they were being



Mario Soares, head of Portugal's Socialist Party. Two years of running country has left SP discredited.



20,000 students marched through Rome early this year protesting youth unemployment. Italian Communist Party openly defends bourgeois political and economic order.

came out against the pact, especially in the Basque country.

The rapid growth of opposition to the pact also reflected the strength in the union organizations of radicalized forces that are either suspicious of the traditional reformist leaderships or have rejected them. The Trotskyists played a significant role. For the first time in any of the mass upsurges in Europe that have developed since the late 1960s, the Trotskyists have substantial strength in the workers movement. The membership of the Spanish section of the Fourth International is already more than 7,000.

In Italy, as in Spain, the Communist Party has begun openly defending the bourgeois political and economic order before assuming any formal responsibility for the government. The Italian Stalinists have developed this tactic, which has become known as the "Popular Front in the Corridors," in an elaborate way. They have taken the line that austerity should not be seen in an "outdated" manner as less money in the workers' pockets, but rather as a "method for transforming society," by "reordering priorities."

Probably the most flexible and adroit of the West European CP leaderships, the Italian Stalinists have been able to win overwhelming dominance in the workers movement and prevent the development of serious rivals. How-

ever, even while their control of the labor movement went essentially unchallenged, the great unevennesses in the development of Italian society and the inherent weakness of Italian capitalism have made it hard for them to achieve a stable deal with the capitalists.

Italian women's movement

One of the forces that has obstructed the CP's "historic compromise" has been the development of a mass women's liberation movement that arose against the imposition of Catholic morality by the state. This movement destabilized the main bourgeois party, which is based on the Catholic church, and disrupted the CP's attempt to make a deal with the church hierarchy and the Christian Democratic leaders. The Italian bourgeoisie still has not granted the full right of abortion. Ferment has continued to develop in 1977 around the issues raised by the feminists and their allies.

In the past year, the desperation of the masses of student youth, left without any perspectives by the crisis of jerry-built Italian capitalism and a hopelessly backward and disorganized education system, became clear. Signs increased also that even in the big working-class centers, the CP's credibility is under increasing strain.

A hypocritical Young blames Africa's problems on Cuba

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

Following the lead set by his boss, President Carter, Andrew Young has unleashed a series of strident denunciations of the Cuban involvement in Africa. Three times within one week, the self-proclaimed "point man" of the Carter administration took Castro to task for not heeding previous White House warnings.

Speaking at the United Nations December 6, Young tried to tag the responsibility for the repressive policies of some African states on the Cubans. "What we are finding," he said, "is that the Cuban military presence ends up becoming associated with the purging of some of the better trained and more skilled people in Africa." He cited a number of countries in Africa where he said the Cuban "military role seems to be to support a repressive regime that maintains power by killing off the opposition."

Speaking two days earlier on the CBS radio and television program "Face the Nation," Young charged that the Cuban role in Africa was "a kind of new colonialism" that contributed to "the destruction and chaos of Africa."

Coming from a chief spokesman of

American imperialism, nothing could be more hypocritical.

Does Young really expect the African masses to believe that Cuban assistance to some African regimes represents a "new colonialism," when it is American, British, French, South African, and other imperialist companies that are plundering Africa's wealth and blocking its industrial development?

Does he really expect them to swallow the charge that the Cuban presence is responsible for "the destruction and chaos of Africa," when it was Washington that supplied arms to the Portuguese colonialists and backed the South African military intervention in Angola?

Does he expect them to believe that the blame for the repressive policies of a number of African states rests with Havana, when it is American imperialism that helps to prop up dozens of repressive capitalist regimes on that continent, ranging from Mobutu's Zaïre to Vorster's South Africa?

Young himself acknowledged the Carter administration's real attitude toward colonialism and repression in Africa on that very same CBS program. He told his interviewers that he would not recommend any new measures against the white supremacist regime in South Africa.

Coming just after an official inquest in Pretoria absolved the police of any blame in the murder of the young Black leader Steve Biko and at a time of increased repression against Black activists in general, Young's remarks can only be interpreted by the Vorster regime as a tacit seal of approval.

Castro responded to the White House attacks December 6. Defending his government's sovereignty, including the right to conduct its own foreign policy, he said, "If the issue of Cuban-American relations is placed in the context of Africa, the restoration of relations will not advance. We are not willing to enter into any kind of compromise on that."



Militant/Omari Musa

ANDREW YOUNG: Takes Cuba to task while giving racist South Africa tacit seal of approval.

World news notes

Campaign against death penalty set

Amnesty International, the human rights organization that was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1977, has announced a worldwide campaign against the death penalty. The campaign was launched at a conference in Stockholm December 10 and 11. Conference organizers condemned the death penalty, now in use in more than 100 countries, as "a cruel, inhuman, and degrading punishment."

Repression in Northern Ireland

Police in Belfast, Northern Ireland, staged a predawn raid December 15 on the offices of the Provisional Sinn Féin, a legal political organization that reflects the views of the Provisional Irish Republican Army. Fifteen persons were arrested, including the editor, business manager, and distributors of *Republican News*, the group's weekly newspaper.

In addition, police took typewriters, editorial material, files, and back copies of the paper from the office. "We can only assume that the police are trying to force us out of political business," a Sinn Féin representative said.

Spanish police kill second protester

One week after gunning down a nineteen-year-old demonstrator who tried to raise the flag of the Andalusian region over the city hall in Málaga, officers of the paramilitary Spanish Civil Guard have claimed another victim. They opened fire December 12 on demonstrators in Tenerife, the largest of the Spanish-ruled Canary Islands, killing one university student and wounding another.

Not surprisingly, the Canary Islands, which have the highest rate of illiteracy, unemployment, infant mortality, and emigration in the Spanish state, also have a separatist movement. The regime has tried to deal with the opposition by airlifting police reinforcements into the islands and closing down the university in Tenerife until January.

A report in the December 16 *New York Times* by James Markham quoted one newspaper columnist with close ties to the government who blamed the unrest on "foreign agents."

Carter considers 'small' nuclear war

President Carter has ordered a Pentagon review of plans for nuclear war against the Soviet Union. It seems that White House aides have come up with the idea of threatening "secondary" targets such as food supplies, rather than only cities, and military installations. "Some targets are of greater psychological importance to Moscow than others, and we should begin thinking of how to use our strategic forces to play on these concerns," a White House official explained.

A step closer to reality

Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, has announced that his organization will soon stop referring to itself as "Leninist," according to a November 26 Reuters dispatch.

Carrillo, addressing a news conference in Madrid, said the change would probably be made at the CP's next congress, scheduled for February or March.

'Defaming the German state'

The West German government has initiated legal proceedings against a second person accused of "defaming the German state." The first charge was lodged against the father of Gudrun Ensslin, one of the three members of the German Red Army Faction found dead in their prison cells this October. Ensslin questioned whether his daughter actually committed suicide. He now faces three years in jail.

Julian Beck, head of the Living Theatre, has now also been charged. Beck's theater group was performing at the International Festival of Free Theatre in Munich during the period of the prison deaths, and he felt compelled to make a protest.

While an actor hung naked with electrodes attached to his body, Beck told his audience, "This form of torture has been reported in Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, West Germany, Turkey, Iran, Israel, and over fifty-two other countries."

"In Germany today," Beck said, "there is what is known as the 'white torture.' This is a torture of prolonged isolation. Such techniques have been used in Brazil, where they have led to the deaths of several prisoners, which were later reported as suicides."

After his last performance, Beck was arrested and held for nine hours by the German government. Although he was released on \$1,000 bail and returned to his headquarters in Rome, he could be fined or sentenced in absentia, effectively preventing him from returning to Germany.

Detention of Soviet dissident extended

Soviet authorities have extended the pretrial detention of Anatoly Shcharansky for another six months. Shcharansky, a Jew who had applied for emigration, was arrested March 15 and accused of having worked for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

The refusal of the Soviet regime to bring Shcharansky to trial after nine months of detention, despite the wide publicity his case has received, indicated the nature of the frame-up charges in Shcharansky's case.

'Human Rights Day' in Moscow

About twenty-five persons held a silent vigil in Moscow's Pushkin Square on United Nations Human Rights Day, December 10. Since 1966 the vigil has been held by Soviet dissidents on Constitution Day, formerly December 5, to protest the refusal of the Soviet regime to honor its own constitution. With the adoption of a new constitution in October, the date of the demonstration was shifted to the United Nations holiday.

Those taking part in the vigil did so despite the confinement of more than twenty dissidents to their houses and the arrest of several others. Meanwhile, *Pravda*, the newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party, hailed the "freedom, human rights, democracy and social justice" prevailing in the USSR.

Spanish Trotskyists agree to unify forces

By Fred Murphy

From Intercontinental Press

A five-year-long split among Spanish Trotskyists is being overcome.

The fourth congress of the Liga Comunista (LC—Communist League), held in Barcelona October 29–November 1, voted to seek immediate unification with the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League).

During the weekend of November 12–13, the Central Committee of the LCR met and unanimously agreed to the LC's proposal.

Both groups have been sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International since a split in the original Liga Comunista in 1972. That division reflected political differences that were developing in the world Trotskyist movement as a whole. In recent months those differences have narrowed considerably, and splits similar to the one that occurred in Spain have already been overcome in a number of countries.

The central committees of the two organizations will hold a joint meeting in Madrid December 17–18 to work out the organizational details of the reunification. A joint newspaper, *Combate*, is already being published, with "organ of the LC and LCR" appearing on the masthead. The fusion process is scheduled to be completed at a reunification congress in March, preceded by a discussion among the entire membership of the new organization.

Principled fusion

In an interview published in the November 9 issue of the LCR's newspaper *Combate*, LC Political Secretary Juan Zuriarrain said:

"This decision was based on the recognition that neither historical nor political reasons justify the division into two organizations; that a principled common basis exists: our adherence to the fundamental program of the Fourth International."

Zuriarrain explained that the LC's fourth congress corrected some "sectarian deformations" that had resulted from positions taken at the organization's third congress. "A negative attitude toward unification with the LCR figured prominently among these deformations," he said.

For its part, the LCR had proposed reunification at its first congress in August 1976 and made this a "primary objective." An article in the November 16 issue of the LCR's *Combate* said that congress had "made a critical evaluation of the split, characterizing it as a grave error that had enormously weakened the forces of the Fourth International in the Spanish state and that had not been justified from the political point of view. . . ."

The LC has now adopted a similar attitude to the 1972 split:

"The [fourth] congress analyzed the history of our party's relations with the LCR. The clear conclusion drawn was to recognize that *no political or organizational justification had ever existed for maintaining such a division*; that we should always have been seeking a reunification congress, since both organizations formed part of the Fourth International and based themselves on the program and principles of Trotskyism" (*Combate* [LC], November 10; emphasis in original).

Seven-month discussion

The LC congress was preceded by seven months of debate and discussion, during which more than forty

internal bulletins were published and circulated to the membership.

Four currents of opinion developed in the course of this debate: the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency, which encompassed the majority of the organization and favored immediate reunification; the Trotskyist Faction, which stood on the positions adopted at the LC's third congress; the Marxist Tendency, which rejected traditional Trotskyist positions on the nature of the Soviet Union and the other workers states; and the Tendency for the Defense of the Fourth International, which held views similar to those expressed by the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI).

On the eve of the congress, leaders of the Trotskyist Faction declared that they were forming a public faction and refused to participate in the congress. The Marxist Tendency also walked out of the organization just before the congress, and a part of the Tendency for the Defense of the Fourth International did the same. Together, the three splits took about a third of the LC's membership.

An article in the November 10 issue of the LC's newspaper, also called *Combate*, explained:

"All these splits were motivated by a crucial political point raised in the congress: . . . overcoming the division that has existed since 1972 between the LC and the LCR. The response of the majority tendency of the Liga Comunista to this question was clear: It was and is necessary to reunify the LC and the LCR rapidly and create the Spanish section. The other tendencies . . . gave a sectarian response: Today such unification is not possible; the division should be maintained. Basically, what led these comrades to split and refuse to respect the decisions of the congress was the knowledge that the congress would declare itself in favor of unification. In splitting they have demonstrated their profound sectarian character." (Emphasis in original.)

Some delegates from the tendencies that split, however, chose to remain at the congress and argue for their positions, and have remained in the organization while continuing to hold their differing opinions.

Pole of attraction

"Over and above the splits," Zuriarrain said in the *Combate* (LCR) interview, "we must point out the importance of the decision to fuse. This is historic because it shows that a big Trotskyist organization can arise in the heat of the class struggle. . . . The unified party will be an important pole of attraction for all those hundreds and thousands of militants who are looking to the Fourth International as a banner of victory in the present situation."

A representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International brought greetings to the LC congress and made a similar point:

"The unification of the Trotskyist organizations that will take place here in Spain will go far beyond the simple sum of the forces of the LC and the LCR; it will also resolve the difficulties of those who are uncertain and who justify their hesitations by saying, 'Why join an organization of the Fourth International? It can't be too correct, since there is another organization, also Trotskyist, that thinks the first organization is so bad that it's necessary to build a second one!'"

"At the international level," the Uni-

ted Secretariat representative continued, "this is part of a process that has already been completed with great success and often far-reaching repercussions in Greece, Canada, and Mexico, and which is going to take place in Colombia, Peru, and Australia."

The political resolution adopted at the LC congress reevaluated the organization's call for a boycott of the parliamentary elections earlier this year:

"The results of the elections showed that, despite the obstacles put up by the Stalinists and Social Democrats (which condemned to failure at the outset tactics of boycott or general strike), the workers and popular movement is capable of dealing hard blows to the bourgeoisie even in the electoral field. . . ."

Against election boycott

"The duty of Trotskyists is to strengthen the action of the workers in whatever arena they are forced to fight. In no case should Trotskyists stand aside from electoral activity and leave the workers in the hands of the Stalinists, Social Democrats, and centrists. They should take advantage of elections to advance the construction of the party. For all these reasons the

congress considered the position of boycott of the elections that our party took to have been an error."

The LC congress was attended by sixty-five delegates representing units of the organization in Euzkadi (Vizcaya, Alava, Guipúzcoa, and Pampuna), Madrid, Catalunya, Castile, Asturias, Valencia, and Zaragoza. Observers from the Canary Islands were also present.

Besides the representative of the United Secretariat, guests brought greetings from the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire of France, the OCRFI, the Workers Socialist League of Britain, and the LCR.

The LCR representative welcomed the decision to end the split, and "said the fact of unification will not resolve all problems and will not mean an idyllic path, but democratic centralism and the solid principles the new party will be based on will permit and assure that we advance together in the struggle to build the party."

The youth organizations in solidarity with the two groups are also fusing. The new organization will be called the Juventud Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist Youth).



LCR organized rallies during last spring's Spanish elections, such as above in Basque country.



Members of Liga Juventud Comunista, youth group of the LC, sell their paper in Madrid subway. Trotskyist youth groups also plan fusion.

THE LESSER EVIL?

The Lesser Evil: The Left Debates the Democratic Party and Social Change by Michael Harrington, Peter Camejo, and others. Pathfinder Press, New York 1977. 128 pages.

Did working people gain anything by electing Carter in 1976? Can labor and its allies "take over" the Democratic Party? Does supporting Democrats advance the cause of socialism?

These are some of the questions thrashed out in *The Lesser Evil*, a volume containing three debates held in 1959, 1965, and 1976. On one side were Peter Camejo, Jack Barnes, and George Breitman, leaders of the Socialist Workers Party who oppose the Democratic Party and favor independent working-class political action.

On the other side were Michael Harrington and the late Carl Haessler, who favored supporting the Democratic Party as a strategy, and Stanley Aronowitz, who at that time favored working in the Democratic Party on tactical grounds.

The debates marked different stages in the decades-old conflict within the workers movement over whether to support liberal capitalist candidates

Books

as "the lesser evil." The debate between Carl Haessler and George Breitman followed a Democratic landslide in the 1958 congressional elections, sweeping many supposedly prolabor candidates into office.

Haessler was inspired by this victory to speculate that labor was slowly but surely "taking over" the Democratic Party. Such illusions took a drubbing when the new "pro-labor" Congress passed the viciously antilabor Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin act.

The debate between Jack Barnes and Stanley Aronowitz followed President Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam through systematic bombing of North Vietnam. This shocked and disillusioned many who had supported Johnson as a "peace" candidate against the vocally hawkish Republican candidate Barry Goldwater. One result was the first large-scale antiwar demonstration. Another outcome was a new receptivity to socialist criticisms of the Democratic Party and "lesser evilism."

The publication of this book comes as the Carter administration rounds out its first year in office. *The Lesser Evil* allows us to compare Carter's performance with the promises made by those who presented the Georgia Democrat as a positive alternative to Gerald Ford.

The pro-Carter view was expressed on the eve of the election, in the most recent of the debates published in *The Lesser Evil*, by Michael Harrington, national chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Opposing Harrington was Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

How have the forecasts made by each of the debaters stood the test of time?

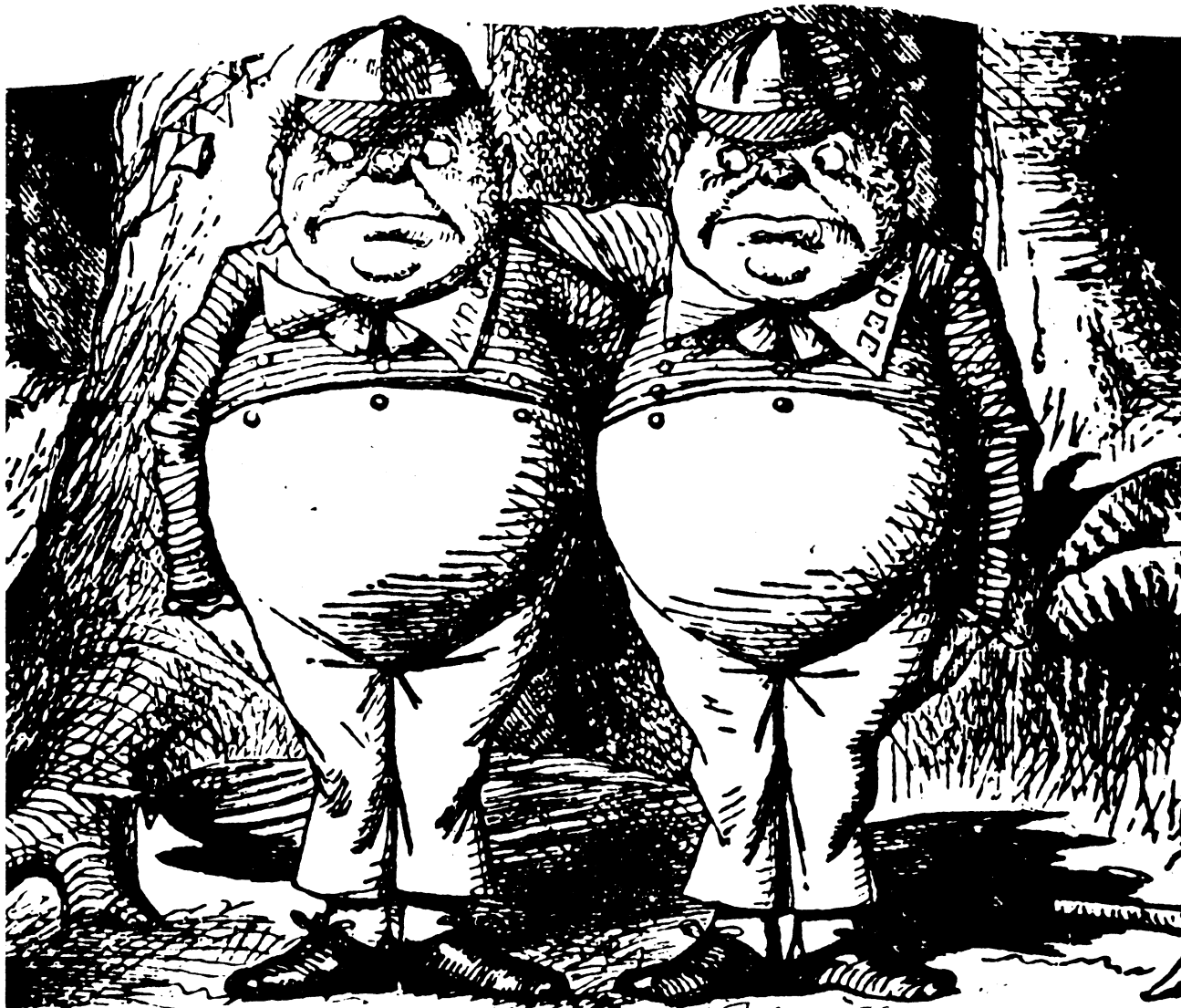
Harrington argued that Carter "is in favor of a bill guaranteeing the right to work in the United States," adding that Carter "would follow full employment policies. . . ."

As Camejo predicted in his reply, Carter has followed the opposite course. Unemployment has continued to hover around the 7 percent mark—where the Ford administration left it. And for Blacks, the jobless rate has soared.

The "bill guaranteeing the right to work" touted by Harrington was the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. In its original form, this legislation didn't provide a single job—it set a "goal" of 3 percent unemployment to be reached in four years.

With the approach of the 1978 elections, this fake "jobs" legislation has been revived. Now it sets a "goal" of 4 percent unemployment to be achieved in five years—unless the president decides to change the "goal" in order to "fight inflation," as the bill empowers him to do.

Full employment was the centerpiece of Harrington's case for Carter, but the DSOC leader mar-



Tweedledee and Tweedledum

shaled other arguments as well.

"There is no difference between Ford and Carter on New York City? With Carter we've got a chance, not for justice, but to survive," Harrington proclaimed. "When the city of New York begins again the process of destroying the City University . . . if Gerald Ford is president, *you will not get any help.*"

Today New York Mayor-elect Edward Koch, a Democrat, is preparing a new wave of cutbacks in jobs and social services.

Is Carter speeding to the aid of New York's working people, in glaring contrast to Ford's policy? On the contrary, Secretary of the Treasury Blumenthal has proposed cutbacks in federal aid to New York city. And the Democratic head of the Senate Banking Committee, William Proxmire, warned that "it's going to be very difficult for New York to convince a reluctant Congress to go to the well again."

"There is no difference to women?" declaimed Harrington. "If Gerald Ford is elected president of the United States, he will continue the miserable, reactionary work in the Supreme Court that Richard Nixon began. . . ."

In office, Carter has backed the reactionary Hyde amendment, which cut off funds for abortions to poor women. His administration has endorsed and encouraged the "reactionary work in the Supreme Court."

It was not hard for Peter Camejo to predict this outcome, of course, since Carter had already indicated his approval of the Court's reactionary decisions on the death penalty and other issues at the time Camejo debated Harrington.

"National health? There is no difference? Gerald Ford is up there with an absolute swindle. . . . Jimmy Carter is committed to the Kennedy-Corman national health program," Harrington promised.

Anybody heard of the Kennedy-Corman bill lately?

"On foreign policy. There is no difference between the greatest arms salesman in the world, Gerald Ford, and somebody who wants to curb it, Jimmy Carter?"

No, there was no difference. Carter has raised the defense budget—which he promised to reduce—and has fostered the development of a new generation of

death-dealing weapons. U.S. arms sales abroad have increased—not declined—during Carter's first year at the helm.

Harrington hit the nail on the head with one prediction, however: "If Carter wins, he will do some horrendous things—I guarantee it."

But the rest of Harrington's description of Carter's policies was plain hogwash—just like those of many capitalist politicians in the closing days of an election campaign. He was caught in the logic that has always entrapped professed "socialists" who devote themselves to building capitalist parties. In order to persuade working people to vote for such a party, Harrington had to tell it like it wasn't.

Camejo, on the other hand, could tell the truth because he recognized that capitalist politicians defend *their* class and oppose the interests of working people—period.

"I say today we've got to break with the whole concept that we have to vote for the lesser evil; that is, we have to vote for evil, that we have to go out and support candidates that are against our interests—why? Because they put up somebody else that's worse," Camejo explained.

"Let's have no illusions. Whether you vote for Carter or Ford, you are not making any decision about who runs this government. That is a myth. We must fight that myth."

"The corporations run this country. The oil industry gets the secretary of state no matter who wins, Democrat or Republican, every time. The under-secretaries and the cabinet posts . . . are the people who will continue to run the country no matter who gets elected. Both these parties represent the same class."

"The rich have two parties. We have none. That's the problem. That's what we must go out and tell people."

These debates should be studied along with the articles in the Education for Socialists publication *Aspects of Socialist Election Policy* (also available from Pathfinder Press), which discuss the labor party, independent Black candidacies, and other forms of independent working-class political action. Together these works provide a good introduction to the socialist strategy for carrying on the fight to break our class from subordination to the parties of its deadly enemies.

—Fred Feldman

Twenty years of the 'Young Socialist'

By Peter Archer

At the December 28-January 1 national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, the YSA will mark the twentieth anniversary of publication of the *Young Socialist*. The YS is a monthly newspaper reflecting the views of the YSA.

The YS is unique in American politics—the oldest continuously published socialist youth paper in existence. Thumbing through some of its back issues, I was struck by the fact that its history reflects the entire course of the youth radicalization that began in the late 1950s and continues today.

Roots of radicalization

By 1957, the year the *Young Socialist* began publication, there were signs that the poisonous atmosphere of the McCarthyite witch-hunt had begun to clear.

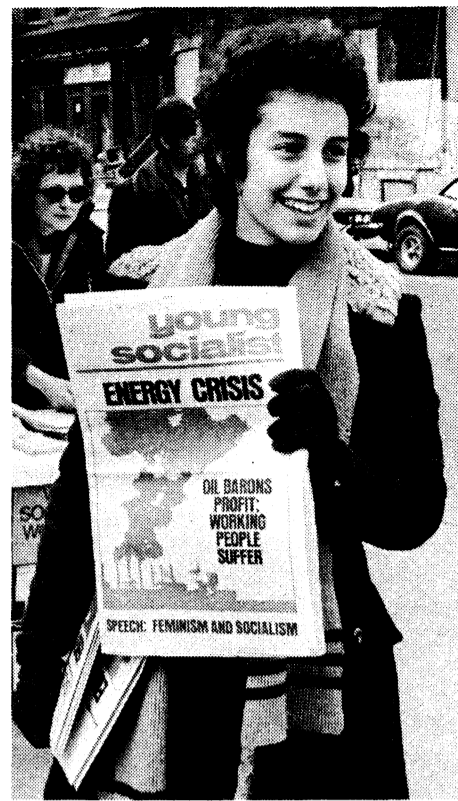
In the South, Blacks were beginning to organize against the Jim Crow system of legal segregation.

In Africa, Asia, and Latin America, colonial people were stirring against their centuries-long exploitation by imperialism.

In 1956 Nikita Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes helped spark revolts for socialist democracy in Hungary and Poland. His speech also led to faction fights and breakaways from many Communist parties around the world, and to a regroupment within the workers movement.

Finally, a huge growth of the student population in many universities had created a battery of critical young minds that began to examine and question the values of American society.

Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party saw that because of these events there was a tremendous opportunity to win young people to revolutionary socialism. The SWP proposed to other forces on the left the publication of a socialist newspaper for young people on the college campuses and in the high schools. The paper would provide



May 1970 anti-Vietnam War student strike

a format for discussion of questions facing students and working people in the United States and would help mobilize young people in support of emerging social struggles.

Supporters of the *National Guardian*, some former members of the Communist Party, and some ex-members of the Independent Socialist League, a group that had split from the SWP in 1940, accepted the proposal and agreed to work on the paper. Tim Wohlforth, a former member of the ISL, undertook the job of editing the new paper.

In October 1957 the first issue of the *Young Socialist* rolled off the press.

The November 1957 issue of the paper reported that YS supporter clubs had been formed in several cities: the Young Socialists Conference in Los Angeles; the Socialist Youth Committee in Chicago; the Young Socialist Alliance in New York City.

Campus administrations around the country reacted to the paper with fury. The *Daily Bruin*, campus newspaper at UCLA, launched a vicious red-baiting campaign against the YS. University officials on many campuses tried to prevent sales of the paper and harassed members of its supporter clubs.

But the January 1958 YS reported: "The witchhunters . . . have been unable to prevent our reaching the young people of this nation. In fact, in the heat of the struggle for civil liberties new people are introduced to the ideas of socialism and new clubs are formed." Speaking tours were organized by the YS to answer the red-baiters' attacks and spread the socialist message.

'Kissing case'

In late 1958, a YS staff member thumbing through a newspaper noticed a dispatch from Monroe, North Carolina, reporting that two Black youths had been arrested on charges of kissing a white girl. Hanover Thompson, ten years old, was convicted of "assaulting and molesting a white female." Eight-year-old "Fuzzy" Simpson was convicted as his "accomplice." Both were sent to a reformatory for an indefinite number of years.

The YS joined with others to defend Hanover and Thompson. YS reporters Nora Roberts and Joan Garrett left for North Carolina to report on the case. Their articles appeared in the January 1959 issue of the paper, and YS supporters around the country began to campaign around the "Kissing Case." In contrast to the *New York Times*, which confined its coverage of the case to a few brief dispatches, the YS gave it front-page prominence. Through the efforts of students, the NAACP, and others, the campaign was successful, and the two youths were freed.

This campaign was to be a model for the YS in later years as it championed the defense cases of Robert F. Williams, Peruvian revolutionary

Hugo Blanco, antiwar GI Howard Petrick, Joanne Little, Russell Means and Dennis Banks, Gary Tyler, and three YSA members at Indiana University in Bloomington, who were indicted in 1963 for "attempting to overthrow the government of the state of Indiana."

In 1959 a committee headed by Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, and Jackie Robinson called for an April 18 national demonstration for school desegregation in Washington, D.C. YS supporters flung themselves into building the action.

Twenty-six thousand people participated in the demonstration, making it the largest single civil rights action since the Montgomery bus boycott three-and-a-half years earlier.

But unfortunately, the official leadership of the movement, instead of following up on this success, stalled.

Subscriptions to the 'Young Socialist' are one dollar for six months, two dollars for one year, and fifty cents for six months for high school students. Write to: Young Socialist, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Then, in the spring of 1960 a new phenomenon sprang up: the civil rights sit-ins. Initiated by students in Greensboro, North Carolina, sit-ins at segregated public facilities spread rapidly across the South.

In the North, supporters of the YS, along with other supporters of the civil rights movement, organized a boycott of F.W. Woolworth's, whose lunch counters in the South refused to serve Blacks. While students were sitting in at Woolworth's lunch counters in the South, students were picketing Woolworth's stores in the North.

The YS reported extensively on the sit-ins and boycott. It gained a reputation in the movement as a source of accurate information on the student wing of the civil rights movement.

The *Young Socialist* was among the few publications to support the rise of the slogan, "Black Power," when it arose in the early sixties. The paper and its supporters also publicized the writings and speeches of Malcolm X, and argued against those such as the Communist Party and Bayard Rustin who attacked Malcolm as a "racist in reverse."

The January-February 1965 issue of the YS, which appeared a week after Malcolm's assassination, contained an extensive interview with him taped a few weeks earlier. This interview expressed some of Malcolm's most developed thinking on Black nationalism and political action.

Among all their other activities, supporters of the *Young Socialist* had

YSA nat'l convention Detroit: Dec. 28-Jan.1



Socialist rally

Hear Pedro Camejo
1976 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate

Great Lakes Ballroom, Michigan Inn
16400 J. L. Hudson Drive, Southfield, Mich.

Fri., Dec. 30, 8 p.m.

- ☐ I want to attend the YSA convention.
- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
- ☐ Send me more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

School _____ Phone _____

All sessions of convention at Michigan Inn. Return to: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

been carrying on a vigorous internal discussion. Although some disagreements still remained by 1960, YS supporters felt they had achieved a basis upon which to found a Trotskyist youth organization. The first convention of the Young Socialist Alliance was held in Philadelphia April 15-17, 1960.

Besides its work in the civil rights movement, the young organization was faced with another challenge: defense of the newly victorious Cuban revolution. The YS reported on the progress of the revolution in tackling the problems of illiteracy, poverty, racism, and unemployment in Cuba, and on the formation of Fair Play for Cuba Committees in the United States to demand the American government keep its hands off Cuba.

The YS also began to carry increasing coverage of the Vietnamese people's fight against U.S. imperialism.

For members of the YSA, the YS became a tool to explain a revolutionary strategy for the fight against the war. Two big questions debated in the pages of the YS were: should the antiwar movement support "peace candidates" of the Democratic and Republican parties?; and should the antiwar movement demand that the U.S. negotiate or immediately withdraw from Vietnam?

The May-June 1965 YS printed an article by Doug Jenness on "The permanent revolution in Vietnam." The issue of 7,400 copies, the biggest press run for the YS up to that point, sold out.

Support for international struggles against capitalism was a hallmark of the *Young Socialist*.

In May-June 1968, for example, when students and workers in France struck against the Gaullist regime, the YS printed a special issue, "From revolt against bourgeois university to revolt against capitalist society."

This YS pointed out that although many American radicals, especially leaders of Students for a Democratic Society, had written off the industrial working class as hopelessly conservatized and reactionary, events in France showed these opinions were unfounded. Moreover, the paper said, any organization hoping to make social change in the United States or anywhere else would have to link the student movement to that of workers, the class with the real social power to change society.

SDS failed to understand this, and despite its large size, it ended its existence in a welter of factionalism in 1969.

Vital Role

In 1970, the *Young Socialist* temporarily ceased publication. But although members of the YSA sold the *Militant*, the *International Socialist Review*, and other socialist publications, YSA members felt their organization needed a voice of its own.

In November 1972 the YS was relaunched as a monthly newspaper.

In its pages, it mirrored the developments on the college and high school campuses in the fifteen years since its founding. Articles reported on the women's liberation movement, the fight against the Vietnam War, the Chicano movement, and the struggle for democratic rights for high school students.

Over the past two decades, all organizations claiming to be socialist have faced the acid test of practice. The *Young Socialist* is the only youth newspaper to have met each new challenge successfully: the Hungarian and Polish uprisings, the civil rights movement, the Cuban revolution, the fight to end the Vietnam War, support for the women's liberation struggle, the Chicano and Puerto Rican liberation movements, and the fight today for affirmative action and against the Bakke decision.

The history of the *Young Socialist* is one young people should know. And it is one of which all supporters of revolutionary socialism can be proud.

Prosecution witnesses bolster Skyhorse-Mohawk defense

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—As the trial of American Indian Movement activists Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk enters its seventh month, the prosecutor's case is growing steadily weaker.

Skyhorse and Mohawk are charged with the 1974 killing of cabdriver George Aird at a camp near here. There is no physical evidence against them, only the word of people who admitted hijacking the cab and beating the driver.

Two major witnesses—Marcie Eaglestaff and Amy Broken Leg—have proven heavily damaging to the district attorney's case.

Eaglestaff was one of those who rode in the cab and attacked the driver. Along with Marvin Redshirt and Holly Broussard, she got out of this with statements to the police implicating the defendants.

But when the prosecutor called her to the stand recently, she refused to testify beyond initial information about herself.

Eaglestaff refused to testify after

being asked by defense attorney Leonard Weinglass:

"Is it a fact, or is it not, that the only persons who participated in the killing of George Aird . . . were Holly Broussard, Marvin Redshirt, and yourself?"

Eaglestaff refused to answer the question, invoking the Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. Judge Floyd Dodson ruled she had no legal basis for refusing to answer and sentenced her to a year in prison.

The testimony of Amy Broken Leg was particularly damaging to the prosecution. She had been in the camp at the time of the killing. On the stand she testified that throughout the entire period when the beating and torture were taking place, Skyhorse and Mohawk were in the sleeping area of the camp.

When prosecutor Louis Somansky demanded to know why she had not said this in initial statements to the police, she explained that she had been trying to protect Marvin Redshirt with whom she had been personally involved.

Despite intensive grilling, she stood

by her testimony, declaring, "I know Paul and Richard are innocent."

She added her belief that the defendants are on trial because they are Indian leaders.

Courtroom observers got another example of a racist judicial system at work with the treatment of James Vaughan, husband of Marcie Eaglestaff. The prosecutor wanted to know if Vaughan had persuaded his wife not to testify.

Initially, Vaughan sought to invoke the Fifth Amendment in order not to testify against his wife.

Dodson ruled their marriage was not legal because they had been wed in an Indian ceremony.

Meanwhile, the California Supreme Court is reviewing a decision by Judge Dodson to revoke the right of Skyhorse and Mohawk to act as their own defense during the trial. Dodson took this extreme action on the basis of assertions by county jail officials that the two had participated in an attack on jailers. Actually, a series of witnesses testified, the fight was begun by guards.

'Shake-ups' at spy headquarters: FBI, CIA crimes still under wraps

By Diane Wang

Despite President Carter's promises to end Watergate-style cover-ups, the FBI and CIA are still keeping their spying, infamous black-bag jobs, and "covert activities" secret.

The secrecy issue was highlighted earlier in December when five Justice Department investigators resigned from their assignments. The five had been in charge of the case against FBI agents for burglaries, illegal wiretaps, and mail openings.

As portrayed in recent newspaper stories, the disagreement was whether to complete the prosecution of John Kearney, an FBI field supervisor in New York, before attempting to indict his superiors. But earlier news articles

suggested that the question was not *when* but *if* others would be forced to account for their crimes before a court of law at all.

In fact, in September Bell said that it was more likely that agents suspected of crimes would not be prosecuted but would instead be "disciplined" by the bureau.

Now that the resignation of the five investigators has called public attention to the cover-up, Bell reportedly feels he "could no longer sustain the position" that only Kearney would be indicted.

The CIA is also trying to clean up its public image. At the end of October CIA Director Stansfield Turner notified 212 members of the covert staff

that they are being considered for dismissal.

According to the December 10 *New York Times*, Turner's announcement is being called the "Halloween massacre" in some CIA circles. Anti-Turner graffiti is reportedly turning up on bulletin boards at the CIA's headquarters.

But more farseeing spies recognize the cosmetic cutbacks as necessary to fit in with the White House's human rights facade. The *Times* explained, "Several current and former C.I.A. officers also acknowledged that Admiral Turner's stewardship coincided with changed perceptions of the nation's role in the world. As one former official expressed it, the need for an intelligence service is greatly reduced if the country's main concern is with human rights."

Of course, neither the CIA nor the *Times* have any illusions that the agency's covert activities will in reality be reduced. But giving the appearance of reforming the CIA and FBI—with a sprinkling of indictments and dismissals—has been one of Carter's tactics in seeking to dissociate his administration from the Watergate scandals of the Nixon years.

The CIA's budget, its files, and all its illegal activities remain hidden from the American people. Carter himself has flatly stated that protection of his spies' "right to secrecy" is a principle that cannot be compromised.

The CIA underscored the necessity of the secrecy rule with its response to a recently published book.

Frank Snepp, who used to be a CIA analyst in Vietnam, has written a book called *Decent Interval* about the last days of U.S. armed forces in Vietnam. Snepp is hardly a friend of human rights. His book, in fact, denounces the government for "betraying" the U.S.-hired assassins and spies that didn't make it out of Vietnam.

Yet the CIA has charged Snepp with violating his oath of secrecy.

As *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis noted, "Over the past five years the Central Intelligence Agency has fought a series of battles, legal and political, to keep a shield of secrecy over its activities."

What the agency fears, Lewis explained, is "that other former employees may be inspired to write or may even have books on the way."



'Tut, tut—when you've seen one black bag you've seen them all.'

Miners show solidarity with Stearns strike

By Peggy Brundy

WHITLEY CITY, Ky.—“When the national strike shows how strong the union is, the Stearns strike will be won more easily,” says Mahan Vanover from a cell here in the McCreary County jail.

Vanover is one of ten striking coal miners jailed in October after state police attacked a gathering of miners and their supporters. The ten were convicted of violating a court order limiting the size of their picket line.

Since the October 17 cop assault, the strike—now a year-and-a-half old—has grown stronger, the miners recently told the *Militant*.



Karen Ohmans

State police escort seventeen scabs into Stearns mine each day.

“The county was kind of getting down on us, because we weren’t spending so much money at the grocery store or the dry goods store,” one of the jailed strikers explained. “But the police attack woke them up.”

Seventeen scabs now enter the mine each day escorted by state police, but no coal comes out.

“We could get out of jail today if we’d call up J.B. Johnson [the sentencing judge] and agree to start up the mine,” another striker said. “We’d be out of here by lunchtime. We’re no prisoners who have committed a crime. We’re political hostages.”

National guardsmen have now been brought in from different states to aid the company and state efforts to break the strike. A jailed miner told the *Militant* that one of the guardsmen who protects the scabs brags of being in the unit at Ohio’s Kent State University in May 1970 when the guard fired into a crowd of demonstrating students, killing four.

On December 9, 150 striking UMWA members from West Virginia arrived here to show their support for the Stearns miners and to distribute Christmas hams. This will be the second Christmas on strike for the miners and their families.

Three days later, 300 miners from Lynch County, Kentucky, demonstrated at the Stearns mine in a show of solidarity with the organizing strike.

In Louisville, the 19,000-member local of the International Union of Electrical Workers at General Electric voted this month to send \$1,000 to the Stearns strikers.

“If we lost here, it would be a devastating blow,” says a Stearns miner. “But we’re not going to lose it. There are 180,000 of us [in the UMWA], and we’re going to win.”

“When we win,” declares Irene Vanover, president of the Justus Mine Women’s Club, “we’re going to have a big victory celebration with a march through the center of Stearns. We want the people who have supported us from cities all over the country to celebrate with us.”

Stearns meeting in Wisconsin

By Bob Schwarz

MADISON, Wisc.—Thirty-five people heard Paul Fortney from the United Mine Workers describe the plight of striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky, December 12.

The meeting was sponsored by the Memorial Union Labor Organization, Young Socialist Alliance, Teaching Assistants Association, and Wisconsin Student Association. A video tape was also shown of the October 17 state police attack on Stearns miners and their supporters.

Fortney explained that he and

others from the UMWA are speaking to audiences such as the one here to help raise money for the strikers. Although most of the support thus far has come from other coal miners, the national coal strike will now make it more difficult for UMWA members to contribute.

He stressed that the entire union is behind the Stearns strikers.

While in Madison, Fortney was interviewed by three radio stations and the widely circulated University of Wisconsin newspaper, *Daily Cardinal*.

than we do, but we had all our doctor bills taken care of.

“Nonunion and SLU [Southern Labor Union, a procompany union] companies pay more to keep their men from joining the union,” he continued. “We come out on strike, and then the nonunion companies pay the men maybe even a little more than we won. But the nonunion miners don’t seem to understand that the bosses wouldn’t be giving them anything if it weren’t for us.”

Miners here also see the right to strike as a key demand in contract talks. One striker said, “The union hates the company, and the company hates the union. If you take away the right to strike, the companies would go back to their old ways.”

YSA calls for student support to coal strike

By Nancy Cole

The Young Socialist Alliance, a national organization based on college and high school campuses, has spoken out in support of striking coal miners, pledging to do what it can to help the United Mine Workers win its contract fight.

“The miners’ strike is important for students and young working people,” Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the YSA, told the *Militant*. “Members of the UMWA have been targeted in the same big-business campaign that has victimized students with educational cutbacks, tuition hikes, and youth unemployment.”

“If the coal operators are successful in their attack on the rights and benefits of miners,” she continued, “this country’s rulers will be encouraged to step up their drive against affirmative action, Black rights, women’s rights, and the living standards of all working people.”

“We believe students can play a special role in helping the striking coal miners. The news media have made a concentrated effort to portray UMWA miners as ‘strike happy,’ irresponsible workers, about to sabotage President Carter’s energy plan.”

“Coal miners need to explain their side of the story to win support from other working people. Students can help provide a forum for miners to get out the truth on their fight.”

Sedwick explained that the potential for organizing broadly sponsored miners’ support meetings on campus has been shown by activities in defense of the Stearns, Kentucky, miners’ strike.

“For example, in Lexington, Kentucky, a benefit for Stearns miners

attracted 500 people and raised \$1,200. In Morgantown, West Virginia, 150 people attended a campus meeting, including forty miners from the area.”

At its national convention in Detroit at the end of this month the YSA will discuss how its members can work with other student groups and non-campus organizations in organizing support activities for the Stearns strike and for the national UMWA strike.

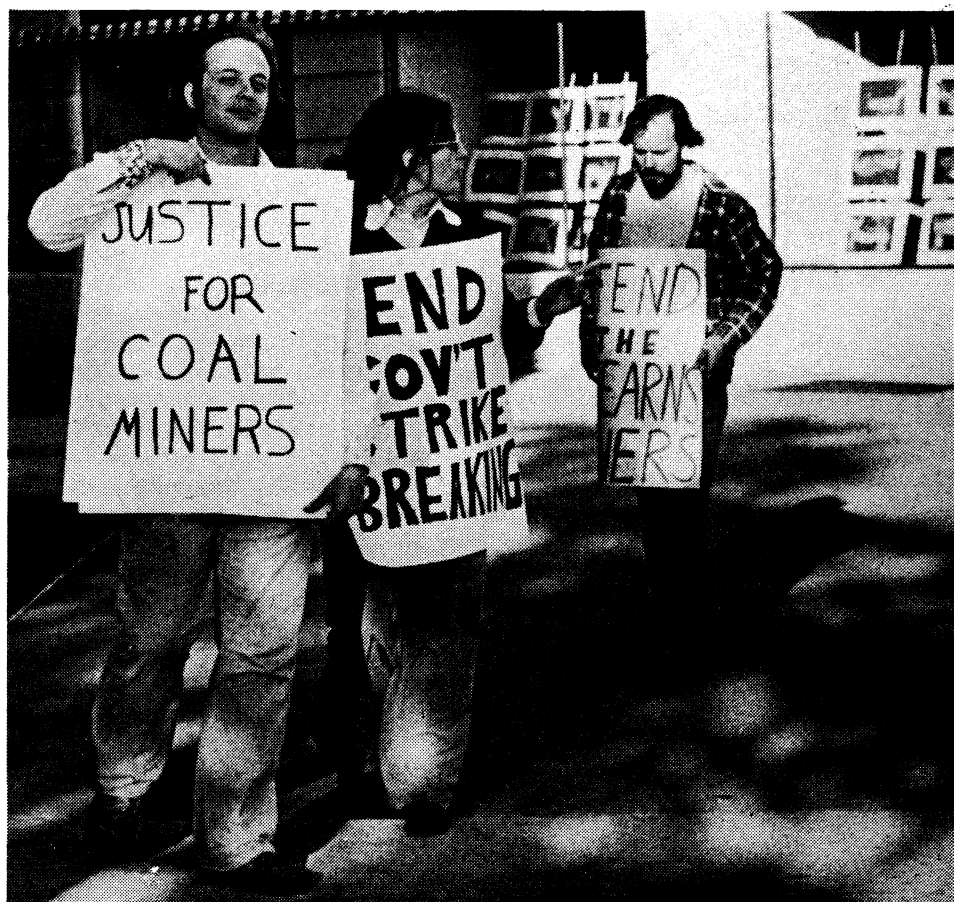
AFL-CIO pledges aid to coal strike

The AFL-CIO went on record in support of striking coal miners at its recent convention in Los Angeles.

A resolution pledging support to the United Mine Workers was passed by convention delegates during the last day of the meeting, December 13.

The December 17 *AFL-CIO News* reported the resolution “called on the federation’s affiliates and state and local central bodies to give full cooperation to the UMW in its struggle to achieve a fair and speedy settlement.”

In remarks on the UMWA resolution, AFL-CIO President George Meany said, “It is quite obvious that the coal operators have come up with the idea that this is the time to totally destroy this great old union.”



Militant/Carole Coates

...Ky.

Continued from back page

signs saying “Welcome to Harlan” with “Washed away” stamped over them.

Several years ago, residents say, strip-mine bosses refused to stop bulldozers from ripping into a children’s graveyard. There was coal underneath. Outraged women took to the streets in protest.

Miners here believe the most important issue in the national contract negotiations is the restoration of their medical benefits. “The only thing a UMWA miner had to brag about was the medical benefits,” a Black miner in Lynch told the *Militant*. “A lot of scab companies are getting more wages

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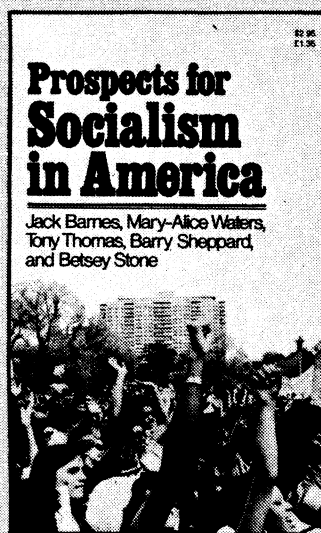
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Coal miners' strike

W. Va.: 'Right to strike is safety issue'

By Tom O'Hara

MORGANTOWN, W.Va.—“We can stay out at least four months,” says Ben Harris, a loading operator at Bethlehem Coal's No. 41 mine in Barrackville, about ten miles south of here.

“We've planned for it,” his wife Debbie adds, speaking of the nationwide coal miners' strike.

Their determination was not dimmed by the fact that she was laid off from her job at Fairmont General Hospital one week after the strike began.

Ben Harris, twenty-two, has been a coal miner for three years. For him the most important issue in the United Mine Workers strike is the fight to “restore the health card with full benefits—the way it was before.”

The Harrises live in Farmington, site of the 1969 disaster at Consolidation Coal Company's No. 9 mine, which killed seventy-eight miners. No one has to tell them about mine safety.

“The right to strike is a safety issue,” Ben Harris told the *Militant*, “and I wouldn't vote for a contract without it.”

Terry Weir, a roof bolter's helper, works for the Maidsville Mining Company. Brightly wrapped gifts lay beneath the Christmas tree in his trailer as we talked about the strike.

“If you can stay out six weeks, you can stay out three months. We made sure our bills were paid up. We saved a little. We're ready,” he declared.

Weir said the few nonunion mines in this area laid off their workers and closed down operations as soon as the UMWA miners walked out December 6.

“That let the nonunion guys draw unemployment checks during our strike—the companies try to make it look like a benefit of working nonunion.” And closing down right away avoided any contact between the UMWA strikers and nonunion miners.

Both Weir and Harris are supportive of UMWA strikers in other states trying to convince nonunion miners to join the walkout. In West Virginia 96 percent of coal production is UMWA, but the percentage drops in other states. About 50 percent of soft coal production nationally is UMWA.

“Stopping nonunion coal benefits us 100 percent,” says Harris.

The number one issue at stake, in Weir's opinion, is the right to strike. According to recent media reports,



U.S. Steel mine in Lynch, Kentucky. Coal companies pretend to care about health and safety of miners, but profits are their only real concern.

UMWA negotiators have agreed to forget the right-to-strike clause in the new contract if the companies drop their demand for a no-strike pledge.

“If that happens, the companies aren't giving up anything,” notes Weir. “We need it in the contract.”

As for the UMWA health benefits, which were cut last summer, both miners have suspicions of mismanagement of funds and fraud by hospitals and doctors. The coal operators claimed the fund was depleted because wildcat strikes cut back drastically on the royalties paid into it. But Weir and Harris complain that miners themselves never receive a copy of their medical bills, a receipt, or a list of medical services performed.

“Who knows what they're charging the fund?” says Weir.

Weir figures the coal companies made a big mistake when they cut health benefits for UMWA miners. “They hurt themselves more than they helped themselves,” he explains. “It brought a lot of us together. It made us mad.”

Weir, a Vietnam veteran, feels there is another side to the need for the right-to-strike clause. “It's needed for job protection, too.”

Both miners say they have seen good union miners, militants, and safety committeepersons unjustly fired and then later rehired through the strike action of their co-workers.

Ky.: 'Medical benefits were all we had'

By Peggy Brundy

LYNCH, Ky.—“Kentucky coal is UMWA coal.” “Harlan County is UMWA country.”

Bumper stickers with these slogans are common throughout the coal mining towns of eastern Kentucky. They tell the story of decades of bitter struggle between miners and the coal companies. And the fight continues today.

Shortly after the national strike by the United Mine Workers began December 6, miners in eastern Kentucky began taking action to strengthen the impact of their walkout. One president of a UMWA local told the *Militant* that UMWA pickets closed down a number of nonunion mines.

“When we met coal trucks on the road,” he said, “we talked with the drivers and they took the trucks back to park them and go home. We wanted to keep it nonviolent. There was no trouble.”

Associated Press reported that 1,500 rank-and-file miners from District 17 in southern West Virginia and District 30 in eastern Kentucky met December 11 in Phelps, Kentucky, to discuss ways to close nonunion mines in the area.

In Pike County, Kentucky, UMWA pickets at the Chessie & Ohio train yard entrance reportedly discouraged union rail workers from going to work.

Not everyone here supports the miners' strike, of course. The wife of a mineowner told me, “The miners are sweet boys, but really they're asking for too much this time. And they never seem to want to work.”

The coal companies would prefer workers who questioned nothing, most of all the safety violations the mineowners try to get away with in order to increase profits.

The coal bosses also jeopardize the lives of miners and their families in another way. In Brookside, Kentucky, people are still repairing the damage from a flash flood last April. The flood deposited three to four feet of mud in area homes. Extensive strip-mining had torn off trees, grass, and topsoil that naturally absorbs rain or melting snow and stems floods.

Many homes display posters or bumper stickers reading “Save our homes, stop strip-mining.” Boarded-up downtown businesses in Harlan have

Continued on page 26

Utah judge limits union pickets

By Clemens Bak

PRICE, Utah—District court Judge Don Tibbs issued a permanent order December 16 limiting picketing by United Mine Workers strikers at nonunion coal mines in the state.

The court order supposedly enjoin both strikers and nonunion coal companies from threats, vandalism, and violence. It also orders strikers to permit a free flow of traffic to and from the mines.

The judge acted in defense of the scab companies after UMWA strikers started distributing a leaflet to nonunion miners, appealing for their support.

The court order limits UMWA picketers at each mine site to a “controllable size” of five, and requires that they stand fifteen feet apart from each other.