

THE MILITANT

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

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'We are
the
future'**

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rally in Detroit

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Company guard kills Ky. picket
Ind. cops arrest 200 miners



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SEABROOK NUKE GETS GO-AHEAD: The Federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission has upheld the ruling of its appeals board and given approval for resumed construction of the nuclear power plant at Seabrook, New Hampshire.

Last May more than 1,400 antinuclear demonstrators who occupied the Seabrook construction site were arrested and held under makeshift conditions. Over the past seven years, opponents of the Seabrook plant have pointed out that the atomic reactor will harm nearby marshes necessary as marine breeding grounds for the fishing industry; that projected costs for the plant have shot up from \$973 million to \$2.6 billion; and that the site is directly over one of the most active earthquake faults in northeastern United States.

FARMERS WIN RAIL WORKERS AT PICKET LINES: The rail crew of an Illinois Central-Gulf freight train carrying at least two carloads of grain refused to cross a picket line of striking farmers near Mayfield, Kentucky, on December 31. Police ordered the farmers, who are demanding government action to compensate for rock-bottom crop prices, to move their picket thirty feet from the rail crossing. But the United Transportation Union members still refused to cross the line. The train continued its trip north only after rail company officials called to the scene were given permission by the striking farmers.

Meeropols win ruling in Supreme Court

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, who were framed on espionage charges during the 1950s witch-hunt because of their political views, appealed to the Supreme Court nine times and were refused a hearing. Consequently, they were murdered in the electric chair on June 19, 1953.

On January 9 of this year the Supreme Court dealt with a case filed by the Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol. The court ruled that the Meeropols have a right to sue author Louis Nizer for using their parents' copyrighted letters without permission.

Nizer wrote a malicious book that claims, among other things, that the Rosenbergs were justly convicted and that they neglected their children.

When a court of appeals ruled last summer that the Meeropols could sue, Nizer appealed to the Supreme Court. He claimed that the Meeropols' concern was not a legitimate copyright suit, but merely a gimmick to prove their parents' innocence.

"Basically what [Nizer's lawyers] were saying to the Supreme Court was, 'Look at the politics of these people,'" Robert Meeropol explained to the *Militant*.

The Meeropols and their attorney Marshall Perlin emphasize that the copyright lawsuit is not an attempt to retry the Rosenbergs. But the question of what really happened in the frame-up is hard to avoid. "Nizer is claiming that it was essential to use the letters for historical accuracy," Perlin explained to the *Militant*. "So the legitimacy of the book and the way he used the letters will be very much an issue."

FARMERS FACE TROOPERS OVER POWER LINE: Some 200 Minnesota farmers protesting construction of a power line across an area of rich farmland faced 150 state troopers near Lowry on January 9 in temperatures of 20 degrees below zero. Ordered out by Gov. Rudy Perpich, the mobilization of state troopers was the largest in Minnesota history. The demonstration was peaceful; protesters even gave the troopers coffee, cookies, and plastic carnations. Farmers charge that the 400-kilovolt direct current line violates environmental regulations and will make farming in the area dangerous.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS (I)—'DAILY WORLD': According to the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party in the United States, the U.S. Post Office refused in December to deliver the paper's weekly magazine edition if the Spanish-language section was included as a distinct entity. The *Daily World* has published the Spanish-language section for eighteen months but was suddenly forced to change its format to satisfy postal regulations. The *Daily World* charges that "this sudden action constitutes harassment and violates our right to publish freely."

Apparently the post office, which cannot maintain regular and fast delivery, nonetheless finds time to victimize political newspapers.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS (II)—'BODY POLITIC': On December 30 Toronto police raided the offices of the Canadian gay newspaper, *The Body Politic*. Claiming that they were after evidence to support an obscenity charge, the

police seized past and current subscription lists, distribution and financial records, manuscripts, and correspondence.

A few days later the newspaper's publisher was charged with obscenity on the basis of the December/January issue and a book that Canadian Customs had previously ruled was not obscene.

THE RICH GET RICHER . . . : As you fill out your income tax forms this year, remember that the higher a family's income, the better tax break it gets. For example, a family of four with an income of \$10,000 a year gets a tax reduction of \$450 for personal exemptions. A family of four with a \$35,000-a-year income saves \$1,050 through the same exemptions.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, only 18 percent of American families had incomes over \$25,000 in 1976, and a mere 2 percent of those families made more than \$50,000.

. . . AND WE ALL GET POORER: Since 1973 real earnings of full-time workers have decreased 2.6 percent, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Moreover, the Department of Labor reports that employers illegally underpaid 628,000 workers a total of \$112 million in wages during the fiscal year that ended September 30.

Violations of overtime provisions of the law cheated 265,744 workers out of \$51.2 million. Failure to pay the federal minimum wage cheated another 371,041 workers out of some \$37.1 million. And refusal to pay equal wages to women and men doing the same work in the same workplace shortchanged 19,141 workers \$15.5 million.

'LET THEM EAT CAKE' DEPARTMENT: The U.S. Agriculture Department has announced that on February 1 it will stop giving free second helpings of milk to the 1.4 million poor children who are fed through the government's free school-meal programs.

By stealing the children's milk money the government plans to save \$25 million a year. An Agriculture Department official said the new policy "expressed the concern of the Congress that some of the free milk has been wasted."

Elsewhere in Washington, the Navy has announced that each Trident submarine will cost \$1.2 billion instead of the \$723 million originally estimated. And at the White House President Carter has approved a \$126 billion weapons budget for the next fiscal year.

—Diane Wang

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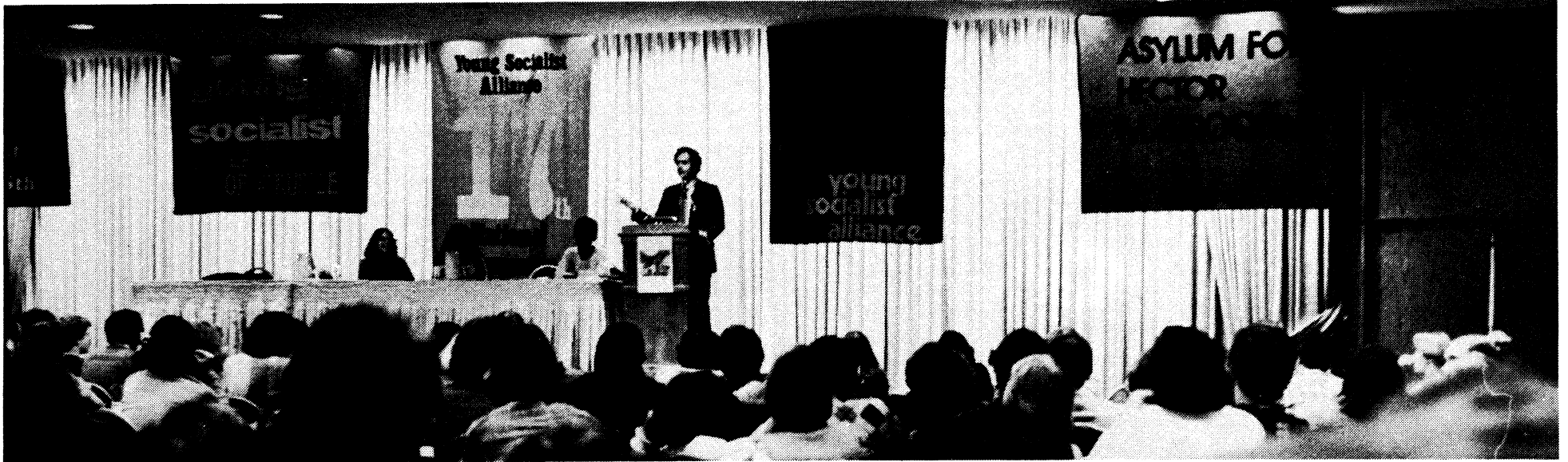
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YSA: 'We are the future'

540 at Young Socialist rally in Detroit



PEDRO CAMEJO: 'YSA is laying the political groundwork for the struggles ahead.'

Militant/Anne Teesdale

By Shelley Kramer

"This convention of the Young Socialist Alliance—where hundreds of socialists have come from around the country to discuss what can be done to guarantee a real future for youth and working people—is the best thing that's happened to this city in ten years," said Trudy Hawkins, a leader of the Detroit YSA and the Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate last fall. Hawkins was speaking to a rally held during the YSA's seventeenth national convention in Detroit, December 28-January 1.

More than 500 members and supporters of the YSA attended the convention. Delegates voted to launch two major campaigns.

One is the defense of Héctor Marroquín, a member of the YSA and SWP who is seeking political asylum in the United States. The government is trying to deport Marroquín back to Mexico where he faces frame-up charges and the danger of torture, imprisonment, and death. (See pages 16-18.)

The YSA's other top priority is mobilizing support for the April 15 march on Washington to overturn the racist *Bakke* decision against affirmative action.

Convention participants also discussed the women's liberation and antideportation movements, campus support for the current miners' strike, sales drives for the *Young Socialist* and *Militant*, and activities in solidarity with political prisoners around the world.

(A full report on the convention's decisions will appear in next week's *Militant*.)

The YSA rally helped kick off the work ahead. At the same time, it celebrated a special occasion—the twentieth anniversary of the *Young Socialist*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the YSA.

In opening the rally, Hawkins recalled that ten years earlier—in 1967—the YSA's seventh convention met in Detroit.

That year also saw the "Great Rebellion," a spontaneous uprising by Detroit's Black community against the conditions of its oppression. Those problems have received no answers from the capitalist politicians in ten years' time, Hawkins charged.

"Mayor Coleman Young's answer to our problem

is the Renaissance Center, with its fifty-dollar-a-night rooms and three-dollar drinks," she explained. "Our answer is socialism, with the human rights and dignity that go along with it."

Next Sylvia López, one of nine Chicano activists won to the San Antonio YSA over the fall, explained why she joined.

"I was impressed that this organization was not only playing a major role in the fight to defend undocumented workers but had been active in the fight to defend school desegregation, affirmative action, bilingual and bicultural education, and support for Black majority rule in South Africa," López said.

She first met the YSA last summer, while the YSA and SWP were working to build the Chicano/Latino conference against deportations held in San Antonio the following November.

Through her association with the YSA, López began to participate in the local Coalition to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision. Within three weeks she decided to join the YSA.

At the National Chicano/Latino Conference López felt her decision to join was fully confirmed. "I was never more proud to be a member of the YSA, and joining is something I'll never regret," she told the rally.

The keynote speaker was Pedro Camejo, the Socialist Workers Party's 1976 presidential candidate. He explained the worsening economic situation the YSA faces today as a result of the 1974-75 depression. The general economic crisis is continuing, defying the capitalists' remedies. The bosses and their government are leveling a wide range of attacks on youth and working people—rising prices, layoffs, cutbacks in education and social services, deportations, and threats to affirmative action.

So far, however, there has been no massive, organized response to these attacks, Camejo said. Unlike in the 1960s, when the Vietnam War was the central issue in U.S. politics, no single one of these blows has yet sparked mass resistance. Today's political situation is contradictory. Discontent is growing, but economic insecurity and the absence of a militant leadership in the unions or in the Black, women's, or other social movements has retarded combativity.

Rally greetings

Greetings were sent to the YSA rally by activists and leaders in important social movements.

Charles Ogletree, national chairperson of the Black American Law Students Association, applauded the YSA's "unflagging commitment to the fight for affirmative action in this country and your unequivocal support for human rights in southern Africa." He emphasized the importance of building alliances to overturn the *Bakke* decision: "A national broad based coalition is indispensable if we hope to effectively oppose the reactionary, racist, reverse discrimination syndrome that has engulfed this country."

Rulx Jean-Bart of Human Rights for Haitian Refugees and **José Angel Gutiérrez** of the Raza Unida Party—both leaders in the fight against deportations of undocumented workers—also sent messages of solidarity.

Reza Baraheni, well-known Iranian poet, dissident, and honorary chairperson of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, and **Jim Zogby**, a leader of the Palestine Committee for Human Rights, commended the YSA for its internationalist activities in defense of democratic rights.

Leonard Boudin and **Herbert Jordan**, lawyers in the YSA and SWP suit against government spying, sent a message citing the importance of this case for the defense of political rights in the United States. —S.K.

Nevertheless, new opportunities are opening up.

On the campuses students are protesting the *Bakke* decision, nuclear power, investments in South Africa, and restrictions on abortion rights.

The Houston National Women's Conference in November showed the massive sentiment for women's equality.

And there is the beginning of a radicalization in the working class, reflected by the changing attitudes among young steelworkers during last fall's Mesabi Iron Range strike, and among coal miners right now.

Capitalism has started to "heat things up," Camejo said, but they have not yet "reached a boiling point."

"While capitalist crisis is spontaneous, effective resistance to it is not," he explained. That is where the YSA fits in.

"Our program, Marxism, is a map that shows us the way out. It generalizes and codifies all the experiences of the struggles of the past and struggles going on today," Camejo told the rally. Most workers begin to struggle without this kind of "map." The YSA's goal is to "create a nucleus today that understands these things and begins to apply them in living struggle at whatever level that struggle is at."

Through preparing in this way, when things do reach the "boiling point—when people begin to move faster, become more open to our ideas"—the

Continued on page 30

Join the YSA

You've been reading about the Young Socialist Alliance national convention. So you know what the YSA will be fighting against this year—racism, sexism, unemployment, education cutbacks, deportations, political repression. If all this is your fight too, then you belong in the YSA. Help us win a socialist future for youth and working people. Join the YSA!

- ☐ I want more information about the YSA.
- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
- ☐ I want to subscribe to the *Young Socialist*.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for six months (50¢ for high school students).
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'A new chapter for the YSA'

Greetings were sent to the Young Socialist Alliance convention by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. The greetings were read to convention participants by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes, speaking on behalf of the United Secretariat.

Below we reprint those greetings, together with excerpts from Barnes's introductory remarks.

This seventeenth convention of the YSA coincides with the opening of an important new chapter in the history of the Fourth International.

In response to the offensive of the capitalist rulers around the world, the Fourth International has responded not with splits, disarray, and incapacity, but with an increasing ability to grow and to move toward political clarification. This has been shown recently by the fusion of Fourth Internationalist organizations in several countries where Trotskyist forces had previously been divided, by the fusions and growing political discussions with other organizations that want to move toward building and strengthening revolutionary workers parties, and by the dissolution of the two major formations inside the Fourth International over the past decade—the International Majority Tendency and the Leninist Trotskyist Faction.

As part of this response the Fourth International is committed to deepening the proletarianization of the Fourth International, to building organizations and leaderships that reflect the exploited and oppressed.

Youth organizations

Central to this is building youth organizations. It's been very warming to hear the remarks from young Fourth Internationalists from China, France, Spain—we'll hear a lot more before the convention's over.

The Fourth International is convinced that building youth organizations is not just an important or very important part of this process. We're convinced that Bolsheviks that cannot collaborate in building revolutionary youth organizations cannot build proletarian parties.

The YSA has been an internationalist organization from the beginning. You've accomplished many things. In 1969 you wrote, or helped write, the most important document on the youth question that has been written since



JACK BARNES

Militant/Susan Ellis

Greetings from the Fourth International

The United Secretariat sends its warmest greetings to your seventeenth national convention. Your deliberations are essential for preparing the Young Socialist Alliance to forge ahead in its goal of winning millions of American youth to dedicate themselves to the fight for a socialist America in a socialist world.

We are fully aware of the enormous accomplishments of the YSA in its long history. We are also sure that your efforts in 1978 will add further to this record, as you seek to lead struggles against racism, the reactionary *Bakke* ruling, the strug-

gle for women's rights, the employers' offensive against American labor, the fight against cutbacks, and for jobs for all American youth.

We stand shoulder to shoulder with you in your fight to defend Héctor Marroquín. The war they have started over comrade Héctor is a war on the entire YSA, the Socialist Workers Party, and the entire Fourth International. And like their war on Hugo Blanco, it is one *they will not win*.

Currently sections of the Fourth International all over the world are making progress and moving forward to establish or strengthen

youth organizations. The YSA's experience contains lessons that will be invaluable in this process.

And more important even than these lessons, we look forward to greater and greater international collaboration between young Trotskyists around the world, as the Fourth International is more and more able to implement the slogan of the Transitional Program that founded the Fourth International forty years ago: "Open the road to the revolutionary youth!"

Long live the YSA!

Long live the Fourth International!

the founding of the Fourth International [available in the pamphlet, *A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth*, Pathfinder Press, \$.50].

You do something else—something you all should think about, since you're all going to be involved in it. You're one of the best training grounds for the leadership of the Fourth International. The reactionary Voorhis Act prevents us from affiliating to the Fourth International. But nothing precludes our acting as fraternal members of the Fourth International and its leadership bodies.

Almost every single SWP member in the last decade who has been elected a fraternal member of the International Executive Committee or United Secretariat of the Fourth International got their initial training in the YSA.

Marroquín a symbol

The fact that a new chapter for the Young Socialist Alliance is also opening is symbolized by Héctor Marroquín, our comrade and yours [see pages 16-18].

You think about Héctor, think about what's happened. It'll tell you a lot of things about what we face and what we're going to do.

What happened to Héctor explains the kind of enemy we have and why they must be overthrown. These are the kind of brutal people—rulers—who on August 10, 1974, let Héctor lie in a Galveston, Texas, hospital with a fractured pelvis, a shattered leg, and a punctured lung, for *eight hours* without any treatment because he didn't have the right kind of papers.

But more important than that, in Héctor Marroquín—a Young Socialist, a Socialist Worker, and a Fourth Internationalist—we have an example of the kind of forces that are going to do the overthrowing. A young student, a Teamster organizer, an undocumented worker that can't be intimidated and won't be defeated.

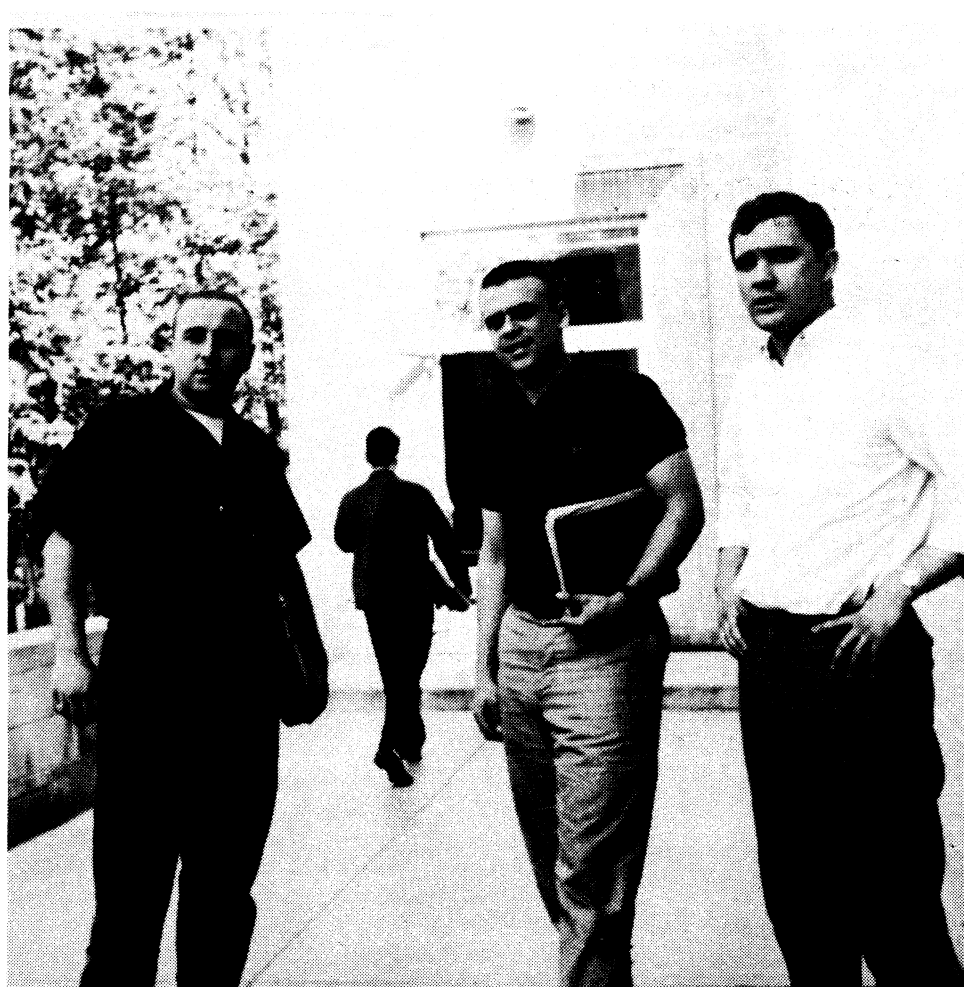
You know from the *Militant* that the government tries to frame up people—especially along the Mexican-American border—for "trying to encourage and induce" Mexicans to enter the United States. Well, I think I should publicly confess that the entire Fourth International is not asking for passports, report cards, work papers, parole sheets—to the contrary we do everything we can to "encourage and induce" millions of women and men like Héctor Marroquín to join the Fourth International.

We don't care what country they come from.

We don't care what papers they have or don't have.

We don't care what factory, school, prison, or army they're in or have been in.

The Fourth International says one



The YSA won wide support for its defense of three Bloomington students in 1963

thing and one thing only—"Our party is your party."

I can't speak to you solely as a representative of the Fourth International's leadership. I have to speak to you also for a moment as a former YSA member—as one of those people who learned much of what they know about revolutionary politics in the YSA.

I'm personally convinced that—because of the Héctor Marroquín case—you're now entering the biggest political experience of your lives as Bolsheviks up to now, and your greatest opportunity.

Bloomington three

I can remember a YSA convention that I was a delegate to about fifteen years ago. We had to deal with the fact that the government tried to reach into a—if you'll pardon the word—sacred area: our members. They tried to take three of our people from us. [Three YSA members at Indiana University in Bloomington were charged with conspiring to overthrow the state of Indiana.]

We learned something from that fight that none of us can ever forget. We became different people.

It posed a challenge to us we'd never had before. It wasn't a perfect situa-

tion in Indiana. *Robin Hood* was still outlawed in the public school system.

But even with this obstacle—a far different atmosphere than today—we knew that they had started a war. And we knew we had to finish it.

We scoured the country, got every professor, every unionist, every person we could meet to sponsor this defense case of the three Bloomington students.

The YSA did it. We accomplished it. And we became a different organization and different people.

And I know today—more than anything else—that this convention *means* it when it says: the government will *never, ever* deport Héctor Marroquín back to Mexico.

FOR FURTHER READING. . .

A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth. \$.50, 29 pp.

Education Is Our Right! A Socialist Answer to the Crisis Facing Youth. Resolution of the Young Socialist Alliance. \$.50, 38 pp.

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

North Carolina high court rejects appeal

By Steve Craine

RALEIGH, N.C.—On January 5 the North Carolina Court of Appeals refused to review a lower court decision denying a new trial for the Wilmington Ten.

The decision exhausted appeals in state courts for the convicted civil rights activists. The ten—Rev. Ben

RALEIGH, N.C., Jan. 10—Gov. James Hunt's office said today that he will make an announcement about the Wilmington Ten within two weeks. The Wilmington Ten Defense Committee invited the governor to a public meeting January 19 to hear the case for a full pardon. Statements of support for a pardon can be sent to the Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, P.O. Box 11141, Raleigh, North Carolina 27604.

Chavis, eight other Black men, and one white woman—were convicted in 1972 of arson and conspiracy. The charges stemmed from a 1971 white

vigilante attack on Wilmington's Black community.

Anne Shepard Turner, the only one of the defendants not now in prison, told the *Militant*, "The ball is in [North Carolina Gov. James] Hunt's court now. What it means for us is that everything has to be intensified."

Before Christmas, Wilmington Ten supporters submitted petitions with 15,000 signatures to Hunt, demanding pardons of innocence for the ten. But the governor said he would not consider the pardon until the court of appeals acted.

Defense attorneys also plan to pursue an appeal pending in the federal court that challenges the original trial.

The North Carolina high court's decision January 5 upheld a ruling by Judge George Fountain that there had been no "substantial denial" of the ten's right to a fair trial.

Judge Fountain made that decision last May after hearing all three major prosecution witnesses recant their original testimony. The three described

how the state prosecutor had bribed or threatened them to lie. The May hearing also heard new testimony that four

of the ten were elsewhere during the entire evening when they were supposedly setting a fire.



WILMINGTON TEN: (top, from left) Willie Vereen, Ben Chavis, Anne Shepard Turner, James McKoy, Wayne Moore; (bottom, from left) Jerry Jacobs, William Wright, Marvin Patrick, Reginald Epps, Connie Tindall.

Denies land claims

Jury says Mashpee Indian tribe doesn't exist

By Diane Wang

Translated into English, Wampanoag means "those troublesome people to the east."

On January 6 a Boston jury came up with a way to deal with those "troublesome" Wampanoag Indians of Mashpee, Massachusetts, and with the Indians' even more troublesome lawsuit to reclaim their land. The jury simply denied the Mashpee Wampanoag identity as a tribe.

The jury decided that the Wampanoag in Mashpee had not been a tribe in 1790 nor in 1976, when the lawsuit began. But, conveniently, the jury said the Wampanoag were a tribe when the Massachusetts legislature decided that the Indians could sell their land to white buyers.

The 400 Wampanoag Indians who live in Mashpee were a majority of the town until the past decade. But between 1965 and 1975, the town's population grew from 665 to 2,495, with a summer population of more than

10,000 people. In 1970, for the first time, the Indians lost their majority on the city council.

Land schemes by such companies as the New Seabury Development Corporation threatened to reduce the Wampanoag's existence to little more than tourist attractions and names for such places as the "Wigwam Motel."

So in 1976 the Wampanoag sued to reclaim 13,780 of the town's 16,000 acres. They sought to preserve their identity and prevent housing development on 11,000 acres of Indian land.

The Wampanoag charged that white settlers had acquired the land illegally by ignoring a 1790 federal law that required congressional approval for sale of Indian land.

A forty-day trial that began last October documented three centuries of the Mashpee Wampanoag's history.

The Wampanoag were deeded the land around Mashpee "in perpetuity" in 1665. They had converted to Christianity and later sided with the colo-

nists during the American revolution.

The Indians held the land in common until 1842, when those who could trace their lineage back to 1665 were each given sixty acres. The rest of the land was still held in common.

After the Civil War, in the name of extending "full civil rights" to the Indians, the state of Massachusetts gave the Wampanoag the so-called right to sell their land to white settlers. Many sold their land to pay off debts and taxes.

To fight the Indians' claim, the Mashpee city government hired James St. Clair. He was the lawyer for Richard Nixon in that famous case involving eighteen minutes erased from a tape recording.

This time St. Clair attempted to erase 350 years of history, declaring that the Wampanoag Indians had been Christianized and assimilated. They were merely "persons with a reputation for some Indian ancestry," he

argued. That claim apparently prevailed.

Tribal status is also an issue in the claim by Narragansett Indians to 3,200 acres of Charlestown, Rhode Island, which is scheduled to be tried this April. A lawyer opposing the Narragansett hailed the verdict against the Mashpee Wampanoag, saying it will have "a psychological effect in favor of others who are resisting such claims."

Lawyers from the Maine Attorney General's Office also said the Mashpee verdict will have "at least a psychological effect" on negotiations over the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot claim for 12.5 million acres in Maine. The Gay Head Wampanoag claim for 200 acres of Martha's Vineyard is also being negotiated out of court.

Meanwhile, legislation has been introduced in Washington, D.C., to simply annul all the Indian treaties, which serve as a basis for all these "troublesome" land claims.

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What's at stake in national coal strike?

Nearly 180,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America have been on strike for a new contract since December 6. The following are answers by the 'Militant' to frequently asked questions on the issues in the strike.

What's at stake with the miners' health benefits?

Up until this past summer, the UMWA health fund provided miners with full medical coverage. It was one of the most comprehensive plans in the nation. And as miners put it, "It's all we've got."

The union funds also helped subsidize about fifty nonprofit clinics throughout the coalfields.

In July, payments to the clinics were cut off, and medical benefits for the union fund's 800,000 beneficiaries were reduced. Miners, retired miners, and their families had to begin to pay 40 percent of their medical bills and the first \$250 of hospital bills up to \$500 a year.

In the absence of any national health-care program, the cut in UMWA medical benefits is a disaster not only for miners but for all working people in coalfield communities.

UMWA miners have had the medical coverage since 1946, and they consider it a right. Restoration of the full benefits is one of the top issues in the contract fight.

Why were the health benefits cut?

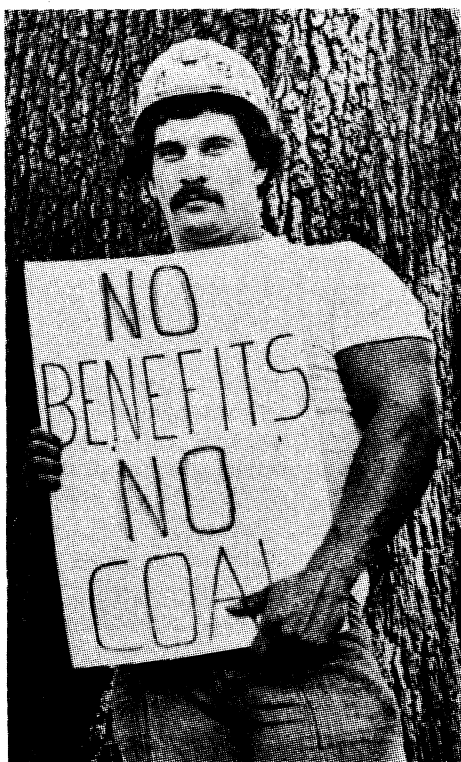
The coal industry claims that the cuts were necessary because wildcat strikes had depleted the fund, which is financed by company royalties on hours worked and coal mined. Demands by the union to reallocate money from other funds, as had been done in the past, were rejected by the coal operators. They said it would only "encourage" the wildcatters.

In fact, as a West Virginia study later revealed, wildcats did not create the financial crisis. The primary culprits were soaring health-care costs and miscalculations in the budget.

Negotiators for the industry are using the benefits as a weapon in their drive to "tame" the UMWA. They are proposing that the contract mandate stiff penalties for strikers, including docking their pay after they return to work and sending the deduction to the health fund.

How does the issue of safety figure into the contract fight?

For coal miners, safety and the right to strike are in many ways the same issue. The most serious contract violations are usually health and safety clauses. Without the right to strike, the grievances pile up and the company stalls. Meanwhile the violations con-



Coal Patrol

tinue.

In 1977, 125 coal miners were killed in on-the-job accidents. The injury rate for coal mining is the highest of all industries in the country.

The 1974 UMWA contract did not have a no-strike clause, nor did it specifically give miners the right to strike. The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled, however, that grievance machinery in a contract is an implied no-strike pledge.

The grievance procedures were flagrantly misused by the coal companies during the life of the contract. Most charges of contract violation were theoretically to have been settled quickly at the mine site.

But grievances from the smallest complaint to the most serious safety violation were instead "arbitrated" by the companies. Some 6,000 cases—many of them life-and-death matters for the miners—had gone to arbitration by the time the contract expired.

As former UMWA Secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick says, "A contract is not worth the paper it's written on unless you can enforce it." And the only way to do that is through the right to strike.

Patrick and others in the union favor a local right to strike. If a grievance is not settled to its satisfaction, a union local could vote to strike the mine and then request union locals at the same company to strike in sympathy.

Where do the mineowners stand on the right to strike?

They are absolutely opposed to any right to strike. Instead they want a no-strike clause, backed up with a contractual mandate to fire wildcat strikers.



Earl Dotter

Injury rate for coal mining is highest of all U.S. industries

W. Penna. miners fight nonunion coal

By Fred Larson

PITTSBURGH—"The whole issue here is nonunion coal. If we don't stop this coal we'll never get a contract."

That's how one striking coal miner explained the January 6 predawn picket line on Neville Island, a major industrial area downriver from Pittsburgh.

In recent weeks miners have gathered in similar mobilizations to turn back delivery of nonunion coal to area steel mills, coke works, and chemical plants.

Their efforts to build solidarity with the national strike by the United Mine Workers, they charge, are being sabotaged by police harassment and court injunctions.

At the Neville Island picket line, township police arrived at 6:15 a.m. and charged the picketing miners with unlawful assembly. The cops gave them fifteen minutes to disperse. The miners refused to budge, pointing out that their picket line was peaceful and on public property.

More miners arrived, swelling the picket line to 200. On the other side the local police were backed up by carloads of state troopers, who cordoned off the miners to allow coal trucks to pass through the line.

Miners told the *Militant* that this incident is nothing new. In late December picketing miners were tear-gassed from police helicopters outside

the mine portals of Clarion Coal Company. Clarion Coal is the largest nonunion company in Pennsylvania. After that, the company got a court order against picketing by the strikers.

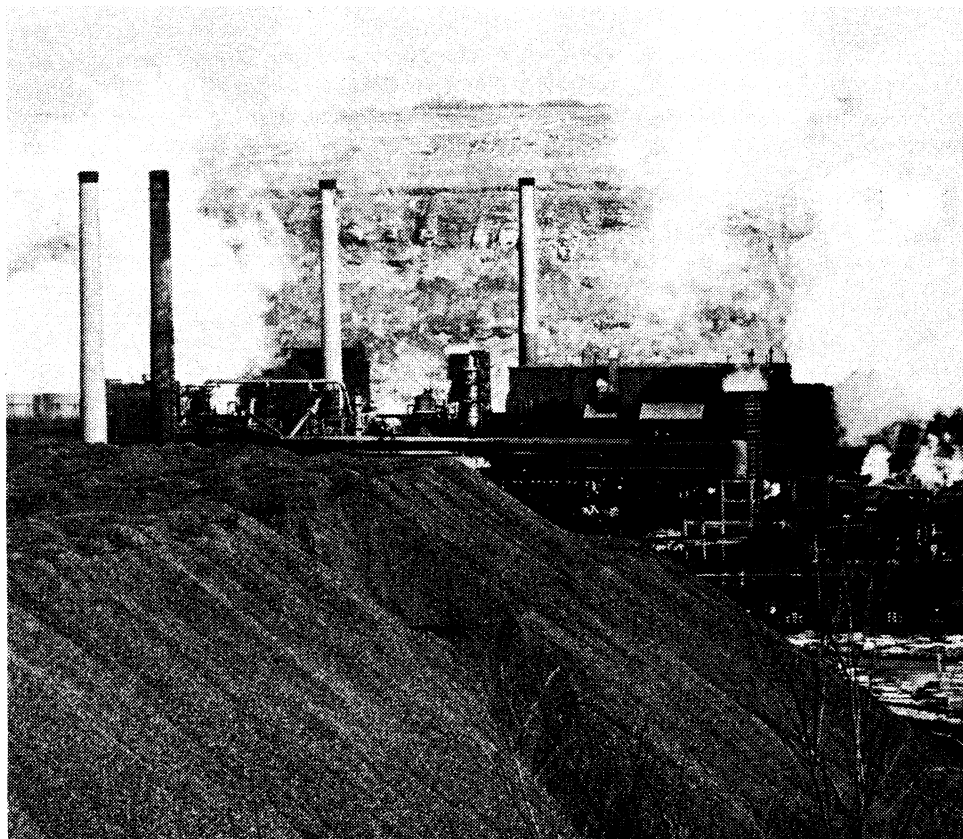
One miner told of being jailed and fined for disorderly conduct in nearby Harrison Township after he sought to defend himself from a coal hauler who had tried to beat him.

Miners say that more and more nonunion coal is being run in Pennsylvania. The national strike has been on since December 6, and many of Pittsburgh's medium-sized and smaller steel and chemical plants are beginning to feel the pinch. They were unable to stockpile coal in the quantities amassed by the utilities and the big eight steel producers.

According to miners here, even these big outfits are beginning to run scab coal.

For striking UMWA members, nonunion coal is a critical issue. Only 50 percent of U.S. coal output is UMWA-produced, so stopping the flow of nonunion coal is vital to putting teeth into the national strike.

"We want a fair contract and the right to strike over local grievances," the captain of the Neville Island picket line told the *Militant*. "To get that contract, we've got to stop these coal trucks. We've got to get our picket lines honored."



Militant/Howard Petrick

Coal stockpiled outside U.S. Steel mill in Clairton, Pennsylvania. Plants not able to amass such quantities are running scab coal during strike.

Unionists lend support

Steelworkers at Baltimore's Diamond Shamrock Corporation recently sent a "message of support to the coal miners who are now on strike across the country."

"We realize that the outcome of your fight will affect all working people," the letter from United Steelworkers Local 8053 says. Steelworkers have a "special responsibility," the message explains, "to answer the attempts to pit us against coal miners."

Local 8053 also pledged support to the miners in Stearns, Kentucky, who have been fighting for more than a year for a United Mine Workers contract. The support message, which was sent to the Stearns miners, invited a representative of

the strikers to come to Baltimore to explain their fight to unionists there.

On January 5, USWA Local 1304 in northern California's East Bay passed a resolution of support for the coal miners' strike.

In Atlanta, Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees voted to go on record in support of UMWA strikers.

A benefit for both Stearns miners and the national strike is planned for February 3 in Morgantown, West Virginia. Initiated by the West Virginia University Stearns Mine Workers Support Committee, the event has the support of the Monongalia County Central Labor Council.

Union official hits violence-baiting.

Company guard kills retired Ky. miner

By Nancy Cole

A guard for a nonunion coal company in eastern Kentucky shot and killed a retired member of the United Mine Workers January 6. It was the first strike-related death since UMWA miners walked off the job December 6.

The cold-blooded shooting puts a lie to the distorted campaign by big-business news media that it is the strikers themselves who are on a spree of violence and sabotage in the coal fields.

Mack Lewis, sixty-five years old, was shot six times after he left a picket line of about six union members at the Diamond Coal Company near Ivel, Kentucky. Police claim he and the off-duty guard, Ralph Anderson, argued before the murder.

Anderson was arrested and taken to a jail 100 miles away to avoid a "storm on the jail," as the district judge put it.

Cops and company officials say the killing had nothing to do with the strike. UMWA miners believe otherwise.

Lewis joined the UMWA in the late 1930s. Twelve years ago he was forced to retire because of a back injury sustained in a mine accident. He remained active in the union nevertheless.

Two hundred people crowded into a small church in Tom's Creek, Kentucky, January 9 for Lewis's funeral. Because of sudden stormy weather, plans for car caravans of protesting miners from nearby states had to be canceled.

Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll responded to the killing by issuing a statement calling for "peaceful, reasonable communication" between both sides in the strike.

UMWA District 30 President Robert Carter previously had asked the governor to meet with state union officials. "If he had talked to us I believe we could have prevented this," Carter said.

He said that union leaders are asking Carroll to prohibit coal companies from hiring armed guards and to withdraw state police as an escort service for nonunion miners.

The strikers' attempts to convince nonunion miners and coal haulers to join the strike have been increasingly hindered by state police and court orders against picketing.

District 30's Carter commented on the violence-baiting in a recent news release. "Our men are not even allowed in certain places to peaceful picket because some of the judges have restrained our men from any picketing whatsoever, which is in violation of a person's constitutional rights," the statement said.

"If a circuit judge can take these men's rights, he can take any citizen's rights. It is time for all the citizens of the State of Kentucky to take a long and serious look at what is happening in this state," it continued.

Carter charged that it is very possible that coal operators may be damaging their own dilapidated and worn-out equipment and then blaming it on

strikers.

Meanwhile, contract negotiations in Washington, D.C., had not resumed as the *Militant* went to press. In contrast to earlier smug reports of a union in disarray, the *New York Times* said January 9 that government officials are now "gloomy" about the strike. They believe that the miners may have

been misjudged and that the strike could turn out to be of record length.

The *Times* also reports that "one official here predicted that a strike running into February would begin to sustain itself by its changed perception as 'a social cause,' rather than a purely economic struggle. The coal industry would like to avoid that."

194 Ind. strikers arrested

By Leif Shaver

INDIANAPOLIS—State police arrested 194 striking coal miners in southern Indiana January 7. Three hundred others escaped arrest, the cops claim, because "there just weren't enough policemen."

The miners, members of the United Mine Workers, had gathered at the Rockport Dock Company in Rockport, Indiana. Most of the non-union mines and docks in the area have been shut down, leaving Rockport as one of the few still handling nonunion coal.

Cops claim that dynamite explosions and shooting caused \$800,000 damage to the dock. Three coal trucks and two cars were also reportedly set on fire.

The 194 miners arrested were arraigned January 9 and charged with disorderly conduct and criminal contempt of court for violating an order limiting pickets.

In a separate incident the Dale Bland Trucking Company of Booneville was firebombed January 8. The company has been hauling coal during the strike.

Although no arrests were made in connection with the firebombing, the miners have already been tried and convicted in the local press. The *Indianapolis Star* ran stories with the headlines, "Striking Miners Torch Booneville Trucking Firm" and "Striking Coal Miners Storm Dock, Set Fire."

The miners' strike had been relatively quiet in Indiana until mid-December when scabs at the Rockport dock drove a front-end loader into a group of picketing miners, provoking a confrontation. State police immediately stepped in against the miners. A court order was issued—and is still in effect—limiting the number of pickets at any one site to three.

Sparks first street protests since coup

Chilean dictator 'wins' rigged referendum

By Fred Murphy

From Intercontinental Press

In an effort to whip up nationalist sentiment in support of his rule, Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet called a plebiscite for January 4. Pinochet asked that Chileans repudiate a December 16 United Nations action condemning his regime's violations of human rights.

The vote was a referendum on the following text: "In the face of the international aggression unleashed against the Government of the homeland, I support President Pinochet in his defense of the dignity of Chile, and reaffirm the legitimacy of the Government of the republic to conduct, in a sovereign way, the process of institutionalization of the country."

The transparently rigged nature of this vote—the first of any kind in Chile since the September 1973 military coup—touched off public demonstrations against the dictatorship and revealed tactical rifts inside the ruling junta itself.

"The wave of street protests began early last week," the *Washington Post* reported January 3. "By the end of the week, shoppers and passersby began to join the youths in chanting 'freedom' and 'vote no.'" Young people identified as activists in the banned Christian Democratic Party handed out leaflets in downtown Santiago urging a "no" vote. According to CBS-TV news reports on January 6, street demonstrations continued in Santiago after the January 4 voting.

The boldness of the opposition that emerged led Pinochet to try to cut the size of a "no" vote by lifting a mandatory voting requirement just eighteen hours before the polls opened.

Official government figures released January 5 claimed that 75 percent of those voting had cast "yes" ballots.

"Most of the one million anti-



Santiago protesters urge 'no vote' on Pinochet's plebiscite

Pinochet votes came from working-class areas of this capital," Juan de Onís reported in a January 5 dispatch from Santiago to the *New York Times*, "and in some areas such votes reached as much as 40 percent."

"This was heroic in view of the job insecurity that exists now in Chile," de Onís quoted an opposition labor leader as saying. "Many who voted 'yes' did so from fear of marking a ballot 'no' and risking their jobs."

There is, of course, no way of knowing how many "no" ballots were really cast, since the plebiscite was totally under the military's control. Official

voting lists were destroyed in 1974.

Pinochet apparently called the plebiscite without consulting other members of the junta. Air force chief Gustavo Leigh reportedly warned Pinochet that the "prestige" of the armed forces "would be compromised" by a rigged vote. And the navy's representative on the junta, Adm. José Merino, was said to have expressed fear that the Chilean people might be encouraged to expect more elections in the future.

After the vote, Pinochet made clear that such expectations, if they had been created, were groundless: There

would be "no more elections until 1986," he said.

On the day of the plebiscite, the International Commission of Jurists issued a report on Chile. "The whole structure of repression and the suspension of basic rights and fundamental freedoms remains unchanged," it said.

The commission noted some improvements "in the scale of worst excesses, such as torture of suspects, illegal arrests and the disappearance of arrested persons."

"Nevertheless," it added, "all these practices continue."

New threats against Egypt

Begin vows to keep settlements in Sinai

By David Frankel

Emphasizing his hard-line stance with a threat January 8, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin insisted that Zionist settlements would remain on Egyptian territory as part of any agreement between the Egyptian and Israeli regimes.

"The civilian settlements will remain in place, defended by an Israeli defense force," Begin said.

At least twenty Zionist colonies have been established in the Sinai on land confiscated from the Arab inhabitants. Such settlements on conquered territory are expressly outlawed by the Geneva Conventions.

Nevertheless, Begin declared: "If the Egyptian delegation rejects it [the Israeli proposal for a treaty, which includes maintenance of the settlements], Israel may decide to inform it of the great general principle of international law, namely that if one party presents proposals for a peace treaty and the other party does not accept it, the proposing party is at liberty to state that its original proposal is canceled and no longer stands."

Begin's threat was made after Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat had insisted he would not accept any Israeli-Egyptian accord that included the maintenance of the Zionist settlements in the Sinai. Sadat felt compelled to speak out on this point after a calculated provocation—a news leak that eight new colonies were being planned in Egyptian territory.

A "concession" by the Israeli cabinet on this point was announced along with Begin's threat January 8. The cabinet voted that no new settlements in the Sinai would be started. Instead, existing settlements would be expanded and new colonists would be encouraged to move to them.

At the same time, a new Zionist colony was begun on the West Bank January 8. Thirty settlers, with government backing, moved into a site at



Carter and Sadat in Aswan. While Begin made threats, Carter came up with new diplomatic formulas aimed at depriving the Palestinians of their rights.

Shilo, between the Palestinian cities of Ramallah and Nablus.

While the Zionist regime has been continuing its long-established policy of territorial expansion and threats, the Carter administration has been pressuring the Arab states in more subtle ways.

Following Carter's meeting with Sadat in Aswan January 4, the editors of the *New York Times* summed up the real status of the negotiations in the Middle East.

"The reason why the West Bank and the Palestinians figure at all in the present negotiations," they commented with unusual candor January 5, "is that Mr. Sadat wants—and probably needs—an umbrella of comprehensive negotiations to cover his bid for an already visible treaty with Israel."

All the private messages, meetings, and statements by Carter, Sadat, and Begin have only one aim: to find a diplomatic formula that would enable Sadat to sign an agreement with the Zionist regime at the expense of the Palestinian people and the Arab masses as a whole.

At his meeting with Sadat, Carter obligingly outlined such a formula—three "principles" that were enthusiastically endorsed by the Egyptian president. "I'm very happy to say that our views were identical," Sadat told the press following the meeting.

The *Times* editorial explained Carter's first principle: "Acknowledgement of Israel's legitimacy and permanence is the price of admission to the negotiations."

A surrender by the Arab states on this question has been one of the basic political objectives of Zionism since Israel was established thirty years ago on the homeland of the Palestinian people.

On the other hand, Carter's other two principles gave virtually nothing to the Arabs.

Carter's second proposal—a vague call for some type of withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967—was based on United Nations resolutions approved by the Israelis in the past. It does not call for withdrawal from all the territories, and, as the *Times* editors took pains to point out,

"It does not specify a date or even timetable for withdrawal."

Finally, Carter suggested a formula that would enable Sadat to claim that the "legitimate rights" of the Palestinians were recognized, while requiring the Israeli regime to make no specific concessions in this regard. The Palestinians, according to the Carter proposal, should "participate in the determination of their own future."

But, the *Times* editorial approvingly noted, Carter "did not say which Palestinians, or who else would so participate, or to what extent."

Further details were suggested by Carter January 6. He told reporters on his flight back to the United States from Europe that "the Palestinian problem . . . can be resolved with an interim solution for a joint administration."

Such a joint administration of the occupied territories, Carter said, might include the Israeli and Jordanian regimes, representatives of the West Bank Palestinians, and perhaps the United Nations. Nothing was said about who would exercise military control over the areas involved or how the "joint administration" would be divided among the participating groups.

In addition, Carter suggested that he would favor, at some unstated future date, "the right of the Palestinians to decide their own future between whether they should continue that kind of administration or affiliate with Jordan."

But Carter stressed that the Palestinians should not be allowed even the pretense of voting for their own independent state.

With bait like this, Washington hopes to draw in some of the other Arab states behind Sadat. Of course in the end, whether or not the imperialists are successful in this attempt, the actual negotiations will see Israeli vetoes of even many of Carter's modest proposals.

Fighting breaks out in Indochina

Hanoi and Phnom Penh exchange charges

By David Frankel

After the Cambodian regime announced December 31 that it was "temporarily" breaking diplomatic relations with Vietnam, reports of heavy fighting on the Vietnamese-Cambodian border began appearing regularly in the mass media.

In the absence of even a single independent observer in the area, the reports have been based on two sources: handouts from various imperialist intelligence services, and radio broadcasts and diplomatic statements by the two feuding governments.

A third source—imagination—has also figured in some of the reports. The most extreme example appeared in the January 1-2 issue of the French daily *Le Monde*. Roland-Pierre Parngaux reported that the Cambodian capital was encircled and that "practically all of Cambodia East of the Mekong has been occupied by Hanoi's troops."

After being featured in one issue of *Le Monde*, this fantastic claim that a third of Cambodia was in Vietnamese hands was dropped like a hot potato.

Little better was a January 6 Associated Press dispatch from Bangkok. It claimed that "Thai intelligence sources said that the Vietnamese may have advanced to or already captured the key Mekong River town of Neak Luong, only about 35 miles from Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital. Two different sources said a Vietna-

mese tank column was operating near Neak Luong."

A *New York Times* dispatch the following day quoted "informed sources" in Bangkok who "specifically denied" these assertions.

Even if one were to rely on the CIA and its cousins in other imperialist countries as an objective source of information, satellite photographs could hardly be expected to give an accurate idea of what was happening on the battlefield—something the U.S. Army learned more than once in Vietnam.

Not surprisingly, the Stalinists leaderships in Vietnam and Cambodia have blamed each other for the fighting. A Cambodian statement released when Phnom Penh broke relations with Hanoi charged that especially since last September, Vietnamese forces had launched "a continuous large-scale aggressive offensive" using "several infantry divisions from Hanoi and several hundred tanks and artillery pieces supported by airplanes. . . ."

The short-term objective of the Vietnamese, according to Phnom Penh, was "to plunder rice and livestock to help solve their hunger problem." Hanoi was also charged with trying to take over Cambodian territory, and ultimately trying to force Cambodia to become "a member of the Vietnamese-dominated Indochinese Federation."

Vietnamese troops, the Cambodian

regime charged, "destroyed rubber plantations, burned forests, strafed the people—children and old people alike—burned houses, seized cattle, poultry, and property of the people, [and] raped and killed our women. . . ."

In reply, the Vietnamese regime issued a statement claiming a long history of border clashes. "Most serious has been the period since April 1977," it said, "when Kampuchea [Cambodia] fielded a great force made up of many divisions. This force, with

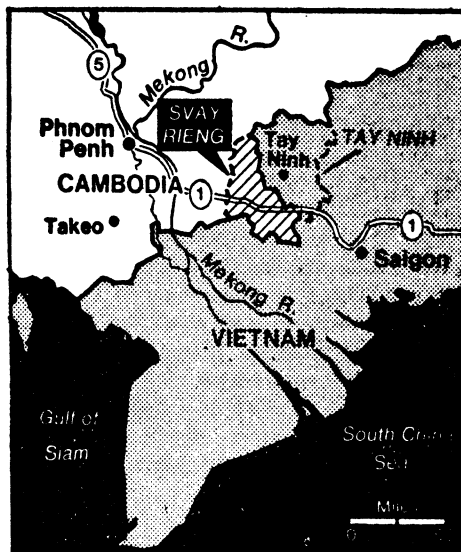
massive fire support provided by many cannons and mortars positioned in Kampuchea, has made many concerted attacks on almost all the border areas from Ha Tien [on the Gulf of Siam] to Tay Ninh [northwest of Saigon]. . . . These attacks were combined with looting and burning and sacking of pagodas, schools, and hospitals. At many places Kampuchean troops have committed utterly inhuman crimes. . . . Many entire families have been butchered. . . . At some places thousands of inhabitants have been killed or wounded, thousands of houses and property of other kinds destroyed, and tens of thousands of civilians have had to move farther from the border for security."

Reports from imperialist intelligence sources and Cambodian statements both claim that Vietnamese troops have occupied a piece of Cambodian territory, known as the "Parrot's Beak" region, that juts into Vietnam. However, reports on the amount of territory occupied and the number of troops involved vary.

Militarily, there is no doubt that Vietnam is many times stronger than Cambodia, but the Vietnamese have denied taking the Parrot's Beak region.

Drawn by the French colonial administration without regard to the rights of either Cambodians or Vietnamese, the border between the two coun-

Continued on page 30



Fighting between Cambodian and Vietnamese troops was reported in Cambodia's Svay Rieng Province.

More attacks on workers in store

What's behind new decline of the dollar?

By William Gottlieb

On January 4 the U.S. Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board announced that they would support the value of the dollar on the international money market.

That is, they would buy dollars—billions of which are being dumped by the giant corporations that deal in the world money market—in an attempt to halt the U.S. currency's sharp decline relative to other major currencies (see graph).

The Federal Reserve said it was prepared to use the so-called "swap" lines of credit, amounting to more than \$20 billion, in its support operations.

confidence that the support measures will be able to halt the U.S. currency's plunge for very long.

Move to 'tight money'

Perhaps in response to this renewed weakness, the Federal Reserve Board announced on January 6 that it was raising its discount rate—the interest rate it charges member banks for loans—from 6 to 6.5 percent.

This action indicates that a move toward "tight money" policies to protect the dollar is underway.

The concern in capitalist circles over the condition of the dollar was reflected in the decline of stock prices on Wall Street. The Dow Jones industrial average dropped thirty-seven points in four days, closing below the 800 mark for the first time since 1975.

In contrast, the price of gold soared to over \$170 an ounce.

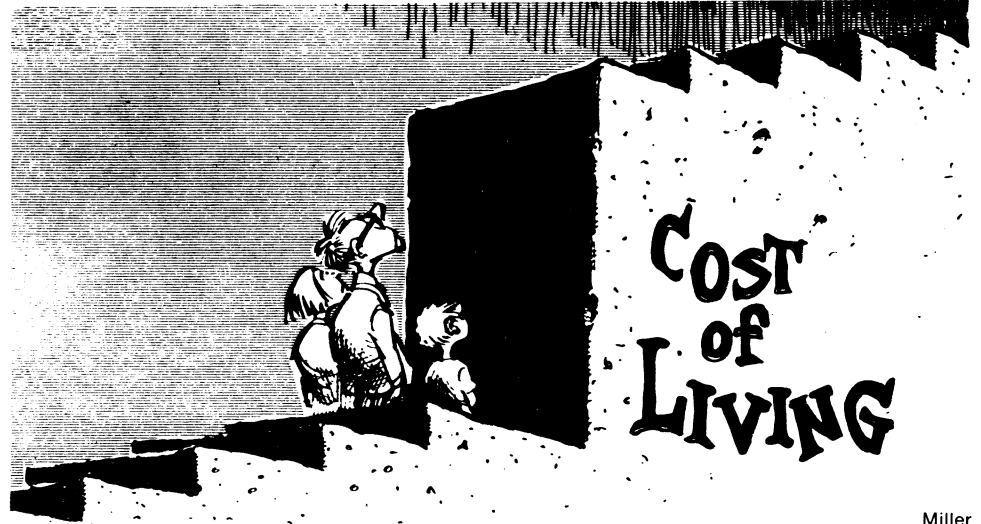
This new wave of gold hoarding is especially important since it underlines the fact that the "strength" of currencies like the Japanese yen and the West German mark is purely relative. In reality there is a growing distrust of all paper currencies; they are all losing value in terms of gold.

Behind the currency crisis is the faltering and uneven character of the current business cycle upswing, and the growing dependence of U.S. imperialism on the world market both for energy and for outlets to sell its prodigious production.

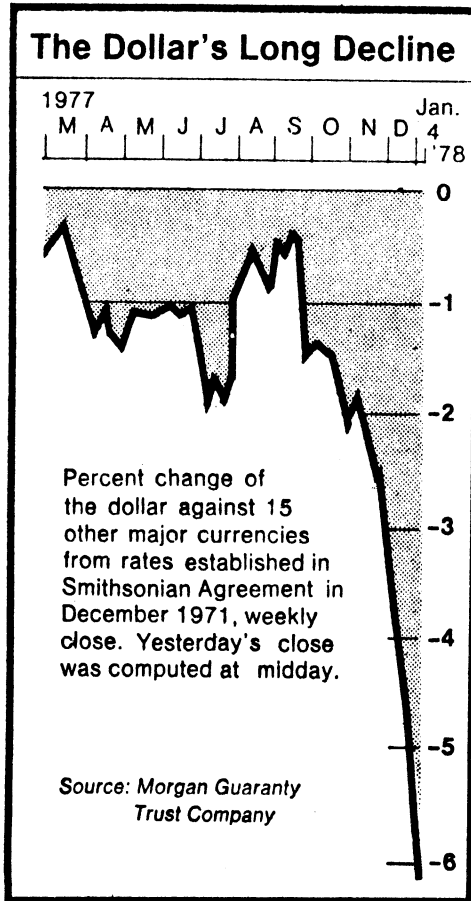
While the recovery from the 1974-75 depression in the U.S. has been less than robust, it has nevertheless been rapid compared to upturns abroad. *Business Week* in its December 26, 1977, issue described the world situation as follows: "Foreign economies will have anemic growth in 1978, and only major new government pump-priming can prevent Europe, Japan, and Canada from slipping to the brink of recession by the end of the year. Even without any increase in the price of oil, real European economic growth will average 3% next year, about the same as this year's disappointing performance. Even worse, the runaway inflation that choked off the recovery this year is barely under control, and any stimulation efforts are sure to push price increases back toward the double-digit line in the economies not already so plagued."

World overproduction

The real problem is that Europe and Japan, having built up a vast industry with the most modern equipment during the post-World War II boom, now find that their ability to produce exceeds the markets that are available. They are obliged to export to the one



Decline of dollar threatens increased rate of inflation and lowering of real wages for American workers.



The New York Times

Under this arrangement, other imperialist powers will loan the Federal Reserve some of their own currencies, which will then be used to buy up dollars.

These credits have to be paid back, though, usually within three to six months. As a result, unless there is some fundamental change in the underlying situation, Washington may soon have to run down its own reserves of foreign currency and gold in order to repay these loans.

The market responded to these announcements with a one-day upswing in the dollar's value. But then the dollar resumed its downward course, illustrating the worldwide lack of con-

that is still expanding—the U.S. home market.

The United States, on the other hand, cannot expand its exports because of the stagnation abroad. It is faced with the rise in imports from Europe and Japan as well as the need to purchase growing amounts of costly oil from the Middle East and other oil-producing regions abroad.

The result is a massive deficit in the U.S. balance of trade and payments and a consequent flood of dollars into a stagnant world economy.

At the same time, the U.S. recovery has been dependent on deficit spending by the federal government to an unusually large degree. The inevitable result of Washington printing dollars, in effect, to cover this deficit is the depreciation of the dollar against the stronger foreign currencies and gold.

This fall in the value of the dollar threatens a sharp increase in the rate of inflation within the U.S. Such a rise in prices would lower real wages of American workers and also reduce overall domestic purchasing power.

Thus, the U.S. recovery threatens to peter out, owing to the overproduction of commodities on a global scale.

Carter administration

The Carter administration has been hoping that an accelerated upswing abroad would boost American exports and strengthen the dollar. In addition, the administration hopes to improve the U.S. trade balance by a combination of protectionist moves in industries such as steel and pressure put on Japan to buy more U.S. goods.

Over a longer period, the administration hopes that its program of multi-billion-dollar tax giveaways to the energy monopolies will lead to a rise in domestic energy production and less dependence on foreign supplies.

The recent upheavals in the financial markets, however, indicate that the capitalist class is losing patience. It is coming to the conclusion that a slowdown in the American economy is unavoidable in light of the moribund state of the world economy.

Thus, the currency crisis—and the fear of an economic slowdown that lies behind it—indicates that the Carter administration is going to be under pressure to stiffen its stance further against working people.

By dumping the dollar (U.S. corporations are the chief dollar dumpers), the capitalists are in effect saying to Carter that his conservative policies are not enough, that the offensive against the working class and its allies must be stepped up.

Attacks on social services

The dollar crisis, for example, makes federal aid for New York City even less likely. It increases the chances that the New York City fiscal crisis will be repeated around the nation.

Schools, hospitals, social welfare—all these will be fair game in the battle to strengthen the dollar by raising the profits of U.S. corporations. There is even the possibility that major parts of Carter's projected "tax cut" will be scrapped in order to "fight inflation."

In the background is the threat that a slowdown in the U.S. domestic economy could trigger a worldwide slump, such as happened in 1974. This would mean a considerable acceleration of attacks on the working class through massive new layoffs in both the private and public sectors.

The dollar crisis therefore signals that the class struggle is going to sharpen—whether the class-collaborationist bureaucrats who head the American labor movement like it or not.

FBI, cops spied on doctor for 30 years

By Diane Wang

For thirty years the FBI kept close tabs on Dr. Quentin Young, chief of medicine at Cook County Hospital in Chicago and an organizer of the Chicago Medical Committee for Human Rights.

Young recently released 3,200 pages of FBI files that he obtained through a lawsuit on behalf of spying victims in Chicago.

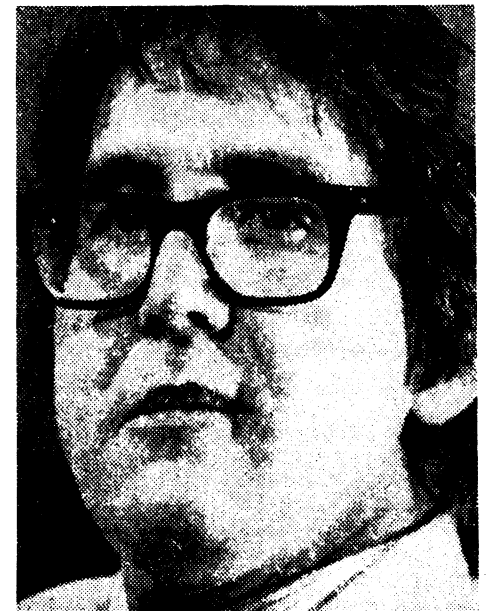
Hundreds of pages about Young were withheld by the FBI to protect supposed national security interests or hide informers' identities. The files do show, however, that the Chicago red squad and FBI kept detailed records, not only about Young's political activities, but also about his professional work and personal life.

The files even record that Young prescribed medicated shampoo for a patient with lice.

The Chicago police and FBI tried to entrap Young on a sedition charge at least once, in 1966. An informer visited Young for a physical examination, hoping the doctor would falsify his medical records to help him evade the draft.

When the informer complained of a knee problem, Young sent him to a specialist. After X-raying the knee, the specialist wrote the requested letter necessary for getting a draft exemption. But the FBI could not prosecute the doctor for sedition, because the knee injury turned out to be genuine.

A 1972 FBI memo in Young's file explains bluntly why the political police were so intent on watching and harassing people like the doctor: "Some individuals in the organization in the past have taken positions contrary to policies of the U.S. government."



QUENTIN YOUNG: held positions contrary to policies of government.

'Violence' in coal

The courts, cops, and big-business news media have teamed up once again with industry to do a job on this nation's coal miners. What strikebreaking they can't accomplish with court orders and brute force, they hope to do through headline-grabbing reports of "senseless violence and destruction" by striking miners.

But the cold-blooded killing of Mack Lewis, a retired miner gunned down by a company guard, tragically exposes where the real violence lies.

It lies with the coal operators, whose drive for production kills and maims thousands of miners each year.

The statistics tell the story. One hundred thousand coal miners killed since the turn of the century. One million permanently disabled. Four thousand dead each year from black lung. Even before the first week of 1978 had ended, a twenty-two-year-old miner was killed in an accident at a nonunion Kentucky strip mine.

This is what is at stake in the coal strike—health, safety, and the right to strike to ensure miners enjoy these basic rights.

The industry-controlled media wants to bury these facts. The miners' side of the story must be told. And it is their supporters among other unionists, students, and Black and women's groups that can come to their aid in getting out the truth.

Labor and ERA

As President Carter begins his second year in office, women around the country are demonstrating for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and the right of all women to choose safe, legal abortion.

Carter's attacks on abortion and his Democratic and Republican cohorts' refusal to pass the ERA are part of the bipartisan offensive against all working people.

This makes the January 22 pro-ERA march on the Virginia state capitol particularly significant. Labor for Equal Rights Now, which called the march, is a coalition of trade unionists initiated by Meat Cutters union locals. LERN is actively campaigning for the ERA. (See story on back page.)

We urge our readers to support and, where possible, attend the January 22 Richmond demonstration.

The Virginia unionists are setting an example that should be followed by other trade unions around the country. They are showing that women's rights are a union issue. And they are conducting the kind of massive, public campaign that is crucial to winning the ERA.

As organized labor begins to champion the concerns of women and others oppressed in this society, not only will the women's movement be strengthened, but the trade unions will be infused with new energy and militancy.

Everyone can learn from LERN's example.

Bergland sees red

At the recent convention of the Farm Bureau (the most conservative of the nation's farm organizations), Carter's secretary of agriculture, Robert Bergland, took off the gloves and laid out the administration's true attitude toward the demands of working farmers for economic survival.

Bergland flatly rejected the demand for 100 percent parity raised by farmers across the country in the newly organized American Agriculture Movement (AAM). (See article on page 24.) Thousands of working farmers are now being driven to the wall in a financial squeeze that has seen farm prices fall to 67 percent of parity, the lowest level since agricultural products hit 64 percent in 1933.

Bergland went on to red-bait the AAM and the national farm strike, indicating there was something un-American about farmers' demands for a living income. He compared full parity to the practices of Soviet agriculture.

Despite Carter's carefully cultivated image as a humble "peanut framer," Bergland's remarks reflect Carter's real allegiances. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are committed to policies designed to drive down the standard of living of all working people—small farmers and wage workers alike.

Farmers can mount a successful struggle against these policies only by maintaining their independence from these two big-business parties and forging alliances with their fellow victims—workers and their unions.

'Don't get pregnant'

In the November 25 issue of the *Militant* there were articles advocating government-sponsored abortion with which I cannot entirely agree. For example, in the column "Women in Revolt," Mr. Hyde is put down by Cindy Jaquith because of his anti-abortion views. I disagree with Mr. Hyde's reasoning, but I also fail to recognize abortion as the best available form of birth control.

The way I see it, any woman who gets pregnant without wanting it must be living in a vacuum. Hence, the Chicana sister [who died from a botched abortion after Medicaid funds were cut off] could just as easily been saved if she hadn't gotten pregnant in the first place.

I would like to see government-sponsored birth control for those who need it, and I would like to see an article in the *Militant* spelling out all the available birth-control methods.

Finally, I wish to ask Ms. Jaquith how that Chicana sister could have supported a child if she couldn't afford her own abortion?

Verna Byers
Denver, Colorado

[Cindy Jaquith replies—It's a sad commentary on American "democracy" that a human being such as the Chicana who was killed must choose between sacrificing to support a child or sacrificing her life to a butcher abortionist. What an indictment of the racist, antiwoman nature of capitalist society!

The *Militant* supports the unconditional right of women to abortion—and their right to government funding. We do so on the basis of abortion as women's *right to choose*, not because we favor abortion over any other birth-control measure.

Verna Byers says that women who get pregnant against their will "live in a vacuum." But it's Byers who "lives in a vacuum" if she's so blind to the multitude of legal, economic, and social barriers that prevent women—especially the poorest—from exercising control of their bodies.

We support government funding for all birth-control methods, so that women have the option, if they so decide, to use them. Jimmy Carter claims to favor such programs. But the only options he is offering women with the Hyde amendment is mutilation and death at the hands of back-alley abortionists or enforced motherhood.]

Gay prisoners denied rights

I wish to say I really appreciate your support and concern for prisoners.

Conditions here are unbelievably inhumane. Anyone seeking relief is dealt with by officials with measures such as strip cells and physical force.

There are overcrowded conditions, with prisoners sleeping on floors in all cells, cold food, and no heat in segregation units and no medical treatment. The American Civil Liberties Union has filed suit against these and worse conditions.

All gay prisoners are denied access to any rights, ignored, and left unprotected. Most gays are placed in overcrowded segregation where 300 prisoners are locked up and left to sleep on floors.

A prisoner
New Mexico

Who killed Malcolm?

John Hawkins's column in the December 30 *Militant*, "Open files on Malcolm X" was very thought-

provoking and with the new evidence disclosed, there should be an investigation held forthwith.

However, I feel that it would not be fruitful to "allow" the government or the judicial authorities to carry on such an investigation as Hawkins suggests or merely "pressure" them to release their files. Instead, there should be an independent investigation by Black organizations and leaders, the labor movement, and socialists. This, of course, would be a move to exert "pressure" on government officials to open their books to the people and to punish the secret police, but it would be a *real* investigation not just a publicity stunt or more phrasemongering.

Sure, let's investigate the death of Malcolm X, and while we're at it let's investigate the murders of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; George Jackson; Fred Hampton; and the violent suppression of the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement. We can use those government files, but let's not depend upon the government to do all the work.

A prisoner
Illinois

[John Hawkins replies—The proposal raised in your letter for an independent commission of inquiry into the murder of Malcolm X is one that the *Militant* supports and has put forward many times.

In addition, those of us who wish to end the cover-up of events surrounding the assassination should take advantage of every opportunity to force the government to disgorge its secret files on Malcolm X and, as you suggest, other murdered Black movement leaders. A court hearing on new evidence in Malcolm's assassination offers such an opportunity.]

Chaplin vs. Stalin

According to Nougzar Sharia, a former student at the Moscow Academy of Cinematography, the political nonconformism and acid satire that prompted Washington to bar Charlie Chaplin from the United States evoked a similar response among the bureaucrats in Moscow.

Stalin's artistic establishment gave its official approval to Chaplin's early films. But when Chaplin's *Great Dictator* was first screened in Moscow, Stalin stopped laughing.

Recounting this story in a letter that appeared in the January 6 *New York Times*, Sharia wrote:

"... When in 1940 the American Embassy received a copy of 'The Great Dictator,' a gala show was organized to which the elite of the Soviet film industry was invited. The film was shown in the State Projection Room of



Chaplin in 'Great Dictator'

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



A hidden time bomb

Labor law reform is a rallying cry for top union officials these days. They are convinced that if the National Labor Relations Board is simply given more power, then the road to organizing the vast nonunion citadels of U.S. industry will be open.

This was a major theme at the twelfth biennial convention of the AFL-CIO in Los Angeles last month. President George Meany's report lambasted unnamed business leaders who pretend to favor unions and secretly undermine them. "Employer challenges to collective bargaining have never been greater since the late 1930s," Meany said.

The union officialdom is appealing to Congress and the Carter administration to curb the antiunion drive of the employing class. They claim modest gains for their lobbying efforts.

But, "business, smarting from its defeats, has pledged to gear its efforts even higher in January," says chief union lobbyist Andrew Biemiller.

Officials fear that the second session of the Democratic-controlled Ninety-fifth Congress may wipe out some of the gains that Biemiller and his AFL-CIO cronies claim were scored in the first session.

"By a vote of 257 to 163, the House on October 6 passed the first worker-oriented labor law reform measure since passage of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935," according to the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

And Biemiller says it wasn't easy: "The hallmark of the Ninety-fifth Congress has been the unpredictability of many elected liberals, who disregarded platform pledges and leadership pleas. . . ."

He and Meany credit their success to "coalitions with religious, civil rights, and women's organizations. . . ."

It sounds like an uncompromising fight was waged against the reactionary forces of the employing class in defense of workers' rights, in collaboration with allies of the working class. That's the way Biemiller portrays it, pointing to "repeated head-on collisions between the rights of workers and the privileges of

employers. . . ."

That's not the way it was at all. This "battle" was fought according to the ground rules of capitalist politics, in the parliamentary arena. The outcome remains uncertain, and the dubious gains are shot through with hushed-up compromises that threaten basic rights of the union movement—including the most important, the right to strike.

This was revealed last October in testimony by Joe Bingle, vice-president of the International Typographical Union, at Senate hearings on the Labor Reform Act (S. 1883 and S. 1855). Bingle sounded a timely warning on the House-passed legislation.

The danger is in Section 12 of the House bill, "a time bomb set to explode in the faces of workers. . . ."

"That section purports to authorize the labor board to obtain court injunctions against so-called stranger picketing in the face of expressed or implied agreements not to strike," Bingle said.

Bingle was not complaining about the already severe legal limitations on the right to strike, just against going any further.

The following excerpts from an exchange between a committee member, Sen. Donald Riegle of Michigan, and ITU attorney George Driesen further clarify the issue.

Senator. "We have heard a good deal of testimony in these hearings about the problems of 'stranger picketing.' I had assumed that this was an issue only because of the strikes in the coal mines of West Virginia and Kentucky."

Union attorney. "We are unalterably opposed to further expanding the use of injunctive powers through the amendment which was reported out by the House committee."

If top AFL-CIO officials, who are pushing this legislation, want to protect the right to strike, they ought to get behind the striking miners of West Virginia and Kentucky with all their resources. It is a losing game to argue the issue in the capitalist-controlled Congress, while abandoning the battle on the picket lines.

the Kremlin.

"Stalin was seated in front of all invited guests and enjoyed Chaplin's performance tremendously, laughing like a child through the first part of the film. However, when at the end Chaplin began to criticize all dictatorships, Stalin stopped the performance with a sweeping gesture, announcing: 'We don't need Chaplin here.'"

"Chaplin, of course, learned almost immediately of this incident and addressed a letter to the well-known Russian director Alexandrov in which he stipulated that no future film of his should be shown in the U.S.S.R."

P.S.

New York, New York

Farmers' strike

I was glad to see the *Militant* take a position in support of the strike by working farmers (see December 16 issue). Besides focusing national attention on the exploitation of working farmers by the banks and agribusiness corporations, the strike can also create an awareness of the massive suffering caused by capitalism's irrationality and inhumanity.

The solution to the problem of food production and distribution is to abolish the capitalist trade cycle. The *Militant* is correct in supporting government subsidies for small working farmers, but I think it is necessary to point out that this can only be a temporary measure that cannot ultimately solve the problem.

Small working farmers, while being allowed to keep their land, should be guaranteed an annual wage—paid by the government—equal to the highest annual industrial union wage. The government should purchase agricultural machinery and all other elements needed in farming and loan it to working farmers free of charge.

The land owned by the big banks and agribusiness companies should be nationalized and incorporated into a national governmental food production corporation (whether the working farmers eventually decided to incorporate their land into the government-owned farms would be strictly their own voluntary decision).

Even these measures would be only a partial solution.

The complete solution is the socialist reorganization of the entire economy, which could be accomplished only through the establishment of a workers government that would completely abolish the profit system and plan production to meet human needs. The immense brutality of mass famines engineered by the drive for profits would then be done away with forever.

Michael Beslin

New Orleans, Louisiana

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

Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



'Ms'ing the point

The January issue of *Ms.* magazine—the one with a pregnant Jimmy Carter on the cover—reviews the president's first year in office.

Ms. chides Carter for being such a disappointment and warns him he had better do something to woo back women.

Yet, after going over Carter's vicious anti-abortion policies, his do-nothing performance on the Equal Rights Amendment, and his window-dressing gimmick of appointing women to apologize for him—after all that, *Ms.* nonetheless gives Carter the benefit of the doubt and a positive rating on its scoreboard.

Since *Ms.* urged women to vote for Carter and I urged everyone to vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates, it is inevitable that we would come up with different evaluations of how serious his antiwoman actions are.

But *Ms.* makes one claim for Carter that especially jumped out at me. It argues that the president has actually been a champion of human rights, simply ignoring the facts.

Ms. applauds Carter "for reminding us what this country was supposed to be about in the first place." It seems strange to me that Jimmy "life-is-unfair" Carter should get so much credit for "introducing the subject of human rights." Especially when most of the *Ms.* article documents what he has done to attack or ignore women's rights.

But worse, *Ms.* gives Carter top rating for "establishing human rights as a legitimate consideration in foreign policy."

Ms. should have tried to ask Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi her opinion of that. Tabrizi is a sociologist who was arrested in 1972 while studying the living conditions of Iran's peasants.

Charges against Tabrizi were never made public. Yet a military court sentenced her to seven years in prison. According to Swedish press reports, Tabrizi

was tortured so severely that she lost all feeling in her hands and feet and developed meningitis.

An appeal for Tabrizi was issued by several prominent American women, including Bella Abzug, Angela Davis, and Kate Millett. *Ms.* editor Gloria Steinem is a sponsor of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), the group that has championed Tabrizi's case. So *Ms.* should know something about the situation in Iran.

And has the plight of Tabrizi and the other thousands of political prisoners in Iran been "a legitimate consideration in foreign policy" under Carter?

The president's comment at the shah of Iran's New Year's Eve party, that there was no place he would rather be, answers that question. That chummy remark stands for the almost \$4 billion in weapons sold to the shah during the past fiscal year, most of it approved by Carter.

No doubt, Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi would rather have spent New Year's Eve almost any place besides the shah's prison. Fortunately, many women are concerned about getting her out. The January issue of the *CAIFI Newsletter* reports that CAIFI distributed 1,000 brochures and collected 500 signatures on petitions for Tabrizi.

(To get more information about Tabrizi or a copy of the January *CAIFI Newsletter*, which costs twenty-five cents, write to CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, New York 10003.)

* * *

Ms. poses the question, "Will women make Carter a one-term president?" The answer to that depends not only on what Carter has done, but on what the women's movement has done and will do in the future. My next column will tally the balance sheet on how the women's movement has responded to Carter's attacks during his first year.



Security fetish?—Walter Cavanaugh, a pharmacy manager, is into credit cards. He now has 867, with 300 applications pending. He can charge gas at forty-three brands of stations and fly on twenty-three airlines. But mostly he pays cash while keeping the cherished cards in a safety deposit box.

He's got a good lawyer, too—If god is omnipotent, a troubled churchgoer asked Norman Vincent Peale,

why doesn't he prevent bad things from happening? Peale explained god gives people "the right to decide for themselves. If they decide in error, they are responsible, and not god. Another thing to keep in mind is that god has established a natural law and the laws of health. He usually doesn't interfere in their operation."

Isolationist sentiment grows—Two-thirds of those polled by Gallup

favor separate smoking areas in public places. An additional 16 percent favor a total ban on planes, trains, and buses, and in restaurants and offices. Only 16 percent of smokers favor no restrictions.

Not to alarm, but...—American Cancer Society researchers said smoking is responsible for one-half the

bladder cancer cases among men and one-third of those among women. Seven years after you quit, the risk rate goes down to average.

Tip to hobbyists—If you're considering entering a long-distance yachting race like the one from Los Angeles to Honolulu, be advised that for a large boat with a full crew, expenses can run past \$50,000.

Their Government

Another CIA myth

During the Vietnam War, the Central Intelligence Agency proposed "the assassination and/or kidnapping of one or more of North Vietnam's leaders" to precipitate "turmoil" in Hanoi.

That and other CIA intrigues in Vietnam were recently revealed by a former intelligence analyst who served for five years in the CIA's Saigon office. The agent, Frank Snepp, published in November *Decent Interval*, a book depicting the CIA's intelligence failures in the final days of the war.

The book primarily recounts the CIA blunders that resulted in thousands of "loyal" Vietnamese being abandoned to their fate when the Americans evacuated Saigon. However, Snepp's exposé also sheds light on other, more damning, aspects of the CIA's operations.

In a November 20 television interview, Snepp charged that the CIA and the American embassy in Saigon had deliberately provided American reporters with false information about a possible "blood bath" if South Vietnam lost the war.

"The whole idea of a blood bath was conjured out of thin air. We had no intelligence to indicate the South Vietnamese were facing a blood bath," Snepp said.

He added that Graham Martin, the last American ambassador to Saigon, "began planting horror

stories in the press . . . to generate sympathy for the South Vietnamese cause abroad."

During the interview Snepp also named four reporters "favored" by the agency and embassy in Saigon.

"We would leak to them on a selected basis," he said, "draw them into our trust and into our confidence, and then we could shape their reporting through further leaks because they trusted us."

The reporters he named were Keyes Beech of the *Chicago Daily News*, Robert Shaplen of the *New Yorker* magazine, George McArthur of the *Los Angeles Times*, and Wendell Merick of *U.S. News & World Report*.

In addition, the CIA fed false information to *New York Times* reporter Malcolm Browne in the last days of the war. The CIA also used Browne to pass messages to the National Liberation Front delegation at Tan Son Nhut air base outside Saigon.

Among the other allegations in Snepp's account are:

- North Vietnam, despite repeated assertions by Washington to the contrary, did "not engage in much offensive activity" in the year following the negotiated cease-fire in 1972.

While Snepp alleges that Hanoi did build up supply caches in the south, he added, "We were hardly in the strongest position to object. In the

months directly preceding the cease-fire we had set a provocative example for Hanoi by ramming huge quantities of war matériel into the south."

- Snepp acknowledges that the CIA's Phoenix Program resulted in many murders.

"The objective of the Phoenix Program was to capture Communist cadres and bring them in alive so they could be interrogated and exploited for intelligence purposes."

In practice, Snepp says, "the Phoenix strike teams opted for a scattershot approach, picking up anyone who might be a suspect, and eventually when the jails were filled to overflowing they began taking the law, such as it was, into their own hands."

- The U.S. embassy in Saigon protected top officials in the Thieu regime from drug-dealing investigations by American narcotics agents.

- Former American ambassador Ellsworth Bunker offered a \$3 million bribe to Gen. Duong Van (Big) Minh if he would run against President Thieu and create the illusion of a contested election in 1971.

Whatever happened to the CIA's plan to kidnap Hanoi leaders? The agency shelved the proposal, Snepp says, when they realized they "couldn't even identify where the North Vietnamese lived, much less kidnap them." **From Intercontinental Press**

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Thieves fall out

The nuclear industry is angry—and not only at environmentalists. A series of five lawsuits has set utilities, manufacturers, and uranium mining outfits—more than thirty companies in all—at each others' throats.

The issues boil down to this: in the 1960s, Westinghouse, the second-largest manufacturer of nuclear power plants, promised to supply customers with cheap uranium fuel, called "yellowcake." But yellowcake prices soon skyrocketed—from under six dollars a pound in 1972 to more than forty dollars today.

So Westinghouse balked at delivering yellowcake at the promised low price.

Twenty-seven utilities sued.

Meanwhile, Friends of the Earth, an environmental group, discovered the existence of a secret worldwide uranium producers' agreement to jack up uranium prices.

The revelation was a godsend to Westinghouse, which immediately sued Gulf Oil. Gulf's Canadian subsidiary was a member of the cartel. Westinghouse charged that Gulf had conspired to drive up the price of yellowcake. Two smaller companies also sued Gulf.

But while Gulf's Canadian arm mined uranium,

another Gulf subsidiary controlled the General Atomic Company, which *bought* uranium. General Atomic had a contract to buy uranium from the United Nuclear Corporation at nine dollars a pound. United Nuclear did exactly what Westinghouse did—refused to fulfill its contracts. Not only that, but United Nuclear sued General Atomic, claiming General Atomic was part of the cartel.

Theoretically, Westinghouse could be a big loser in all this—as much as \$3 billion. In reality, the company will probably pay out about one-fourth that amount over the next twelve years.

We are the real losers. Hundreds of high-priced corporate lawyers are at work full time suing each other. But more important is the simple truth that in only two years the price of uranium *quintupled*. That wasn't because the demand for it quintupled, but because corporate monopolies forced the price up. In 1972, according to one estimate, the world supply of uranium was four times world demand.

The net effect is to raise the price of electricity.

At the beginning of the nuclear age, nuclear energy was touted as "too cheap to meter." But this extravagant claim ignored many of the real costs, including important safety features, waste disposal, decommissioning old plants, the cost of fabricating

fuel, increasing construction costs, and the relatively low efficiency—only 55 percent—of nuclear plants.

Now, it seems, reality has caught up with the nuclear industry's fantasies.

Despite claims that nuclear energy is cheaper than coal or oil, utilities that have built nuclear plants have *raised* their rates. The utilities take our money to pay for construction of new nuclear plants.

Commonwealth Edison, for example, an Illinois utility, recently asked for a 14.5 percent rate boost to raise some \$280 million. CommEd was an early entrant in the nuclear energy race, with seven nukes operating and six more under construction. CommEd's rates are presently 10 percent below the national average. If they get it, the rate hike will put them above the national average.

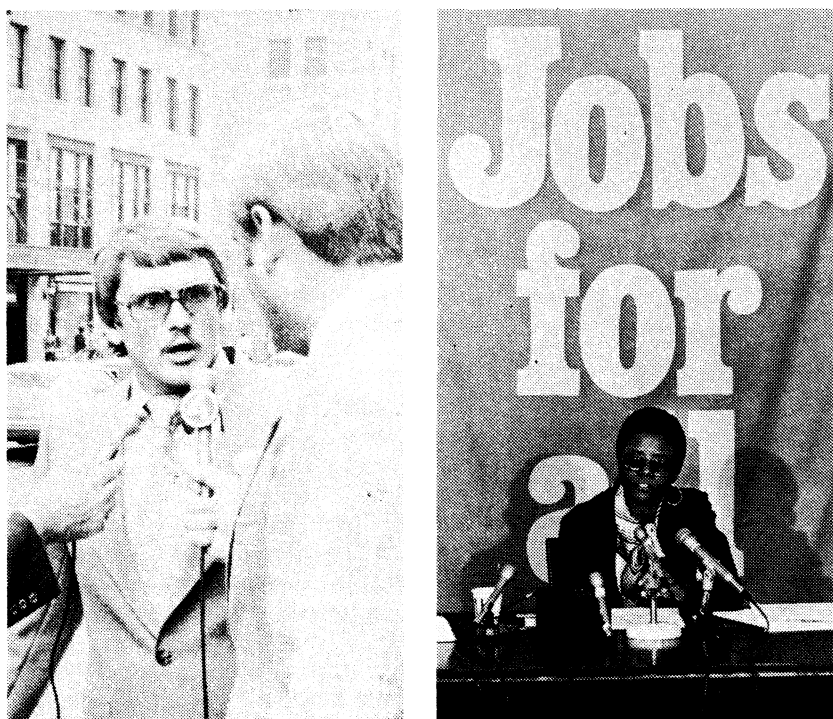
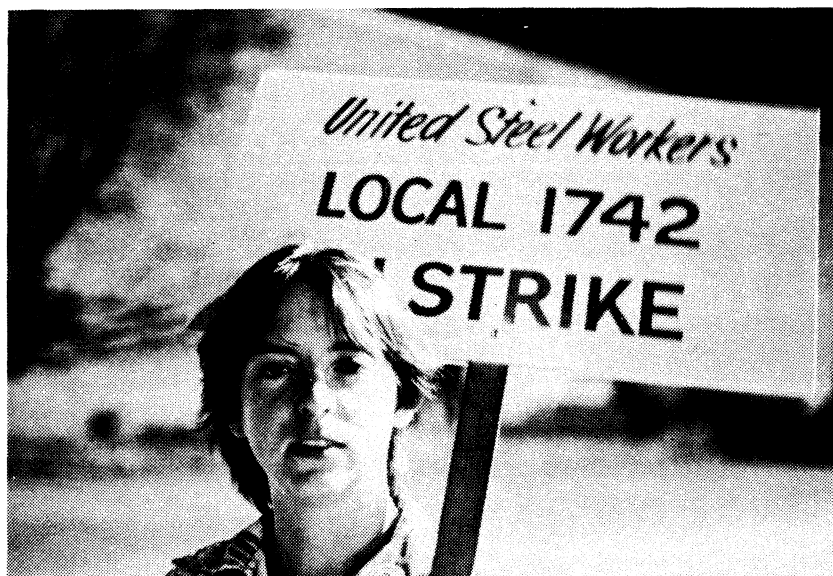
Public Service Company of New Hampshire, mired in the construction of the Seabrook nuke, has asked for a 21 percent rate hike. Oregon's Portland Gas and Electric raised its rates four times in three years, while its Trojan plant was under construction.

When the true costs are added up, nuclear power is no bargain at all.

Arnold Weissberg



'77 socialist election roundup



1977 SWP candidates Diane Sarge (top), Houston; Howard Beck (bottom left), Pittsburgh; Hattie McCutcheon, Boston. Socialists ran campaigns in eighteen cities.

SWP vote results

City	Candidate	Position	Vote	%
Albany, N.Y.	Kevin Kellogg	mayor	195	0.46
Boston	Hattie McCutcheon	school board	6,043	10
	Diane Jacobs	city council	3,902	6
Cambridge, Mass.	Carol Evans	city council	104*	
Cincinnati	John Stiller	city council	3,615	2.33
Cleveland	Alyson Kennedy	mayor	1,092	0.99
Houston	Diane Sarge	mayor	291	0.17
	Sas Scoggins	city council	2,065	1.6
	Bill Piscella	school board	261**	
Louisville	Debby Tarnopol	mayor	685	0.84
Minneapolis	Jim Carson	mayor	1,315	1.27
	Faith Einerson	alderman	127	1.92
	Peggi Perrone	alderman	122	1.48
New Jersey	Rich Ariza	governor	***	
New Orleans	Joel Aber	mayor	377**	
	Derrick Morrison	city council	4,277**	
	Laurie Burke	city council	5,601**	
New York	Catarino Garza	mayor	3,294	0.86
	Jane Roland	city council president	2,985	0.88
	Robert Des Verney	comptroller	3,610	1.11
Philadelphia	Rhonda Rutherford	controller	2,307	0.63
Phoenix, Ariz.	Jessica Sampson	mayor	1,560	1.7
Pittsburgh	Howard Beck	mayor	1,036	0.71
	Thomas Twiss	city council	2,557**	
	Tania Shai	city council	2,650**	
Salt Lake City	Bill Hoyle	city commissioner	403	2
San Francisco	Milton Chee	board of supervisors	170	1.38
	Juan Martinez	board of supervisors	166	1.48
	Sylvia Weinstein	board of supervisors	206	1.02
Tacoma, Wash.	Dave Zilly	mayor	***	
Washington, D.C.	Afrodita Constantinidis	school board	4,018	8

*Cambridge uses a system called proportional representation in which candidates are ranked by the voters. Evans received 104 first-place votes; 23,592 people voted.

**Percentage not available.

***Write-in totals not available.

By Arnold Weissberg

Printed on this page are most of the returns from fall 1977 election campaigns run by Socialist Workers Party candidates. It has taken the *Militant* quite some time to collect these figures, since the capitalist electoral system usually doesn't bother to make the small party vote available until weeks after the election.

SWP candidates ran in eighteen cities, making 1977 the year of the party's most ambitious undertaking yet in municipal elections. The New Jersey SWP fielded a candidate for governor.

In six cities—Albany, Cincinnati, Louisville, Phoenix, Salt Lake City, and Tacoma—the SWP ran municipal candidates for the first time.

Altogether, SWP candidates spoke about the socialist alternative to thousands of people in trade-union locals, Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano community organizations, women's groups, and on campuses and high schools.

Through newspaper and TV coverage, the ideas of socialism were presented to millions of working people.

In Louisville, for example, SWP mayoral candidate Debby Tarnopol was featured in twenty-nine newspaper articles and got three hours of TV time and three-and-a-half hours of radio time. Her supporters distributed more than 15,000 pieces of campaign literature.

In Cleveland, SWP mayoral candidate Alyson Kennedy debated her three capitalist-party opponents on television.

Howard Beck, SWP candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh, also received significant newspaper coverage. As a result, he was the only clear voice for a "no" vote on a referendum that sought to make working people choose between clean air and jobs.

Many of these SWP campaigns won important new support, especially from Black community organizations.

Hattie McCutcheon, SWP candidate for Boston School Committee (school board), won endorsement from Black community radio station WILD, the Organization for Voter Education and Registration, and Black state legislator Doris Bunte, all of whom combined to urge a "bullet ballot" vote for Black candidates.

In Philadelphia, Rhonda Rutherford, SWP candidate for controller, won the support of the Black Independent Political Party.

Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for New Orleans City Council, was

endorsed—along with several Democrats—by Black, Young, Progressive, a community organization.

Overall, the fall elections were marked by a low voter turnout. Millions of voters didn't see any choice between the Democrats and Republicans. They have been convinced over the past years that neither party can or will do much to solve the great social problems of unemployment, urban decay, cutbacks in social services, and race and sex discrimination.

However, most people who did bother to vote still chose candidates from one of the two capitalist parties. They remain trapped by the idea—drilled into everybody's head in school and

through the big-business-owned media—that these two parties are the be-all and end-all of politics. This myth is consciously propagated by the comfortable bureaucrats who misled the trade-union movement today, and by the current leaders of the Black and women's movements.

Combined with the refusal of the big-business media to give the SWP campaigns anything close to equal treatment, the continued monopoly of the two capitalist parties resulted in a modest vote for the SWP candidates.

Nonetheless, the opportunity provided by these campaigns to reach millions of people with socialist ideas made them a success for the SWP.

Statement by Louisville Communist Club

The following letter was issued by the Louisville Communist Club, a unit of the Communist Party, prior to the November election.

Regardless of the personal characteristics, good or bad, of their individual candidates, neither the Democratic nor Republican Parties offer any hope of solving the critical problems that face the working class of this city. Both represent the interests of the wealthy—so they cannot and will not deal in any real way with the issues of poverty, unemployment, racism, poor housing, soaring utility rates and a multitude of other problems that plague our citizens.

Ultimately, the working class, Black and white, must break away from the dead ends of these two old parties, form their own party or parties, and run their own candidates.

Fortunately this year in Louisville a way to begin that breakaway has been offered by the campaigns of two alternative candidates. Debby Tarnopol, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, has presented Louisville citizens with a socialist alternative. Henry Owens, an independent candidate for the same office, has offered a new and grassroots approach to the problems of the poor.

We believe that a strong vote for either or both of these alternative candidates will help lay the basis for an on-going independent people's politics in this community. We urge Louisville voters to reject the Democratic-Republican trap and to consider voting either for Ms. Tarnopol or Mr. Owens. We agree with Eugene Debs who used to say, "It is better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it."



Militant/Richard Graef
Debby Tarnopol, SWP candidate for mayor.

By Shelley Kramer

Pro: "The intention of the vast majority of [Equal Rights Amendment] supporters is to advance the status of women. . . . We recognize the importance of the ERA as a constitutional weapon in women's fight for equality."

Con: ". . . protections beneficial to women under present law could be wiped out, and passage of special compensatory laws relating to women or men may be declared illegal. . . . In view of the serious problems and contradictions, we cannot recommend that you vote for the Equal Rights Amendment."

A debate between feminists and Schlaflyites? No, it's the Communist Party at war with itself over the ERA.

The anti-ERA statement printed above appeared in the October 25, 1975, *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party. It was part of an official CP statement urging a "no" vote in the New York and New Jersey referendums on the ERA that year.

The other statement, which seems to support the ERA, comes from a leaflet distributed by Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE) at the Houston National Women's Conference last November. CP members play an influential role in WREE and were instrumental in altering WREE's stand on the ERA at its September convention. (See *Militant* October 28, 1977.)

The ERA 'plot'

For years the CP denounced the ERA as an insidious plot by big business and "middle-class feminists" to deprive working women of protective laws. More recently, as the government stepped up its attacks on affirmative action, the CP saw new possibilities for sabotaging the equal rights struggle. The Stalinists added to their chorus of slanders the charge that the ERA would destroy affirmative action. Their lies have provided a useful left cover for the anti-ERA right wing.

But the impact of the women's movement has finally caught up with the CP, forcing it to make some adjustments in its position on the ERA.

WREE, which was initiated by the CP, was founded on an anti-ERA program. But at its September convention WREE declared its "agreement with the reasons presented by [the women's] movement as to why the ERA is in the interest of women's equality." The statement is vague, leaving the CP ample room to sneak from one side of the ERA struggle to the other.

At the conference some WREE members objected that the statement was not positive enough. But efforts to strengthen it were argued down by CP leaders.

Stalinist press

Both the *Daily World* and the CP's West Coast paper, the *People's World*, have carried a little more coverage of the once-taboo women's movement.

The *People's World*, the more conciliatory of the two, has gone the furthest on the ERA. After the September convention of the National Women's Political Caucus, a group whose pro-capitalist-party orientation is compatible with the CP's, the *People's World* ran a rosy article. Pele de Lappe, writing in the September 17 issue, commented on the ERA's "vital importance to every delegate and constituency" and mused that it was "curious that such a forthright statement should stir up such a storm of controversy" in this country.

Do such outward signs signal a fundamental change in the CP's attitude to the struggle for women's liberation? Afraid not. The CP is only following the track of its own opportunist line.

More and more women, especially trade-union women, Black women, and Chicanas have come to identify with the ideas of the women's movement and with the struggle for the ERA. The

Change of heart? Communist Party & ERA



Behind 'new' line on ERA. Communist Party still peddles lie that Black and working-class women are endangered by amendment.

national women's conference brought this to the attention of millions in the U.S. and internationally. Women in the CP have not been immune to these developments. So some tactical readjustments became necessary.

But the CP's minor concessions do not change its fundamental opposition to an independent women's movement. The danger posed by the struggles of women, Blacks, young people, and workers is that they threaten to break loose from the stranglehold of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Here, as elsewhere, the Stalinists seek to gain influence through alliances with "progressive" capitalist politicians. So while the CP condemns the women's movement for not serving the interests of the working class, the truth is the Stalinists really object to the fact that an independent struggle for women's rights does not serve the interests of these politicians—who in turn do the bidding of the ruling class.

The CP's real attitude toward women's rights is no different than Moscow's. The program of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky called for free abortion, child care, mass public laundries and kitchens to liberate women from their traditional role. Stalin and his heirs later reversed this course. In the Soviet Union today, women are doubly burdened by the combination of an outside job and primary responsibility for domestic tasks.

Gays fare no better. Homosexuality is a crime punishable by imprisonment in the Soviet Union. The American CP defends this repression. As Carmen Ristorucci, a CP leader, put it in 1971, gays are "a product of a decaying

capitalism which confuses and corrupts the minds of people."

Despite its historic political opposition to women's liberation, tactical shifts are within the American CP's grasp. Thus at the WREE convention, the CP led the move to adopt a "support" statement for the ERA—provided that "resolutions on intent" are attached to the amendment.

What are these "resolutions of intent" that the CP promises will "clarify" the ERA to millions of the "confused, indifferent, or opposed"? They are statements to be introduced into state legislatures.

"Such resolutions of intent should state that the ERA shall NOT be interpreted to deny or limit affirmative action or legislation beneficial to women," WREE's leaflet explains.

Those WREE members who opposed the "resolutions of intent" argued that they weakened the statement and urged instead that the conference adopt a straightforward, unconditional resolution in support of the ERA.

Capitalists' 'intent'

The capitalists would undoubtedly like to use the ERA to "wipe out or water down protections for women workers" or to "help destroy affirmative action." They would like to turn every democratic gain of the working class to their own advantage. Only by building a strong, independent movement that can fight back will women dash their hopes. And this is precisely what the CP opposes.

The fact is that the bulk of protective laws the CP speaks of—laws restricting the hours women can work, the jobs they can hold, etc.—are used by

the bosses to "protect" women from better-paying work. These laws *should* be thrown out, and those protective laws that are beneficial should be extended to men as well.

As for affirmative action, there is no contradiction between fighting for special measures to overcome past discrimination and fighting for legal equality for women.

By counterposing the defense of affirmative action and the ERA, the CP endangers both of these gains for women's rights. It is precisely Black women and other women of oppressed nationalities who have the most to gain from the equal rights struggle—as they have come to realize in ever greater numbers.

Casting doubt

The CP's "resolutions of intent" do not "strengthen" the ERA fight at all. They only throw doubt and confusion into the pro-ERA camp, opening a breach in its defenses for its enemies to utilize. In providing this service the CP has changed its role very little.

In case there is any doubt that the CP remains a bitter enemy of the women's movement, we have only to let the Stalinists speak for themselves. At exactly the time they performed surgery on their ERA position, they were inoculating their own membership against any further infection from the women's movement.

"As Communists we reject feminism," Ristorucci explained in the *Daily World's* "Ask an Expert" column, on September 17, 1977. "Feminism cannot further the class struggle. It is a dead-end for women. It does not see the need for allies and will not fight for the unity of men and women."

But this false stereotype of the women's movement didn't sit well with some of the paper's readership.

"Although I agree basically with Carmen's answer, what struck me was the total rejection of feminism and the lack of reference to the special oppression of women," one reader replied on October 8. Summoning up her courage she added that rejecting feminism is "non-Marxist-Leninist. Instead I would like to see Communists critically support and advance feminism today."

Revolutionary socialist view

Genuine revolutionary socialists have no fear of advancing the feminist movement. They have no interests different from those of women fighting for their liberation. The record of the Socialist Workers Party proves this—a record of unflinching struggle for the ERA, abortion rights, gay rights, affirmative action, for full social and economic equality for women.

The CP's "compromise" on the ERA is only the beginning of their troubles. Women's expectations have fundamentally changed. And those who mistakenly join the CP to fight for a socialist future only to find that their own liberation is not on the Stalinists' agenda will increasingly turn to the SWP.

Further reading

How to Win the ERA

by Ginny Hildebrand and others, 31 pp., \$50

Women and the Family

by Leon Trotsky, 80 pp., \$1.25

The Family System: Progressive or Oppressive?

by Caroline Lund, 24 pp., \$.25

Feminism and the Marxist Movement

by Mary-Alice Waters, 43 pp., \$.60

Women and the Socialist Revolution

by Mary-Alice Waters, 30 pp., \$.50

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

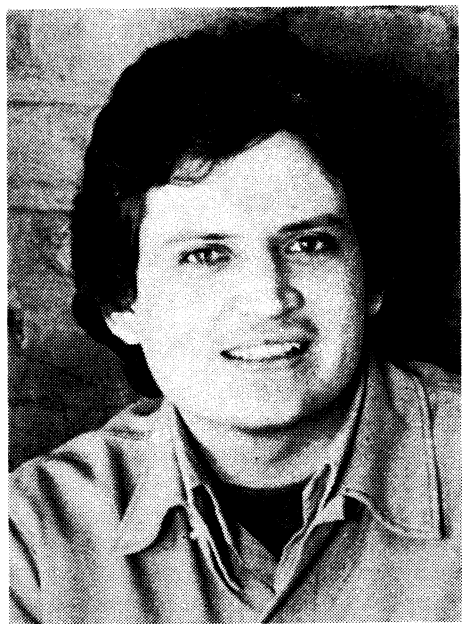
Deportation hearing postponed

Marroquin presses asylum fight

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has agreed to postpone Héctor Marroquin's deportation hearing, originally scheduled for January 17. No new date has been set.

Marroquin—a socialist and trade-union activist—is still waiting for a decision on his request for political asylum. If forced to return to his native Mexico, he faces certain imprisonment and possible death.

The INS decision comes after Marroquin's supporters won backing around



Militant/Susan Ellis

HECTOR MARROQUIN

the country for his right to asylum.

Although it yielded ground on the date of the deportation hearing, the INS has stalled on a request by attorney Margaret Winter for permission for Marroquin to make a national speaking tour.

Under the conditions of his \$10,000 bond, Marroquin is forbidden to leave the Houston area without INS permission. He is also barred from working. Winter has filed legal challenges to these blatantly undemocratic restrictions.

"The basic issue here is whether Marroquin has the right to present his case to the American people," Winter said, "and whether the American people have the right to hear him."

Marroquin was a student activist at the University of Nuevo León in Mon-

terrey, Mexico. In January 1974, he and several other students were falsely accused of murdering a university librarian. Two of the other accused activists were later murdered. A third has been arrested, tortured, and held incommunicado ever since.

Fearing for his life, Marroquin fled the country in 1974 and has lived in the United States ever since.

Despite this, the Mexican government has accused him of participating in shootouts with the police after he came to the United States. One of these was in August 1974, while Marroquin was in a Galveston, Texas, hospital recovering from a serious auto accident.

Marroquin joined the Socialist Workers Party in Houston in 1976. He is also a national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. He was active in the antideportation movement in Houston, and took part in a Teamsters organizing drive while he worked at a Coca-Cola bottling plant.

In September 1977, Marroquin was arrested at the Mexican border while returning to the United States after trying to visit a Mexican lawyer. He served a ninety-day sentence for "attempting to illegally enter the country."

As soon as he was arrested, the U.S. government threatened to "exclude" him—that is, send him back to Mexico at once after only a perfunctory hearing.

However, public protests organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) slowed the government drive.

USLA, which is organizing the Marroquin defense effort, urges supporters to send messages to INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo protesting the travel restrictions on Marroquin and supporting his asylum request.

Such messages should be sent to: Leonel Castillo, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. Copies should be sent to USLA at 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

USLA is circulating an Appeal for Asylum in the Marroquin case and asks supporters to seek endorsements in their unions, student organizations, community groups, and political organizations. —A.W.

New support for case

Important new support has been won in the campaign to save the life of Héctor Marroquin.

Among the recent endorsers of Marroquin's appeal for political asylum is José Alberto Alvarez, a central leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) in the United States. Other new endorsers include Service Employees International Union Local 535 in California; the Association Nationale des Etudiants de Québec (National Association of Québec Students); and José Juan Ortiz Hernández, a leader of the campus workers union at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey, Mexico.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has just released a letter appealing for funds in the case. The letter is signed by Muriel Rukeyser, poet and vice-president of the American Center of P.E.N., the international writers organization; Gloria Steinem; Philip Berrigan; Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, head of the Chicano Legal Defense Fund; Noam Chomsky; George Wald; and Kate Millett.

The letter notes that government procedure on granting political asylum is "inevitably selective and discriminatory, favoring persons who support U.S. foreign policy."

"It is for this reason," the letter continues, that USLA "has decided to take on this important case. . . . Almost all the legal rights accorded to Héctor Marroquin during his day in court will set precedents for future cases. At the same time, saving his life will be a most worthy precedent in human rights."

The letter goes on to explain that USLA is "gathering testimony and other evidence to document the repression in Mexico . . . we have asked Latin American scholars . . . to prepare affidavits. We also want to bring live witnesses—relatives and friends of repression victims, scholars, civil libertarians—to testify at the trial."

Just the initial preparations for the hearing will cost at least \$20,000 USLA estimates.

The USLA chapter in Berkeley held a fund-raising benefit for Marroquin January 4 at La Peña, a Latino cultural center. Speaking were Philip Vera Cruz, former vice-president of the United Farm Workers; Esther Talavarez, of the Mexican-American Women's National Association; and Miguel Angel, head of Chicano Studies at Laney College. Music was provided by La Lucha y Paz.

More than seventy people attended, donating \$178 to the case.



Militant/Ronald Payne

Former UFW Vice-president Philip Vera Cruz speaking at Berkeley benefit for Marroquin case.

The FBI's Mexican Cointelpro

By Arnold Weissberg

The Federal Bureau of Investigation conducted years of violence, political harassment, and disruption in Mexico, recently released FBI documents have revealed. The campaign was carried out with the full collaboration of the Mexican government.

The FBI's Mexican activities were similar to the notorious Cointelpro operations in the United States, directed against Black militants, antiwar activists, and socialists. In Mexico the bureau organized and fomented bombings, shootings, and murder attempts. FBI agents also worked closely with the U.S. border cops, against both Mexican and Chicano activists.

The FBI's disruption campaign was the subject of a recent four-part series in the Mexico City daily paper *Excelsior*. The articles were based on FBI files disclosed through the Freedom of Information Act. Virtually none of the files' contents on Mexico has been reported in U.S. media.

Excelsior reported that the FBI's activities were stepped up between 1967 and 1970, a period marked by the rise of mass struggles in Mexico for the release of political prisoners and other democratic reforms.

Many of the documents described by *Excelsior* were confidential memos from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to the "legal attache" of the American embassy in Mexico City. The "legal attache" in most American embassies, according to *Inside the Company* by former CIA agent Philip Agee, is in reality the head of the local FBI operation.

Hoover continually stressed that the bureau's Mexican activities were to be kept top secret, obviously to cover the fact that the FBI—supposedly "restricted" to domestic surveillance—actually carries out illegal operations abroad.

In 1967, *Excelsior* reported, Hoover sent instructions to the FBI in Mexico City to prepare a plan for disrupting "subversive" student groups.

Later in 1967, the FBI head in Mexico's capital received congratulations from Hoover. The chief was "pleased by the wave of nighttime machine gunnings to divide subversive leaders." (This and other quotes from FBI documents have been retranslated by the *Militant* from *Excelsior*.)

These shootings bear remarkable similarity to plans carried out by the FBI in the U.S. to provoke disputes

between Black groups that could lead to violence. The Black Panthers were a prime target of such tactics.

Hoover also congratulated the "legal attache" in Mexico City for the "effective and strategic detonation of bombs" that the FBI had arranged or provoked.

In 1968, according to *Excelsior*, "the

terrorist activity of the FBI was intensified as part of a broadening of counterintelligence operations."

Meanwhile, in Mexico, a powerful movement of students and working people demanding release of political prisoners had arisen. The movement frightened the Mexican regime—and

Continued on next page

Att'y seeks FBI, INS spy files

Héctor Marroquin, through his attorney Margaret Winter, has asked the FBI and Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to turn over all their political spy files on him.

As the accompanying article reports, the FBI has carried out years of surveillance and violence against political activists in Mexico. This includes illegal operations in Monterrey, where Marroquin was a student activist.

In addition, the FBI has admitted to keeping millions of files on the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance here in the United States. Marroquin is a member of

both groups. Through their \$40 million lawsuit against government spying, the SWP and YSA have forced the disclosure of documents proving that the FBI singled out members of the two socialist groups for harassment.

Winter noted that the request for files specifically asks for documents relating to a Houston Teamster organizing drive Marroquin participated in.

"We expect the files will show that illegal harassment was carried out against Marroquin by the U.S. secret police—both in this country and in Mexico."

...Cointelpro in Mexico

Continued from preceding page
the FBI. A 1968 memo from Hoover reveals the FBI's infiltration of the movement: "With only ten men in the demonstration that the radicals (students) are going to hold, it is not sufficient to consummate the plans that have been made," *Excelsior* quotes.

The Mexican government moved quickly to crush the growing movement. On October 2, 1968, a peaceful demonstration of thousands of people at the Tlatelolco Plaza in Mexico City was fired on by police and troops. Hundreds of protesters were killed.

The government minister responsible for the massacre, Luis Echeverría, became the president of Mexico in 1970. Echeverría had been a close contact of the CIA, Philip Agee reported in *Inside the Company*. The FBI continued its close collaboration with the Mexican government under the Echeverría regime, the files show.

A 1971 memo from Hoover tells the FBI's agents in Mexico to "make sure that the disruptions will be carried out by our undercover agents in meetings with subversive students without endangering the life of [name deleted]," *Excelsior* reported, explaining that this was an "indirect reference" to Echeverría.

The FBI claims to have stopped its operations in Mexico in 1973. But like the government's claims that other U.S. agencies have ceased their illegal spying, there is no reason to believe the bureau's story.

In fact, the FBI's public mouthpiece in Congress, Rep. Larry McDonald, recently launched a campaign aimed at stepping up counterintelligence activities against Mexican activists.

McDonald, a Georgia Democrat and national board member of the John Birch Society, is notorious for introduc-

ing long tracts into the *Congressional Record* defending the FBI and other secret police outfits. Much of his "documentation" on alleged "terrorism" clearly comes from FBI files.

In the November 2, 1977, *Record*, in an article titled "Mexican terrorists using United States as a haven," McDonald went into a racist diatribe against "large concerted 'border invasions' by gangs of illegal immigrants." He singled out the political asylum case of Héctor Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, falsely accusing Marroquín of membership in the *Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre*, a Mexican guerrilla group.

In the early 1970s, Marroquín was a student activist in Monterrey, Mexico, one of the cities targeted by the FBI, according to the files.

McDonald's recent blast in the *Record* leaves little doubt that the FBI remains intensely interested in Mexican politics and is well aware of the impact the Marroquín case can have in exposing FBI ties to the torturers and assassins of the Mexican government.

Other information in the files shows how the FBI harassed people traveling across the U.S.-Mexican border.

FBI agents posed as agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to question people who "could be of interest in relation to national security," *Excelsior* quotes one memo.

The bureau arranged to cancel border-crossing permits of Mexicans it wanted to pressure into becoming informers, a 1971 memo reports.

Stories were planted by agents in border city newspapers urging citizens to inform on sons and daughters of neighbors who might be "subversives." One article printed in Tijuana in 1961 declared the "privileges" of life in a

free society were threatened by "subversion"—presumably not a reference to the FBI.

When mere harassment was insufficient, the FBI resorted to out-and-out frame-ups. One memo admits that U.S. police planted illegal drugs—heroin, cocaine, and marijuana—in the cars of Chicano leaders.

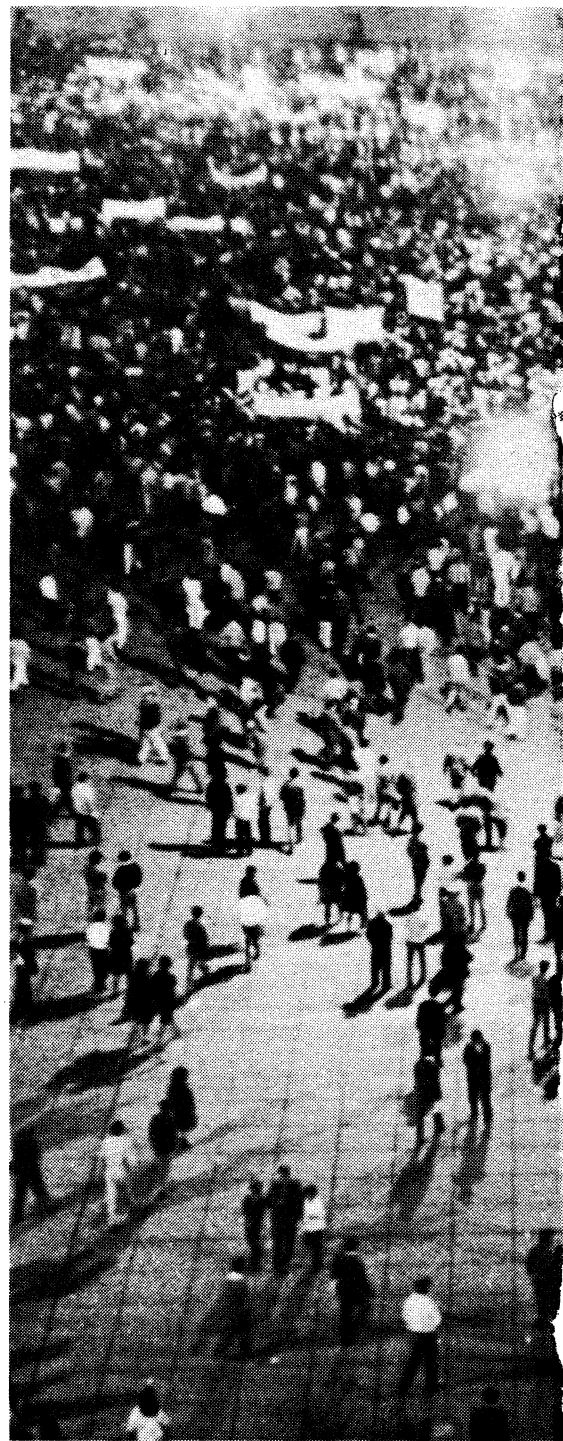
According to the memo, the Chicanos were "out of order for a while"—in jail.

The FBI's disruption program also targeted election campaigns by unnamed Chicanos in Texas—apparently campaigns of the Raza Unida Party. Memos dated in 1971 and 1972 from Hoover ordered FBI agents in Mexico to "produce credible material" to show RUP campaigns were financed in Mexico, in an attempt to smear the independent Chicano party as run by "outsiders."

The FBI extended its links with the Echeverría regime to spy campaigns on the U.S. side of the border. Bureau agents used the occasion of an anti-Echeverría demonstration in San Antonio, Texas, to "identify the most radical Mexican-Americans."

Although Mexican government agencies routinely turned over information to the FBI, the bureau couldn't swallow everything it was handed. A 1971 memo complains that material from the Mexican Attorney General's office was unreliable: "There is much fabrication (by agents of Federal Judiciary of Mexico) on the participation of [names deleted] in those events."

The real fabrication, however, is the continued denial by both the Mexican and U.S. governments that there is political repression in Mexico. As the FBI files show, the suppression of basic human rights by the most ruthless methods possible is the real face of "democracy" in Mexico.



Student demonstration in Mexico City, fall 19 movement with reign of terror.

Speech by James P. Cannon

'The man who had no pap

The U.S. government's drive to deport Héctor Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, is not the first battle the American Trotskyist movement has had with the border cops of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The case of another undocumented worker, Swedish immigrant Carl Skoglund, is an important chapter in the history of the SWP—especially as we celebrate the party's fortieth anniversary this year.

As a youth in Sweden, Skoglund became a socialist. After he was drafted into the army, he helped lead a soldiers' protest movement. The Swedish ruling class blacklisted him for his political activities, and he was forced to leave the country. He came to the United States in 1911 to find a job.

Continuing his revolutionary activities in this country, Skoglund joined the Socialist Party and later became a founding member of the Communist Party. In 1928 the CP expelled him and other members for agreeing with the ideas of Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky, who opposed the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet government under Stalin.

The expelled Trotskyists formed the Communist League of America, predecessor of the SWP. As a leader of the CLA in Minneapolis, Skoglund played a central role in the 1934 Teamster strikes that led the drive to make Minneapolis a union town.

Skoglund later became president of Teamsters Local 544, and was jailed by the government in 1944, along with seventeen other SWP leaders and Teamster militants in the famous Smith Act trial.

Because he had no residence or citizenship

papers (the immigration authorities refused to grant them), the FBI mistakenly thought it could intimidate Skoglund into turning state evidence in the trial against the other defendants. The FBI threatened to deport him immediately after his prison sentence was up if he did not cooperate.

When Skoglund refused, the government jailed him in 1941 on a deportation warrant and demanded the outrageous sum of \$25,000 bail. But protests forced the government to reduce the bail. The CIO paid it and Skoglund was released.

As he said afterward: "There is one citizenship they cannot deprive me of, and that is citizenship in the working-class movement. . . . The time is coming when governments all over the world will recognize loyalty to the interests of working people as the highest form of citizenship."

The government once again stepped up their attempt to deport Skoglund during the McCarthyite period of the 1950s. In 1959 they succeeded in jailing him at Ellis Island in New York for six months. At one point the border cops even had him on a Sweden-bound ship. But supporters raised the bond and demanded and won Skoglund's release.

At the time of his death he was still out on bond, subject to restrictions imposed by the immigration authorities.

The following speech by James P. Cannon, the central founder of the SWP, was a taped message to a seventieth birthday celebration for Skoglund in 1954.

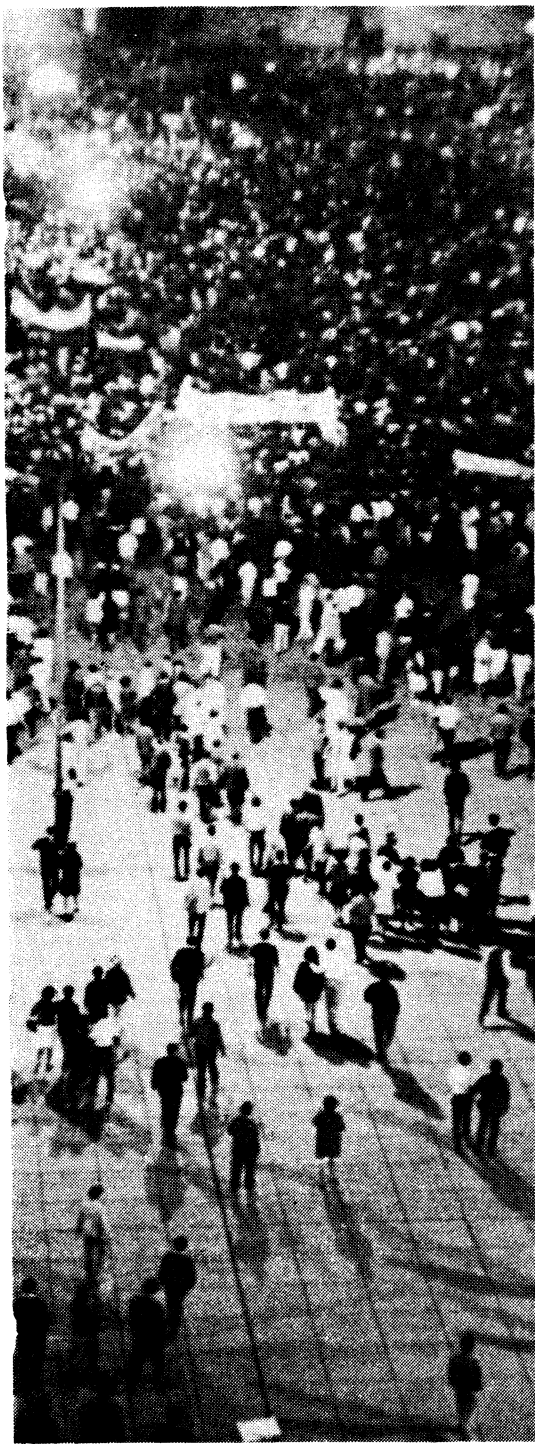
This speech is reprinted from Cannon's "Speeches for Socialism" (Pathfinder Press, \$3.45 paper).



Militant/ Joseph Hansen

Skoglund (right) with Cannon in 1949. Ten years later notorious for its degrading treatment of immigrants en-

This jubilant birthday celebration is testimony that Carl Skoglund has done pretty well for himself in this country, considering the fact that he got started off on the wrong foot and has been standing on it—so to speak—ever since. He picked Sweden for his birthplace, without realizing that Swedish birth does not confer the right to live and breathe in this



FBI and Mexican government responded to

Letter from Mexican CP leader

Reproduced below is a letter by Rodolfo Echeverría of the Mexican Communist Party. It has been released to the media by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, which is gathering

statements to support the political asylum request of Héctor Marroquín.

Following is a translation by the 'Militant' of Echeverría's statement.



PARTIDO COMUNISTA MEXICANO

COMITE CENTRAL
Durango 338 colonia roma méxico 7 d. f. ☎ 286 00 33

A QUIEN CORRESPONDA:

Yo Rodolfo Echeverría Martínez, miembro del Partido Comunista Mexicano y de su Comité Central, hago constar que en México, mi país, no existen las libertades democráticas, que para personas que se han enfrentado al Estado han desaparecido cuando la policía los ha detenido sin que se les siga un juicio como lo establece la ley que rige el país. Es larga la historia de las arbitrariedades cometidas contra el pueblo y sus luchadores.

En caso de que una persona como Héctor Marroquín a quien se le acusa de haber formado parte de un grupo guerrillero, sin habérselo comprobado, en caso de ser regresado a México su vida corre peligro, tanto por el trato que da la policía a los detenidos, como su estancia en la cárcel. Los presos políticos en México siempre han sido víctimas de vejaciones y brutalidades por parte de las autoridades mexicanas, en varias ocasiones han sido asesinados algunos presos políticos como Pablo Alvarado Barrera, Pedro Morón Chiclayo y otros.

Yo fui preso político durante dos años, once meses, trece días de enero de 1969 a diciembre de 1971, en el que junto con otros presos políticos fuimos víctimas de malos tratos en el que corrió peligro nuestra vida.

De ahí que si se regresa a México a Héctor Marroquín la vida de él corre peligro.

A T E N T A M E N T E

México, D.F., 15 de Dic. 1977.

RODOLFO ECHEVERRÍA

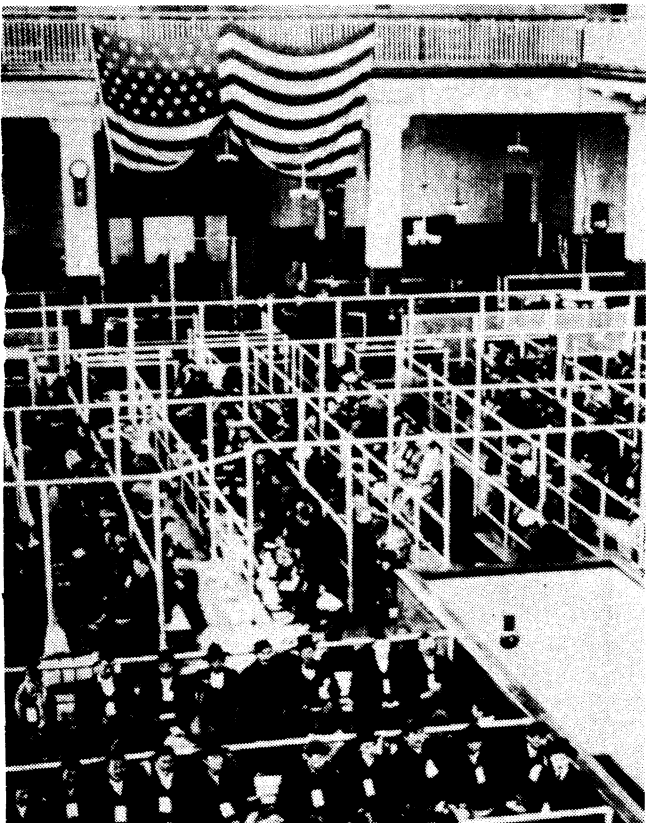
I, Rodolfo Echeverría Martínez, member of the Mexican Communist Party and of its Central Committee, want to make it clear that in Mexico, my country, democratic rights do not exist, and that persons who have opposed the state have disappeared when the police arrested them, without the arrest being followed by a trial as required by the laws that govern this country. The history of arbitrary acts carried out against the people and their fighters is a long one.

In the case of a person like Héctor Marroquín, who has been accused without proof of being part of a guerrilla group, if he were to be returned to Mexico, his life would be in danger, both because of the way police treat those who have been arrested and because of conditions in jail. Political prisoners in Mexico have always been victims of harassment and brutality by Mexican authorities, and on several occasions some political prisoners have been assassinated, such as Pablo Alvarado Barrera, Pedro Morón Chiclayo, and others.

I was a political prisoner for two years, eleven months, and thirteen days—from January 1969 to December 1971—and during that time I and other political prisoners were victims of bad treatment in which our lives were endangered.

That is why if Héctor Marroquín was to return to Mexico, his life would be in danger.

ers': case of Carl Skoglund



Government jailed Skoglund at Ellis Island (shown here), g United States.

Thirteen years ago, the authorities picked him up and checked their files and made an alarming discovery, which has been troubling them ever since. They looked through a thick dossier marked "Skoglund, Carl"—and what did they see?

They saw that his doings and wanderings had been under observation for a long, long time; and none of the previous investigators, who had left their grimy thumbprints on the records, had had anything good to say about him.

The record shows that he had always worked for a living, a very suspicious occupation for a red-blooded American. Nobody ever got rich and won the right to wave the flag by chopping down trees, fixing automobiles, driving trucks, heaving coal and working on the railroad to make the trains run on time. But that's what "Skoglund, Carl" had been up to in these United States.

The record shows further that he had been a labor agitator, strike leader, Socialist, Communist, and general troublemaker, kicking and complaining all the time about the way things are run in this country.

That was bad enough, for every right-thinking American knows that things couldn't be better. But while the official headshakers were shaking their heads over the long list of bad reports about the man under investigation, they accidentally stumbled over a still more suspicious dereliction.

In ransacking the voluminous files of the Immigration Department, the Department of Justice, the FBI and the local constable, they found plenty of incriminating reports. But there was one thing they couldn't find. That was any definite proof that the subject of their inquiry had any legal existence whatever. There was no birth certificate, no entry permit, no passport, no certificate of naturalization. Nothing at all.

By the absence of any proof to the contrary, they established the fact that "Skoglund, Carl," who was standing right there before them, had no legal right to be there or anywhere else. Officially, he was not in this country and never had been. He stood before his inquisitors naked, without an identification paper to his name.

Nevertheless, they had to tag him some way. So they just wrote down on the cover of the dossier, under the name of "Skoglund, Carl," in bright red ink: "Has no papers."

This was an absolutely intolerable situation, for how can this country stand if Skoglund's records are not in order? Something has to be done about it.

The first thing that entered their minds, naturally, was to throw him into jail. Then his friends posted bond for him; and that created another problem for the department in charge of putting people in the right place and making sure they don't pop up in the wrong place.

The man who had no papers has no right to be footloose in this country; but, since bond had been posted, they had no right to keep him in jail either. It was a hell of a mess, and it hasn't been straightened out yet. The whole ponderous machinery of the United States government has been working ever since to put the man who is here but shouldn't be, in some place where he should be, but isn't. But they have never been able to get the time and the place and Skoglund all together.

So it turns out that, while the mills of justice grind so slowly to a final decision in his case, we have him here with us on his seventieth birthday, at a party in his honor. . . .

This is the right time and the right place and the right man all together, with more justice and more respect for the fitness of things, than the law could ever arrange. . . .

country.

Nobody told Skogie that he had made a mistake, and he didn't ask. He arrived on these shores in 1911 and, finding the gates open, just walked in. He has been traveling around the forty-eight states for forty-three years without proper identification papers. This sort of thing couldn't go on forever.

The day they almost raided 410 West St.

By Syd Stapleton

NEW YORK—Some days it seems like nothing goes right. You know the feeling. You get up in the morning with plans for a great day, but things just unravel from then on.

Thursday, January 5, was one of those days for a couple of agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service—also known as *la migra*. It wasn't supposed to be an ordinary day. None of the usual stuff—grabbing people who “talk funny” or “don't look right” and throwing them on boats or planes.

Not that day. Their assignment was to raid the offices at 408-410 West Street in Manhattan and search their files. It must have seemed like a choice job, since the West Street building houses a lot of organizations that give *la migra* a terrible pain in the neck.

To begin with, there are the offices of the *Militant*, which has been headlining a drive to stop the deportation of socialist activist Héctor Marroquín.

And then there are offices and facilities of Pathfinder Press and Photo-Comp Press, both of which have been known to be involved in the production of anti-*migra* literature.

And the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, both active in the defense of Marroquín, and in the antideportation movement generally.

What's more, the SWP and YSA are even suing the INS in their \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment. The two groups have the nerve to demand that the INS stop harassing socialists who enter and leave the country.

And—oh happy coincidence—legal and other files relating to the suit are kept at, you guessed it, 410 West Street. (The government has tried to get a look at some of these files, especially those relating to the socialists' international contacts,

for their “defense” in the lawsuit. But they haven't been able to get the judge to grant their request.)

So there must have been a song in the hearts of the two *migra* cops when they bounced out of their tan government car at 11:30 a.m. and strode toward the door of Photo-Comp Press.

Steve Schmuger, who works for Photo-Comp Press, met them at the door. “The two agents,” Schmuger told the *Militant*, “ flashed their identification at me and demanded to see ‘payroll records’ to find out if a Raúl de la Cueva worked in the building. I told them they would have to wait outside while I called upstairs on the intercom for someone to talk to them.

“They were obviously unhappy about having to wait, especially outside,” Schmuger continued. “One of them paced up and down the sidewalk, watching the doors. I guess he was waiting for ‘illegal aliens’ to come running out. The agent doing the looking was apparently just a muscle man—the other one, who was dressed up like James Bond, did all the talking.”

After a couple minutes of waiting, the snappy dresser told Schmuger, “We don't have time to hang around here. We're going to get a warrant and search your whole building.”

“Then they stalked off,” Schmuger said.

That was when things started to go sour for *la migra*'s plan to wander around the West Street building looking at files to see if they were “payroll records.”

Attorney Margaret Winter, who was in the building, stationed herself at the ground-floor door. The *Militant* arranged to record the agents' return on film and tape—a real scoop. Since the INS can issue its own “administrative” warrants, it seemed possible that the agents would be back quickly.

“These guys were walking into big trouble,” said Winter. “De la Cueva had been in the United States in early 1977. He had tried to get his visa extended, but the INS refused, so he left the country weeks before the July 7 deadline for his departure. Back in November, I sent the INS a registered letter explaining that de la Cueva had been back in Mexico for months.”

Meanwhile, another attorney in the socialists' suit, Herbert Jordan, called the lawyers who represent the government in that case. Jordan told them that the SWP was prepared to ask Judge Thomas Griesa for a restraining order if they didn't hear by 2:00 p.m. that day that the raid was off.

The government lawyer called Jordan back a few minutes later. He said he couldn't find out who was responsible for the planned raid. But if the agents returned, he said, they were to be told that they were “instructed” to call Assistant United States Attorney Stuart Parker before entering the building.

Parker called Jordan before long and said no one could find the INS agents, who were apparently “out to lunch.”

Shortly after 2:00 p.m. an INS agent called Jordan wanting to know what all the fuss was about—they just “wanted to look at some records.” Jordan told him in some detail.

After another short interval, the agent called back. He was suddenly, Jordan said, “very laid back.” He denied that the INS ever intended to get a search warrant, and quickly worked out an arrangement with Jordan for de la Cueva to contact the U.S. Consul in Mexico City to “establish his presence outside the U.S.”

So if life gets you down some days, just remember—no one has it easy all the time, not even *la migra*.

California Blue Cross strike ends; workers win first union contract

By Jeff Mackler

OAKLAND, Calif.—The 1,000 members of Local 29, Office and Professional Employees International Union, have ended a ninety-four-day strike against the Northern California Blue Cross Insurance Company, winning their first union contract.

The January 7 strike settlement includes a 6.5 percent wage increase in the first year, and a minimum 5 percent increase in each of the remaining two years of the contract. The wage increases are subject to annual negoti-

ations.

The strikers accepted the settlement terms by a vote of 446 to 32.

A key issue in the strike was the workers' demand of amnesty for more than a dozen strikers fired during the course of the dispute. According to the settlement, reinstatement of the workers, dismissed for alleged violence on the picket line, will be submitted to arbitration.

The union at Blue Cross is 90 percent women, most of them Blacks, Chicanas, Filipinas, and Asians.

Several unions have conducted unsuccessful organizing drives at Blue Cross in the past. Last June OPEIU finally won a representation election.

Chief among the union's contract demands were an end to speed-up plans, equitable seniority and evaluation systems, and a grievance procedure with binding arbitration. The union also asked for an 8.3 percent wage increase. Blue Cross workers average \$650 a month.

The company responded by hiring a professional strike breaking outfit to harass picketers. With the help of a local judge, it secured an injunction severely limiting the right to picket. This enabled Blue Cross to escort some 200 scabs through the picket lines each day, along with 100 management employees.

The strikers received numerous financial contributions from Bay Area unions. A raffle organized by the East Bay chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women raised \$500.

But Bay Area union officials generally limited their strike support to trying to secure the help of “prolabor” politicians. This resulted only in a few token letters of support. “There's no doubt the politicians are behind us,” one striker wryly noted. “How far behind, I'm not sure.”

Despite obstacles, the strikers kept up their militancy and determination over the three-month fight. “Either we win this strike the first time,” one union member told the *Militant*, “or we're back to where we were before we won the election. We don't have any choice.”



Ninety percent of the Blue Cross strikers were women

The 29er

Prospects for socialist unity

Militant forums
Jan. 19-22

Bruce Levine, member, SWP Political Committee. Former national secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee prior to the RMC's fusion with the SWP in August 1977.

Levine will discuss why the RMC fused with the SWP and the significance of this fusion for all those committed to building a revolutionary socialist party in this country.

Bloomington, Indiana—Thurs., Jan. 19. Call (812) 337-8326 for time and place.

Cincinnati, Ohio—Fri., Jan. 20, 8:00 p.m., 970 E. McMillan.

Louisville, Ky.—Sat., Jan. 21, 4 p.m., 1505 W. Broadway. Party to follow forum.

Indianapolis, Indiana—Sun., Jan. 22, 1:00 p.m., 4163 College Ave.

New imperialist intervention in Africa

French planes napalm Saharan rebels

By Ernest Harsch

From Intercontinental Press

In scenes reminiscent of their role in previous colonial struggles, French jet fighters are swooping over the deserts of northern Africa in bombing raids against guerrillas fighting for their country's independence.

On at least two occasions in December, French planes rained napalm and phosphorous bombs on guerrilla units of the Polisario Front,* a group that is fighting for the independence of Western Sahara (a former Spanish colony that was ceded by Spain to Morocco and Mauritania in 1975 against the wishes of the country's inhabitants). According to Polisario sources, scores of persons have been killed in the French attacks.

'Protecting' French citizens

The French government initially refused to acknowledge that its military forces were involved against the Saharan freedom fighters. But on December 23 French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud was forced to admit as much, following numerous disclosures in the French press. At the same time, he tried to justify the intervention with the well-worn claim of "protecting" French citizens.

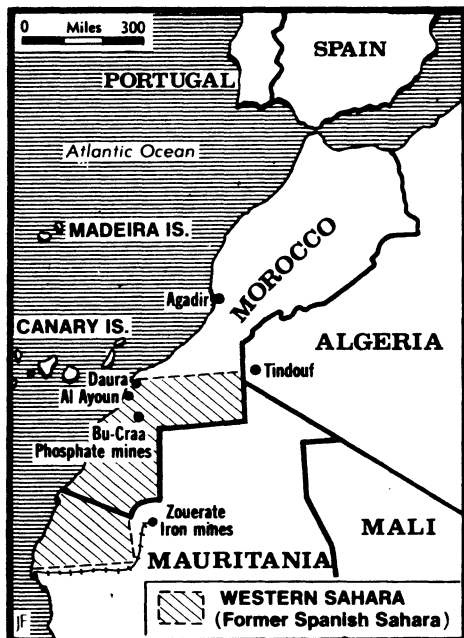
"On two separate occasions during the past weeks," de Guiringaud said, "Mauritanian forces have been led to resist attacks by Polisario units under conditions in which French citizens risked being endangered. The Mauritanian government appealed for French assistance and, on two occasions, elements of the French Air Force went to their aid."

The next day, Mohamed Abdelaziz, the general secretary of Polisario, sent a message to the African heads of state calling on them "to condemn the direct and massive intervention of French forces, notably planes, against the Saharan people."

Fighting 'terrorism'

The French government of Giscard d'Estaing, which had encouraged the original Moroccan and Mauritanian annexation of Western Sahara, laid the groundwork for its own direct intervention in October 1977. As a pretext, it seized on the capture of eight French nationals by Polisario commandos operating in Mauritania to whip up pub-

*Frente Popular para la Liberación del Sahara y Río de Oro (People's Front for the Liberation of Sahara and Río de Oro).



Christian Science Monitor



Polisario guerrillas

lic sentiment against the Saharan guerrillas.

Under the guise of fighting "terrorism," the Giscard regime expelled eight Polisario representatives from France, reinforced its garrison in Senegal (just south of Mauritania), sold Mirage jets to the Moroccan regime, and put its 11th paratroop division on alert.

On December 2, during a Polisario attack against the Mauritanian garrison at Boulanouar, French planes began their operations. According to a Polisario statement, one French Jaguar was shot down and its pilot was killed.

A little more than a week later, on December 12, Polisario troops attacked a train between Nouadhibou and Zouérate. The Mauritanian foreign minister warned the same day that the Giscard regime would intervene "more firmly" on the side of the Mauritians.

On December 14-15, French air units based in Dakar, Senegal, began their second major assault against Polisario, attacking the same guerrilla column involved in the operation on the Nouadhibou-Zouérate railway. According to Polisario, French Jaguars and Breguet-Atlantics dropped napalm and phosphorous bombs, killing several dozen Saharan troops and about fifty Mauritanian prisoners of war.

French planes again went into action December 18, this time against a Polisario unit that was attacking the Tmeimchat garrison in Western Sahara. Polisario reported that fifteen of its own troops, as well as several dozen Mauritanian prisoners, were killed in the bombing raids.

Although the French government now admits that its planes participated in the latter two clashes with Polisario, it denies that it used napalm or phosphorous bombs.

However, Polisario was able to present several Mauritanian prisoners who survived the December 14-15 attack to French reporters. "The planes dived toward us very quickly, dropped their missiles, and reascended," one of them explained. "What kind of missiles? Sometimes a plane released a liquid, oil I think. Another followed and fired at the liquid, which burst into flames immediately. Other planes dropped bombs. They exploded on the ground and burned. I think they were napalm."

Two of the Mauritanian survivors carried visible evidence of the kind of bombs used by the French: Their arms and backs were burned.

Although Paris has tried to present its intervention in Sahara as necessary for the protection of French citizens, it is significant that most of the attacks occurred *after* Polisario had agreed to release the eight French nationals that it had taken prisoner.

Despite the murderous attacks, however, Polisario adhered to its agreement and released the eight on December 23. It said that it did so in the interests of "solidarity between the French and Saharan peoples."

The real reasons for French intervention against Polisario have, of course, nothing to do with safeguarding French nationals. What Giscard is concerned with safeguarding above all is French imperialism's worldwide economic and political interests.

The French imperialists have long had important economic stakes in Mauritania (which was a direct colony until 1960), especially in the country's iron ore mines. The French oil company Elf-Erap is involved in oil exploration in the part of Sahara now under Moroccan administration. And French banking interests are connected with the exploitation of Sahara's extremely rich phosphate deposits.

Defense Minister Yvon Bourges himself stressed Paris's broader aims December 17, declaring that France, "being one of the major industrial and commercial powers must be alert to the conditions in which its supplies [of raw materials] are secured. It is in considering such matters that one can talk of our military capabilities as being directly tied to the country's action abroad, as supporting our foreign policy and strengthening our diplomacy."

'Advisers' sent in

Besides the French bombing raids against the Saharans, there were two similar cases of direct French military intervention in Africa in 1977. In April, Giscard provided pilots and planes to airlift 1,500 Moroccan troops to Zaïre, to help the Mobutu Sese Seko regime put down a rebellion in the province of Shaba. A number of French military "advisers" were also sent. And in July Paris announced that it had provided "logistical support" to the regime in Chad in its war against

Toubou rebels in the northern part of that country.

The French aggression against Polisario has not gone unchallenged. Both the French Socialist and Communist parties condemned the bombing raids. On December 22, the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, French section of the Fourth International, released a statement demanding "the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the French troops from Africa."

And in Bilbao, an industrial center in the Basque country in Spain, several thousand demonstrators turned out to protest the French intervention in Sahara.

Carter gives his blessing

On January 4 President Carter flew to Paris for talks with French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. The discussions were described as "friendly and cordial."

New York Times reporter Jonathan Kandell noted in a dispatch from Paris the day of the talks that "in the Middle East, and particularly in Africa, French diplomacy has moved in directions that Washington has welcomed."

"The United States was relieved to see the French act quickly and successfully in transporting Moroccan troops to Zaïre to stop a leftist secessionist movement early last year. The French have also lent considerable support to anti-Marxist governments elsewhere in Africa—even those that are not former French colonies."

Kandell also mentioned French opposition to the Polisario guerrillas in the Western Sahara, and quoted one U.S. diplomat who called Giscard d'Estaing's government Washington's "strongest ally outside of European affairs."

Apparently Carter figures that if he can't send the U.S. Air Force to drop napalm bombs in Africa, French bombs are the next best thing.

—David Frankel

Economic 'recovery' in 1977

A year of worldwide austerity and threats of all-out trade war

By Jon Britton

From Intercontinental Press

Nineteen seventy-seven opened with the promise of greater prosperity around the world. The "locomotive" economies of the United States, Japan, and West Germany, boosted by more expansionary tax and monetary policies, were to lead the way.

The powerful trend toward economic nationalism and intensifying trade rivalry was to be reversed, according to declarations adopted at imperialist "summits," through increased cooperation between governments.

But at the end of the year, working people everywhere faced stepped-up attacks on their living standards. And trade conflicts between rival capitalist powers were sharpening.

A mixed performance

The U.S. economy did pick up speed in the first half of the year—to a 6.8% annual growth rate, as against 3.4% for the last half of 1976. But unemployment dropped only slightly, with jobless totals for Blacks, women, and youth resuming their upward trend as the year wore on. Black unemployment is now higher than when Carter took over from Gerald Ford's Republican administration.

The pickup in the American economy helped spur a boom in Japanese and West German exports. But soaring sales abroad failed to lift these two countries out of stagnation. Unemployment, especially among youth, continued to rise. In Japan it is now at an eighteen-year peak.

To make matters worse, slow growth in their domestic economies held down imports and produced huge trade surpluses for Japan and West Germany. These surpluses, together with rising imports of oil, caused the United States and other countries to run up enormous trade deficits. The U.S. is closing out the year with imports exceeding exports by \$30 billion, an all-time record.

The U.S. trade deficit further weakened a dollar already sinking as a result of Carter's record "peacetime" budget deficit of \$45 billion for fiscal 1977, partly financed by resort to the printing press.

Carter's decision in April to drop his proposals for a \$50 rebate to individual taxpayers and for an enlarged investment tax credit was undoubtedly made at the behest of bankers worried about the sagging dollar. At that point, the U.S. dollar had lost more than 30% of its value measured in gold compared to August 1976.

Ruling-class worry about the declining dollar may also have been behind the U.S. government's underspending its 1977 budget by more than \$11 billion, which pretty much neutralized the rest of Carter's much-ballyhooed stimulus program. The Labor Department's failure to spend \$400 million budgeted for minority job-training centers accounts for part of the total.

U.S. pressures allies

A demand voiced frequently this year by representatives of American imperialism—backed up by its still paramount economic and military strength—was that Bonn and Tokyo follow more "expansionary" policies.

Officials of other countries with



German and Japanese exports are capturing a growing share of the U.S. market

large trade deficits have joined the refrain. Some of these (Portugal and Spain, for example) were forced by the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund to impose harsh and politically destabilizing austerity measures this year, or face a cutoff of international credit.

A more stimulative policy in West Germany and Japan, it was hoped, would counteract an expected world economic slowdown in 1978 or 1979 and boost exports from the United States and other countries. This would reduce disruptive trade imbalances, strengthen the dollar and other currencies, and relieve pressures for more belt-tightening.

Washington's demands were underscored by threats of a trade war and even tentative steps, utilizing "anti-dumping" laws, toward cutting off a major part of the giant U.S. market to steel exports from Japan and Europe.

In response, Bonn and Tokyo in September and October announced modest "reflationary" measures. But the Carter administration was not satisfied. At a November meeting of the twenty-four-country Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, it urged much stronger stimulatory action. In separate trade talks with Japanese officials, U.S. negotiators raised other demands aimed at reducing barriers to the sale of American goods.

Schmidt talks back

Japanese Prime Minister Fukuda responded in late November and early December with a cabinet reshuffling and some new concessions, including tariff cuts and a program of stockpiling raw materials.

Carter's special trade representative Robert Strauss said December 12, however, that the Japanese steps announced so far fall "considerably short of what this government and I feel is necessary. . . ."

Bonn, at this time, seems even less cooperative than Tokyo in meeting the demands of Washington and other governments. At a recent Common Market summit meeting in Brussels, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt angrily told other European representatives that "we must not give way to people who for opportunist reasons pretend to have a panacea for unemployment, like printing money."

of international scope—with gluts of commodities, excess production capacity, or both.

Steel is only the most dramatic example. In one country after another this past year, the least productive plants were shut down and tens of thousands of steel workers lost their jobs (60,000 in the United States alone).

The major capitalist powers, including the most efficient steel producer, Japan, even lost markets to semicolonial countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, and Brazil as they progressed—thanks in part to loans from the imperialist banks—toward self-sufficiency in steel and in some cases the beginnings of an export capability.

Overproduction also made its appearance this year in sectors as diverse as copper, shipbuilding, oil, synthetic textiles, and agriculture.

As this crisis worsens, it will become increasingly difficult for capitalist governments to negotiate new market-sharing pacts or abide by those already agreed to.

Paradoxically, a major cause of overproduction in 1977 was the growing hesitancy on the part of capitalists to invest their profits in expanded production facilities—what the London *Economist* aptly dubbed an "investment strike."

Nearly 70% of U.S. steel production goes for such expansion projects, for example. Thus, a slowdown in industrial expansion leads directly to a contraction of the market for steel, to production cutbacks by the steel companies, and to massive layoffs of steelworkers. These actions, in turn, cause new markets to contract, contributing to overproduction in other industries.

Weak recovery

April 1977 marked the beginning of the third year of recovery from the 1974-75 slump. While that was the deepest and most general slump of the past forty years, the current upturn is the weakest recovery, as measured from the previous peak.

Unemployment is rising in many countries as production stagnates and as women and teen-age members of working-class and middle-class families who did not work before are shoved into the job market, willingly or not, by the rising cost of living and education.

Capital spending by American corporations in this upturn has increased by only about half the amount it did, on the average, in the similar periods of the five previous post-World War II recoveries. Spending on expansion in Europe and Japan is even more sluggish.

Contributing to the lag in new productive investment has been the fact that the profitability of widening sectors of industry around the world has slipped far below the average.

Capital tends to flow out of such rel-

International competition between monopolist combines became so sharp and the threat of all-out trade war so grave in 1977 that the imperialist bourgeoisies launched major new efforts to "organize" world trade—that is, divide up markets through negotiations.

One form this took was the "orderly marketing agreement," such as the deal Washington negotiated with Japan to restrict the export of color television sets to the United States, and with South Korea and Taiwan limiting the export of shoes. The French government proposed that virtually all international trade be organized along this line.

The capitalists hope that such agreements will provide protection for profit-threatened industries while avoiding unilateral imposition of tariffs and quotas, which in the past have led to retaliatory moves that end up severely constricting world trade.

But such agreements can be negotiated, and lived up to, only as long as alternative markets are available for exporting countries to exploit. For instance, Japan is willing to limit the export of color TVs to the U.S. if markets exist in Europe and elsewhere that can absorb the difference; or if markets exist for greatly expanding the sale of closely related products, such as video tape recorders, for example.

Overproduction

But as 1977 wore on, it became apparent that more and more industries were sinking into overproduction crises



Ford cars in Germany. Washington is pressuring its imperialist competitors to purchase more American goods and to export less to the United States.



CARTER & SCHMIDT: Growing tension behind the smiles.

actively unprofitable sectors until the average rate of profit is restored. This often takes the form, as it has in steel, of cutbacks in production capacity, shutdowns of the most inefficient and obsolete plants, and layoffs of workers.

In periods of rapid economic expansion, like the long post-World War II boom, such capital tended to flow toward those industrial sectors enjoying above-average profits, speeding up their rate of expansion and assuring continued economic growth overall.

'Surplus capital'

Since the end of the long boom, however, "surplus capital" has made its appearance in even the fastest-growing, most profitable industries, such as computers.

International Business Machines, for example, built up in recent years an enormous reserve of cash that it doesn't know what to do with. The huge corporation has temporarily bought U.S. Treasury notes with its \$5 billion hoard.

In the past year, other companies with surplus cash, such as Armco Steel, bought up their own shares on the stock market (IBM also did this) or acquired the undervalued shares of other companies in giant take-over bids.

Surplus capital—that is, capital that is not being productively invested because of an "inadequate" expected rate of return—is building up all over the capitalist world. And a substantial portion of it ended up in the United States this past year as growing numbers of investors sought a haven from economic and political instability in their own countries.

Surplus oil dollars accruing to the governments of countries like Saudi Arabia continued to be deposited with the biggest New York banks, putting great pressure on the banks to "recycle" the money in the form of loans.

Due to sluggish capital spending in Europe and North America, more than the usual proportion of this money was loaned to semicolonial governments, both for financing balance-of-trade deficits and for profitable industrial projects. These governments now owe about \$180 billion to the banks and to agencies such as the International Monetary Fund. A number of these countries (Turkey, Peru, Mexico, Brazil, Zaire, for example) had to pay out from one-quarter to nearly half of their export earnings for debt service this year. Many were forced by the IMF to impose extremely harsh austerity measures to ensure that the flow of tribute to the imperialist centers was not interrupted.

The capitalists hope to get out of their economic crisis by extorting from

society a higher rate of profit. That is why, all around the world, they have been staging "investment strikes"; closing down socially needed but unprofitable steel mills; shifting more of the tax burden onto workers; imposing austerity on their own governments (except for military expenditures)—forcing cutbacks in already inadequate health, education, old-age, and other services that are properly the responsibility of society to provide.

That is why they have been trying to get around or repeal environmental-protection laws and to roll back gains registered by women and oppressed nationalities.

That is why they have been striving to weaken or break unions (witness the current offensive against the U.S. coal miners), create and deepen divisions in the working class, drive down real wages, and impose speedup.

In the United States, the largest of the world's economies, Carter's latest economic program is part and parcel of this profit drive. It includes major new tax breaks amounting to billions of dollars for big business to directly boost profits. Through enormous increases in Social Security and energy taxes, Carter seeks to shore up government finances—reducing the federal deficit and slowing the depreciation of the dollar.

Boosting profits

Carter's proposals for sharply boosting domestic oil and gas prices and taxes will add more billions to the already bloated profits (and surplus capital) of the energy trust, while imposing "belt-tightening" to slow the rise of oil imports—which, at their present level, the U.S. rulers find militarily dangerous and financially destabilizing.

A new Carter plan to aid the U.S. steel industry is explicitly aimed at increasing prices and boosting profits for steel companies by at least \$900 million a year.

The paltry tax-cut bone that Carter will throw to American workers—said to amount to possibly \$300 a year for a family of four in the \$15,000-\$20,000 income bracket—is designed to help him and the Democratic and Republican parties hide the real nature of their economic policies.

But this year also saw the continuation of incipient trends in the U.S. labor movement toward the development of a new consciousness and combativity among the rank and file. As the results of the rulers' austerity drive and the deepening world crisis of capitalism hit home, new class-struggle movements are certain to rise up to challenge the bosses in the fight of the century.

World news notes

Iranian police attack protest

Iranian police opened fire on antigovernment protesters in the university town of Qom, ninety miles south of Tehran, January 9. Anti-shah sources report that 20 people were killed and about 300 injured in the attack. A January 10 Reuters dispatch reported that "some Iranians said the shootings represented the most serious incident in recent unrest, which has provoked tough police action."

Gandhi splits Congress Party

The factional crisis that has been simmering within the Congress Party for several months finally erupted to the surface January 1 when supporters of former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi opened a congress in New Delhi in defiance of the party's official leadership. The next day they formalized the split, claiming that they represented the "real" Congress Party and electing Gandhi its president.

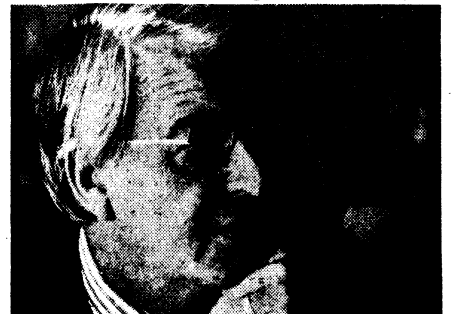
The official leadership of the Congress Party responded after the fact by expelling Gandhi and her supporters. She in turn "expelled" Congress Party President K. Brahmananda Reddy.

South Africa: banned editor escapes . . .

Donald Woods, editor of the *East London Daily Dispatch*, who was banned last October by the South African government for his outspoken opposition to apartheid, escaped in December and arrived in London, England, January 6.

Under the government's bans, Woods was prohibited from writing; from being with more than one person at a time, except for his wife and children; and even from entering a factory, school, or publishing concern.

He told a London news conference that he plans to test the feasibility of having either the United Nations or the International Court of Justice at The Hague declare a category of international criminals that could be used against ministers in the white racist South African government.



. . . others felled by racists' guns

South African cops opened fire January 8 on participants in funerals for four Blacks believed killed by state security forces.

Six people were wounded in the attacks, which occurred in Black townships around Port Elizabeth.

Also on January 8 an unknown assassin murdered Richard Turner, a well-known lecturer and foe of apartheid at the University of Natal. Turner's five-year banning order was coming to an end.

Suharto's 'release' of political prisoners

In a renewed bid to deflect international protests over its treatment of political prisoners, the rightist Suharto regime in Indonesia announced December 20 that it was releasing about 10,000 of them.

Most of those whose release has been promised have been held without trial or charges since the 1965 coup that brought Suharto to power. Nearly a million Indonesians were butchered and hundreds of thousands arrested in the coup.

The Suharto regime claims that "only" 20,000 more political prisoners remain in Indonesia.

But in a statement issued the day of the regime's announcement, Amnesty International challenged these official claims. "There are certainly more than 55,000 people held without trial in Indonesia prisons and labor camps," the group said, "and the correct total is probably as high as 100,000."

Carter echoes Kissinger on European CPs

During a visit with French Socialist Party leader François Mitterand during his recent world tour, President Carter warned against an SP electoral bloc with the French Communist Party. These remarks echo those of Henry Kissinger, secretary of state under Carter's predecessor. Despite press speculation to the contrary earlier this year, Carter's warning shows that Washington remains dead opposed to the participation of Communist parties—"Eurocommunist" or not—in the governments of its capitalist allies in Europe.

UN agency warns on food shortages

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization concluded a three week conference on hunger with the warning, "The world food situation remains fragile. There are no grounds for complacency."

Of particular concern to conferees was the continuing danger of famine in Africa, especially the sub-Saharan region of West Africa. F.A.O. Director General Edouard Saouma demanded a steep increase in his agency's budget for the next two years to meet these challenges. But his request was opposed by the United States, Japan, Canada, France, and West Germany.

Humberto Valenzuela, 1908-1977

Humberto Valenzuela, a veteran Chilean Trotskyist leader, died on November 18, 1977. In 1938 Valenzuela was among the founders of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party), the first Chilean section of the Fourth International.

As a long-time trade unionist and Trotskyist, Valenzuela remained active in the POR and various labor and political activities throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Upon the victory of the Cuban revolution, he was a founder of the Committees for Defense of the Revolution. Valenzuela helped found the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Socialist Party), the present Chilean section of the Fourth International, in 1972.

Valenzuela continued his lifelong struggle for socialist revolution in the underground resistance to the Pinochet dictatorship until his death of a pulmonary ailment at the age of sixty-nine.

Ruling class plans new attacks

Australian labor movement suffers setback in elections

By Jim McIlroy
and Ron Poulsen

From Intercontinental Press

SYDNEY—The Liberal-National Country Party government of Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser was returned to office by a big margin of up to fifty seats in the Australian federal elections held December 10.

This margin, in a House of Representatives of 124 seats, represents a massive defeat for the Australian Labor Party (ALP)—as the country's only mass working-class party. It signals a new period of stepped-up attacks on jobs, wages, social welfare, and democratic rights in 1978, following two years of a reactionary offensive led by Fraser since the ALP was thrown out of government in late 1975.

The Canberra constitutional "coup" of November 11, 1975, in which the unelected governor-general, Sir John Kerr, dismissed the Labor government under Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, touched off an upsurge by workers, students, and others in support of the Labor government. But, over the past two years, Fraser has succeeded in pegging back a number of important gains made under Labor.

Surprise result

The outcome of the federal elections caught everyone by surprise. Labor's defeat, second only to that of 1975, was worse than the most pessimistic predictions.

How could such a second large electoral defeat be dealt to Labor by a government like Fraser's? The experience of two years of climbing unemployment, welfare cutbacks, and attacks on wages and union rights have earned the Liberals a deep class hatred in the labor movement.

And yet the swing against the coalition parties (3.2 percent down for the Liberals, 0.1 percent down for the National Country Party) was far less than could have been expected after the 1975 "landslide" losses of the ALP. What's more, these Liberal defections went not to the ALP but to the Australian Democrats.

The six-month-old Australian Democrats—a "liberal" capitalist party appealing to small business people and professionals and led by ex-Liberal Don Chipp—was able to gain about 10 percent of the vote (almost a million voters) by siphoning off the protest vote from both Liberal and Labor.

Why did Labor lose?

How can we explain Labor's disastrous showing, in the face of a post-1930s depression record unemployment of 360,000 or 5.8 percent?

"A vote against socialism," the *Sydney Morning Herald* headlined its editorial December 12. But this is just what it wasn't.

Socialism or even the most mildly radical policies were not at issue in this election. The ALP stood on the most conservative and pro-big-business platform in years.

What this poll has shown, once again, is that kowtowing to the ruling-class, right-wing policies, and a conscious demobilizing of its supporters is Labor's sure road to defeat.

It was Labor's failure to defend the



Demonstration in Melbourne following dismissal of Labor government in 1975. ALP heads discouraged protests and refused to lead struggle.

interests of the working population that in the long run cost it so heavily. In the years 1974-75 the ALP administration failed to protect workers from the ravages of the economic crisis, from the rapid growth of inflation and unemployment.

In November 1975, the ALP leaders failed to respond to the sacking of their government using working-class methods of struggle, by calling for a general strike. Instead, they appealed for "democracy" via the ballot box.

In 1975, the right-wing ALP leaders drew the conclusion that their minimal reforms had been too far in advance of the masses, that the ALP had "gone too far too fast."

No doubt after this further setback they will draw the same conclusion even more heavily, claiming that this is shown by "the will of the people" rejecting their policies. But drawing still closer to the Liberals' policies will weaken Labor even further by demoralizing its ranks and by squeezing more dissident voters to the Democrats.

What Fraser will do

What can we expect from Fraser in 1978? Obviously, the working class and its oppressed allies are in for a rough time from a government claiming a mandate for its reactionary policies coming out of this election.

On unemployment the outlook is extremely grim. Officials in the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations have predicted that unemployment will reach 425,000-430,000 in January-February, nearly 7 percent of the work force.

Fraser didn't offer the slightest relief for the jobless situation during the campaign. In fact, with the probable increase in the coalition's restrictive economic course, reinforced by the election result, unemployment is likely to go considerably higher as school leavers are kept out of the work force and public spending cutbacks continue.

On wages, we can expect increasing pressure from the government for a complete freeze on wages—effectively a wage cut even harsher than that im-

posed by the recent Arbitration Commission indexation decisions.

The uranium issue promises to produce a head-on fight between the unions and the antiuranium movement on the one hand, and the government and uranium miners on the other, in very short order.

The challenge likely to face antiuranium forces in the near future could be the first big test of the ability of anti-government and working-class organizations to fight back against Fraser under these new conditions.

Supporters of mining lost no time in trumpeting the election result as a go-ahead for uranium. Sir Ernest Titterton, professor of nuclear physics at the Australian National University and a longtime supporter of nuclear weaponry for Australia, claimed: "The unions gave the government an ultimatum to hold a referendum. Well, the government held that referendum in the election."

"It [the result] was a massive endorsement of the government's policies—one of which is to mine and export uranium."

Unions "should think twice before they sabotage the future of the nation," Titterton warned.

This lie that the election is an endorsement of the government's uranium policy—or the rest of its program for that matter—should be scotched immediately.

In fact, Fraser was very careful to play down the uranium issue during the campaign. And the ALP leaders, apart from a brief flurry near the end when defeat seemed to be looming, made very little of it either.

In any case, the combined vote of the ALP and the Democrats, both of whom had a policy opposing uranium mining, was greater than that of the government parties.

Liberal cover-up

The whole Liberal-NCP campaign was a cover-up operation, aimed at obscuring the government's responsibility for unemployment, falling living standards, and restrictions on democratic rights through attacks on Gough

Whitlam's "credibility" and by playing up the coalition's bogus "tax cuts."

The Actual fall in support for the government is indicated by the decline in its vote from 53 percent to 48 percent in the House of Representatives. However, most of this decline has been directed not to Labor but to the Australian Democrats, as a protest against Fraser's policies.

On the other hand, the ALP vote is down to 40 percent—its lowest ever. There can be no hiding the fact that this is a disastrous defeat.

Labor's 'no-win' policy

Fundamentally, the Labor leadership pursued a no-win policy in this campaign. But for the ranks of the ALP and for its working-class supporters, there must be a deep debate about the way forward. Even more than in December 1975, this election defeat underlines the false road of class collaborationism.

With his policies of tax and other concessions to the big corporations, refusal to defend full wage indexation or to call for a program to really tackle unemployment, and backing off on other key issues such as uranium, Whitlam has led Labor into disaster.

But this is fundamentally a defeat for Social Democracy. It is a defeat for the view that the best way for the workers movement to defend itself against Fraser's reactionary attacks is to keep quiet, seek an accommodation with the bosses, and halt strikes, demonstrations, and other mass actions so as not to "antagonise" anyone.

Class-struggle alternative

If the Labor and trade-union leaders are successful in imposing such a course on the labor movement in 1978, the danger of suffering further heavy setbacks is very real.

We already know from statements by Fraser that the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation is to be boosted in order to counter "extremist parties" in the workers movement.

And ruling-class opinion, as reflected in the capitalist media, is clearly in favor of taking on the most militant sections of the working class. The *Australian* on December 12, in its first postelection comment, noted: "Confrontation will be necessary, in isolated cases, to rout out and destroy hard core communist cells which aim to wreck our society."

The labor movement will need the utmost unity around class-struggle policies in the critical times ahead if Fraser's attacks are to be defeated. In both the Labor Party itself and in the unions, we need to build a new leadership that is willing to fight for workers' interests, against uranium mining, for the demands of women, Blacks, migrants, and youth.

Beginning the construction of such a class-struggle leadership is the major task of the coming year.

Only if a struggle for socialist policies is carried on in the ranks of the ALP and the labor movement generally can that alternative leadership of the working class to defend its interests be provided. The struggles outside parliament will continue irrespective of the fortunes of the Labor Party—the antiuranium mining movement, the battles of the trade-union movement, the Queensland civil liberties campaign, and others.

But the present crisis of leadership and perspectives in the ALP affects the whole working class and its allies—it will be resolved only if a genuine socialist leadership, basing itself on class-struggle methods and rejecting the class collaboration which dominates the ALP, is built in the coming struggles against Fraser.

Latin America in 1977

Rulers challenged by mass struggles

By Fred Murphy
From Intercontinental Press

Growing combativity among workers and students caused big problems for the rulers in a number of key Latin American countries in 1977. General strikes, work stoppages, and mass demonstrations challenged the attempts of capitalist governments to impose "austerity" plans and showed that even the most repressive military dictatorships are unable to maintain social peace.

The year's biggest struggles were in Argentina, Colombia, Peru, and Brazil.

Argentine junta backs down

The living standards of Argentine workers came under fierce attack after the March 1976 military coup. By the first quarter of 1977, real wages in Argentina were at their lowest point in postwar history.

In mid-October, the Argentine workers launched a fight that smashed through the junta's wage freeze. Six thousand auto workers in Córdoba went out for four days beginning October 13, and won a pay boost higher than that originally offered. This was followed by a nationwide rail strike and strikes by Buenos Aires subway workers, airline pilots, and workers in a number of sectors in Rosario, including dock workers and power workers.

The strikes went around and against the military trustees appointed to run the unions and their collaborators in the labor bureaucracy.

As the strike wave threatened to spread further, the junta abandoned its economic program and granted wage hikes of 38% to 43% to all the striking unions. Family allowances were increased, and more raises were promised within sixty days.

The strikes ended in early November, but not before the Argentine workers had shown that kidnappings, murders, and repression have not broken their willingness to struggle.

The big victory against the wage freeze opens new possibilities for future trade-union struggles and for the fight for democratic rights in Argentina.

Colombian general strike

Major union contracts in Colombia expired this year, at a time when inflation was running at more than 40% and the López Michelsen government was seeking to hold down wages and enforce a series of big cutbacks and layoffs in the public sector.

In the face of government and employer intransigence in the National Wage Board, Colombia's four major labor federations joined with several big independent unions to organize a "citizens' national general strike" on September 14 around a series of demands, including a 50% across-the-board wage increase.

The mobilization paralyzed Bogotá and other major cities. Mass discontent with rising prices, unemployment, poverty, government corruption, and the deterioration of public services gave rise to a social explosion in Bogotá that was put down by armored military units. More than 50 persons were killed, 500 injured, and 4,000 arrested.

Despite the brutality of López Michelsen's response, the struggle continued. November 18, mass demonstrations were held in a number of cities to protest the September repression and reiterate the general strike's demands. The march in Bogotá was the largest mobilization of the year, according to the Bogotá daily *El Espectador*.

At the center of the labor struggles in Colombia was a strike by nearly 5,000 workers at ECOPETROL, the state-owned petroleum complex. The government fought these workers for more than two months with military harassment, the use of strikebreakers, arrests of union leaders, and the firing of 300 workers. The union decided to end the strike, at least temporarily, on October 30. None of the demands were won.

Despite this setback, the trade-union unity forged in September continues. Even the union bureaucrats tied to the two big bourgeois parties have been forced by rank-and-file pressure to put up a show of strength against the government and the employers. At the same time, divisions have surfaced inside the ruling class that will no doubt grow deeper as the 1978 presidential elections approach.

Financial crisis in Peru

"Peru is in the midst of an extremely serious economic and financial crisis," a dispatch from Lima to the December 13 *Christian Science Monitor* reported. "Its currency is sinking in value literally by the day. Exports have fallen off drastically and credit needed to keep the economy going is rapidly drying up."

The military regime's problems result from a \$4 billion foreign debt, the failure of an ambitious oil-development scheme, and a disastrous drop in the anchovy catch. Austerity measures imposed at the demand of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have provoked rising protest.

Big price increases were announced in June, sparking demonstrations by thousands of students across the country. On July 19, a nationwide general strike paralyzed Lima and other cities. The government responded with army and police attacks on strikers, the jailing of 300 union leaders, and the dismissal of more than 5,000 workers.

This failed to stem the resistance. Copper miners struck in July and August. General strikes shut down the city of Cuzco on November 17 and again on November 22 and 23.

A rally of more than 25,000 in Lima on November 24, called by the Communist Party-led General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP), demanded the reinstatement of all workers fired after July 19, the release of the prisoners, and repatriation of all those deported by the regime. The Peruvian leftist weekly *Marka* commented:

All the speakers blamed the government for the crisis facing the country. . . .

This signifies an explicit change in the position of the CGTP leadership and contrasts with its more or less "critical" support of the government for the past eight years. It reflects the negligible results obtained through "dialogue" . . . as well as



Students at mass meeting in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, last May vote for week of action against dictatorship. Banner overhead reads: 'For democratic rights and a general amnesty.'

the growing impatience of the rank and file for a concrete plan of struggle, such as a new national general strike.

In December, strikes by hospital workers, steelworkers, and copper miners against the IMF-ordered austerity were under way. More protests could come in January, when further gasoline and food price hikes are to take effect.

Student upsurge in Brazil

Eight activists were arrested in São Paulo, Brazil, on April 28, while leafletting for a May Day event. On May 5, thousands of São Paulo students took to the streets to demand their release.

This marked the beginning of a countrywide student upsurge that is presenting the thirteen-year-old military dictatorship with one of its biggest challenges. Meetings, boycotts of classes, rallies, and street demonstrations have expressed the demands outlined in the "Open Letter to the Brazilian People" that the São Paulo students issued May 5: "For an end to torture, arrests, and political persecution. . . . For a broad, unrestricted amnesty for all political prisoners, banned individuals, and exiles. For democratic freedoms."

The Geisel government mobilized thousands of riot troops, ordered a military occupation of the University of Brasília on three occasions, and arrested 800 persons preparing to attend a national student assembly at Belo Horizonte in June.

But the protests continued and have spread to other sectors of the population. Scientists, filmmakers, lawyers, shopkeepers, and even some businessmen have spoken out against military rule. Dissent has even spread into the military's ruling apparatus, the ARENA party: Sixty-three ARENA congressmen have called for democratic reforms, and six state governors have gone on record for a multiparty system.

The rising discontent has revealed fissures inside the military regime. Geisel sacked army chief Sylvio da Frota on October 12. Frota, who had presidential aspirations, denounced Geisel for showing "criminal indifference to communist infiltration and leftist propaganda. . . ."

ARENA Senator José de Magalhães Pinto has received wide publicity as a

candidate for the 1979 presidential "succession." Magalhães Pinto proudly declares his support for the military's 1964 takeover, but says a civilian president is now needed to restore "peace and understanding." Geisel himself favors intelligence chief João Baptista de Figueiredo as his replacement.

The dictatorship's difficulties could be exacerbated by a new downturn in the international capitalist economy. The regime has a \$30 billion foreign debt, so large that "any sign that Brazil could not pay its debts would rock the [international monetary] system to its foundations," as *Business Week* magazine warned December 5. The country's gross national product continued to rise at a rate of 6% in 1977, and foreign bankers remain willing to provide big loans. But a number of ambitious development projects are either completely stalled or far behind schedule, and, as *Business Week* noted, "Brazil's exports could be hit by rising protectionism in industrial countries."

Panama Canal treaty

U.S. President Jimmy Carter's main foreign-policy initiative in Latin America in 1977 was the new Panama Canal treaty. These accords provide some economic concessions to Panama and eventual control over canal operations, but their main thrust is to replace the blatant colonialism of the 1903 treaty and assure permanent American domination over the waterway, including the right of military intervention.

Panamanian dictator Omar Torrijos's efforts to put this over as a "victory" have been less than totally successful. On several occasions after the terms were announced, thousands of persons mobilized to demand immediate sovereignty over the canal and the expulsion of the fourteen U.S. military bases on Panamanian soil. The Trotskyists of the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria played a major role in these actions.

In the weeks leading up to the October 23 plebiscite on the treaty in Panama, opposition to Torrijos's concessions became increasingly linked to complaints about inflation, unemployment, government corruption, and repression. The treaty was approved by a 2-to-1 margin, but this was far short of predictions by Torrijos that 90% of the voters would give their OK.

A farmer's report

Issues in agriculture strike

By John Enestvedt

SACRED HEART, Minn.—The national farm strike is on.

The protesting farmers, organized by the American Agriculture Movement (AAM), plan to withhold their products from the market and refuse to sow at the next planting season.

In early December 250 farmers and their supporters rallied at the state capitol in St. Paul in nine-below-zero weather. Twenty tractors paraded outside the capitol, despite the bitter cold.

Other protests occurred in many other states. Due to drought in the lower Midwest and Georgia, these areas have been the most active. The smaller harvests there also allowed farmers more free time to prepare for the strike.

Despite an early start—with a tractor parade and rally in Clarksfield last August—activities here in Minnesota have been a bit slower.

But the spirit at the state capitol rally showed the potential for the movement here. "Support this endangered species—the family farmer," one sign read.

A farmer from Parkers Prairie told the rally that Carter's 1977 farm bill is an "abomination." Describing the economic ruin facing working farmers, he said, "The way to make an impact is to strike—to not plant crops until the government promises 100 percent of parity for farm prices."

This is the AAM's central demand. Parity prices are determined by comparing current crop prices and production costs with those of 1910-1914, which were relatively better years for

John Enestvedt is active in the current farmers' protests organized by the American Agriculture Movement. Now seventy-one, he has been a working farmer in Minnesota all his life.

In the 1930s Enestvedt was a participant in the militant Farmers Holiday movement. He was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938, having left the Socialist Party, which he had joined after the onset of the Great Depression.

In the 1940s Enestvedt was an organizer in Minnesota for the National Farmers Union. In the early 1960s he participated in the holding actions organized by the National Farmers Organization. NFO farmers withheld their products from the market to demand that the monopoly-controlled processors and distributors sign collective bargaining contracts to guarantee a fair price.

farmers. The protesters demand that the government pay them the full difference between today's low prices and a level comparable to those more prosperous days.

Support for the idea of a strike also ran high among the more than 1,000 farmers who attended the November "Farm Issues '77 Conference" in Wilmar, Minnesota. A questionnaire filled out by 711 of those farmers showed that 90 percent were prepared to strike.

The survey also showed that 96 percent of the farmers believe that the U.S. government is controlled by "big business, special interest groups, and organized crime." The farmers also overwhelmingly supported property tax reform to lessen the burden on medium-size farms.

Democrats and Republicans

Sensing the broad support for the strike among Minnesota farmers, Democratic and Republican politicians here have been put on the spot.

U.S. Sen. Wendell Anderson, a Democrat up for reelection next November, says he supports the strike. So does Republican Rudy Boschwitz, who wants to unseat Anderson.

Gov. Rudy Perpich also says he backs the strike. U.S. Rep. Rick Nolan, a Democrat, even rode a tractor at the December state capitol protest.

But such talk is cheap when it's not backed up by any proposals. After all, even Carter's secretary of agriculture, Robert Bergland, speaks out of both sides of his mouth, saying that he "supports the goals of the strike." Yet he said on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation" that Carter has kept his campaign promises to farmers.

Actually, Carter convinced Congress to cut its proposed increases in farm price supports, which wouldn't have come close to helping farmers cover their rising costs in the first place.

Representative Nolan was forced to admit Carter's betrayal when he was challenged from the floor at the "Farm Issues '77 Conference" this fall.

"I wish I could quarrel with you," Nolan said. "I campaigned my heart out for this administration."

The golden egg

Sen. Robert Dole, a Republican from Kansas, reportedly said recently that government doesn't owe farmers a profit.

Such callous statements by capitalist politicians ignore the true problem facing farmers. And that's not making a "profit." It's simply trying to keep from going bankrupt.

One sign on a tractor in a Texas AAM protest put it this way: "How come the farmer can provide food for

fifty-five people and cannot provide for his own family?"

Given how much they produce and how little they're being paid, isn't the American farmer, in truth, "the goose that lays the golden egg"?

Dole and other complaining politicians shouldn't whimper so much while the farmer is feeding them so well.

A few figures on farm income over recent years show the boom-and-bust cycle facing farmers. Minnesota farmers had their best year for a long time in 1973, averaging \$19,173 in income. But the next year that dropped to \$13,151; then to \$9,186 in 1975; and \$5,332 in 1976. That's a 360 percent drop in only three years.

At the same time, just to keep their farms from going under, farmers have been forced to invest more and more money into new and better equipment and more land. As a result, the total outstanding farmer indebtedness has soared from \$56.9 billion in 1972 to a record \$118.7 billion today—a more than 200 percent jump.

Early frost and dry weather played a part in the lower farm income last year. But farmers have learned to live with these uncertainties.

What they can't live with is the likely prospect of three more "bust" years while costs continue to climb.

The AAM

That's why the AAM has developed. Working farmers are fed up with individually facing bankruptcy and foreclosure. They have begun organizing to do something collectively to stop it.

The AAM, which is still very new and loosely organized, patterns itself after the Farmers Holiday movement of the 1930s. It is different from the older, more established farmers organizations in this country, which have become so bureaucratized that the concerns of young farmers can't come to the fore.

The leadership of the AAM, on the other hand, is young.

The challenge these new leaders face is one of organizing to get as many farmers as possible involved in some way or another. I have seen how this was done in the past, and I feel good about the growth prospects today.

I was part of the Farmers Holiday Association in the 1930s. We were able to enlist all but three farmers in our assigned area. As a result, farmers in our county were able to stop 482 mortgage foreclosure sales and shut off the farm produce from market during the strike.

The more such organizing is done today, the better farmers will be able to counteract media propaganda charging them with the blame for rising food



Militant/Richard Rathes
Farmers across nation are on strike for 100 percent parity for farm prices.



costs. In fact, working farmers now get a mere forty cents out of every dollar spent on food.

Answering the lies

Answering these lies peddled by the big-business-owned media and the capitalist politicians is one of the most important tasks confronting the farmers movement, since rising food costs are understandably a big concern to urban workers.

The farmers need labor's support. Otherwise, their cause will be poorly understood and make little impact outside rural areas. AAM leaders seem to recognize this and have sought union support.

Unfortunately, the response of the labor officialdom—at best—has not gone beyond a few vague expressions of sympathy. In contrast, here in Minnesota in the 1930s striking Minneapolis Teamsters forged an alliance with working farmers, helping them set up a farm market of their own that has continued to this day. (See *Teamsters Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs, Pathfinder Press, \$2.25.)

AAM leaders are even adopting some of the language of the labor movement. AAM spokespeople from its central office in Springfield, Colorado, point out to farmers, "Maybe you don't like the word 'strike,' but we . . . like this word a lot better than two other words, 'bankruptcy' and 'foreclosure.'"

More and more farmers are beginning to see that the same banks and corporate interests that are hell-bent on destroying the labor movement are also out to destroy them and absorb their assets.

Starvation diets for the unemployed and other poor, and the bosses' drive to lower wages, will only lead to bigger food surpluses and lower farm prices. That's not too hard to see for someone searching for the truth. And farmers are searching.

Farm women have also been taking an active part in the movement. Two shared the speaking platform at the state capitol rally.

Farm wives today operate much of the big farm equipment, releasing their husbands to other work. Given the farm price squeeze, there is no way the farmer's wife can confine herself to the kitchen.

Radical past

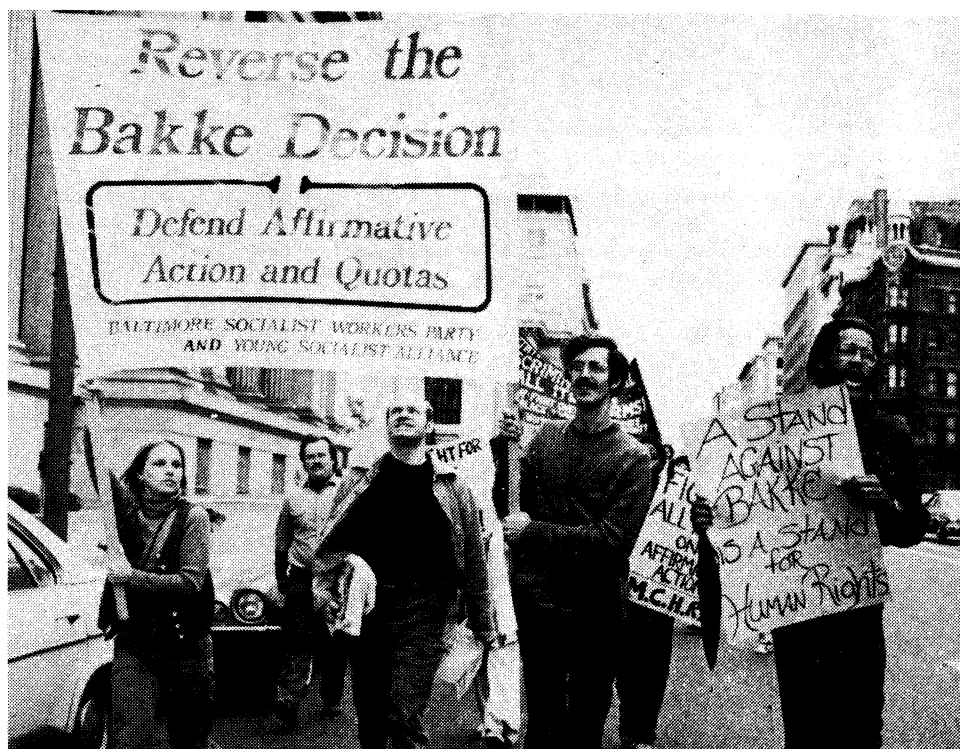
This part of Minnesota has a radical past and some rich experience working with the trade-union movement.

This is where the farm strike of the 1930s—set in motion by the Farmers Holiday Association—was perhaps more effective than in any other part of the country.

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1934: Minneapolis workers defeat police strikebreaking. Victory in Teamster strikes, led by revolutionary socialists, helped pave way for CIO upsurge.



Militant/David Nudel

1977: Marchers defend affirmative-action quotas. Winning labor movement to support demands of Blacks and women is necessary step in forging working-class solidarity.

The revolutionary perspective— then and now

40 years of the Socialist Workers Party

This year marks the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Socialist Workers Party and Fourth International and the fiftieth anniversary of the 'Militant.' We will be celebrating with a year-long series of articles, columns, and special features on the history of the revolutionary movement and its lessons for today. This week's article outlines some of the central themes of our anniversary commemorations.

By Andy Rose

Forty years ago, on New Year's weekend of 1937-38, a small group of revolutionists met in Chicago for the convention that founded the Socialist Workers Party. One hundred and thirty-seven delegates came from thirty-five cities. The membership of the new party was roughly 1,000.

The bulk of the convention delegates were unionists—Auto Workers, Teamsters, Sailors, Rubber Workers, Longshore Workers, and others—activists in the big labor battles of that period. There were also leaders of the unemployed movement, campus rebels, and some left-wing intellectuals.

But the SWP was more than simply a product of the radicalization and working-class struggles of the depression era. Its leadership included veteran revolutionists whose experience in the workers movement went back nearly to the turn of the century.

What brought them all together? Fundamental, of course, was their vision of the socialist future, of creating for the first time a truly humane society based on material abundance, free from the racism, sexism, tyranny, wars, and decay of capitalism. But there was much more.

First, they were convinced that socialism is not only desirable but historically necessary. That capitalism, once a mighty engine of social progress, has become outmoded and doomed by its own inherent contradictions. That the American working class can and must be mobilized to overturn this oppressive and exploitative system.

In addition, the founders of the SWP were convinced that to accomplish this task, the working class must create its own organized, trained, and tested leadership—a revolutionary party. Their

prototype was the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, the party that led the Russian revolution. This model was not to be mechanically copied but adapted to American conditions and the characteristics of working people here.

James P. Cannon & roots of SWP

The deepgoing roots of the SWP are personified by James P. Cannon, then the party's central leader.

Cannon, born in 1890, joined the Socialist Party of Eugene Debs as a teenager in Rosedale, Kansas. In 1911 he joined the Industrial Workers of the World, the revolutionary movement for industrial unionism founded in 1905 by Debs, Daniel DeLeon, Bill Haywood, Mother Jones, Lucy Parsons, and other outstanding socialist leaders. Cannon worked with Haywood, Vincent St. John, and Frank Little as a traveling IWW organizer and journalist.

Along with thousands of other socialists and IWWs, Cannon was profoundly influenced by the Russian revolution in 1917 and set out to apply its lessons here. He became a leader of the Socialist Party left wing, was a founding member of the Communist Party in 1919, and was elected to its central committee in 1920.

As a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1928, Cannon was won over to the Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky. Along with Max Shachtman, Martin Abern, and a few others, he was expelled later in 1928 for opposing the bureaucratic and anti-Marxist policies of Stalinism.

One of Cannon's books, *The History of American Trotskyism*, traces the movement's development during the ten years up to the founding of the SWP.

The first SWP convention met in a world domi-

nated by economic depression, the rise of fascism in Europe, and the drive toward a new imperialist world war. The SWP was overwhelmingly outnumbered by the Stalinist Communist Party. Except for its leadership role in the Minneapolis Teamsters, it had little influence in the unions.

'Supreme confidence'

Nevertheless, wrote the *Socialist Appeal* in a January 1938 article on the convention, the Socialist Workers Party "faces the future with supreme confidence in the final victory. Conscious of the great difficulties, it is also aware of the great prospects."

The article continued, "The American working class is the most militant and combative in the entire world. Its basic weakness lies only in its lack of class consciousness and revolutionary perspective. The party of Marxist internationalism will seek to imbue the toilers of the United States with

Continued on next page

Dates to remember

October 27, 1928: James P. Cannon and other Trotskyist leaders are expelled from the American Communist Party.

November 15, 1928: First issue of the *Militant* is published. The *Militant* has been the voice of revolutionary socialism ever since. (It was published under the names *New Militant* from 1934-36 and *Socialist Appeal* from 1937-41.)

December 31, 1937-January 2, 1938: Founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

September 3, 1938: Founding conference of the Fourth International and adoption of the Transitional Program.

...40 years

Continued from preceding page

this consciousness and perspective. That accomplished, no power in the world can prevent the victory of the proletariat and the transformation of society on a rational basis, without classes, without oppression, without exploitation and misery and war."

Was this confidence in the American working class and the victory of socialism justified?

Forty years later, the SWP remains a small nucleus, not a mass party. Skeptics might charge on that account that its forty-year existence has been futile.

The party's founders would have scoffed at such a superficial viewpoint. They took their bearings from the great sweep and direction of history, not the temporary ups and downs that are inevitable along the way.

The condition of world capitalism today—chronic economic crisis, social decay, political upheavals—offers the best argument for studying the history of the socialist movement. Working-class radicalization is again being spurred by ruling-class attacks on our rights and living standards. Growing numbers of Americans are seriously thinking about the socialist alternative.

And that explains why the SWP and the *Militant* will be reviewing and retelling some of our history in this anniversary year. We are convinced that the need for socialist revolution and a Leninist party is, if anything, greater today than ever before.

People coming to the socialist movement today can take pride in—and learn from—the traditions of the Socialist Workers Party.

By studying the earlier experiences in party-building, we gain from the accumulated knowledge of the American working class—the lessons of years of struggles by unionists, Blacks, women, youth, the unemployed.

And we prepare better for the future, for the class battles that will determine whether there is a future for humankind.

Founding principles

In the 1930s few people would have disagreed that capitalism was in grave trouble.

The Great Depression had exploded the myth that the "free enterprise," private-profit system could assure workers a steadily rising standard of living. Year after year industrial production, agriculture, and trade remained stagnant. In the United States, as in the rest of the capitalist world, millions of workers and farmers were jobless, impoverished, hungry, and desperate.

The myth that capitalism equals democracy also suffered. The financiers and industrialists of Italy, Germany, and Spain turned to the mass terror of fascism to destroy the unions and political parties of the workers and crush their struggles against unemployment, hunger, and war.

Under the impact of these conditions, the American workers had radicalized and moved into action. They stormed the antiunion bastions of American capitalism and in a few short years built powerful unions in steel, auto, rubber, and other industries.

In this turbulent political scene, two characteristics above all distinguished the Socialist Workers Party from the other tendencies contending for the allegiance of the American workers.

Class-struggle politics

First, the SWP stood for independent class-struggle action by the workers—from strikes and demonstrations to independent electoral action—in defense of their own interests. It opposed any subordination of the workers' struggles and demands to the parties, politicians, or institutions of the capitalists.

The union leadership—both the ossified bureaucrats of the old AFL and the somewhat more farsighted officials who found themselves at the head of the CIO upsurge—were hell-bent on the opposite course. They portrayed Franklin D. Roosevelt as the savior of the workers and credited the victories of the CIO to his good will rather than to the sit-down strikes and other mass actions by the workers.

Both the Stalinists and the social democrats were ardent promoters of this pro-Democratic Party line, giving it their own "leftist" embellishments.



Malcolm X speaks at Militant Labor Forum. SWP recognized revolutionary potential of Black nationalism while liberals and Stalinists slandered Malcolm as 'Black racist.'

The SWP declared that to win the economic and social goals of the workers—and even to defend the gains of the CIO, which were already under attack from the "New Deal" Democrats—the labor movement needed to break from the capitalist political parties and rely on its own independent strength.

Second, the SWP was internationalist in its outlook and program. The fate of the American workers is bound up with that of the worldwide working class, the SWP said. The workers have nothing to gain from backing "our" ruling class against its imperialist rivals.

The SWP stood for defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and for a political revolution to reestablish workers democracy there. It explained that the Stalinists, who subordinated the workers' struggles in one country after another to the diplomatic maneuvers of the privileged Soviet bureaucracy, were jeopardizing all the gains of the Russian revolution.

The Trotskyists were well known, even notorious, for their concern with the big questions of world politics—the victory of fascism in Germany, the civil war in Spain—seeking to draw the lessons of these experiences for the American working class.

Transitional Program

Never in its forty-year history has the Socialist Workers Party wavered on the fundamental principles of class-struggle politics and proletarian internationalism. But holding to principles doesn't mean being dogmatic or sectarian. The party has learned from experience, always trying to develop its program and apply it flexibly under the changing conditions of the class struggle.

One of the SWP's most valuable tools in developing and applying its ideas has been the Transitional Program, written by Trotsky and adopted by the founding world congress of the Fourth International in September 1938.

Its purpose, as Trotsky wrote, was to "help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution."

The Transitional Program emphasized the need to mobilize the workers around their present consciousness and objective needs, leading to sharper and sharper confrontations with the capitalists and their political apparatus.

Only in the course of such struggles, Trotsky said, could the party win the respect and confidence of the masses of workers. Through this process the workers would conclude that they must take political power away from the capitalists. And they

would forge a revolutionary leadership capable of guiding the struggle to final victory.

The approaching world war quickly put to the test the SWP's commitment to internationalism and class-struggle politics. Eighteen leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters were imprisoned by Roosevelt for upholding the party's principled opposition to the imperialist war. This attack, although severe, did not succeed in intimidating or silencing the party.

When workers' struggles revived—starting with the powerful strikes by coal miners in 1943 and culminating in the postwar strike wave—the SWP made important gains. It recruited new members, expanded the circulation of the *Militant*, and won modest influence in some unions.

The Stalinists, although still many times larger than the SWP, had disgraced and discredited themselves among the most militant workers during the war because of their fanatical support to the no-strike pledge, wage freeze, and speedup and their opposition to struggles of Blacks for equal rights.

The postwar upsurge did not, however, succeed in going beyond trade-union militancy to independent working-class political action. By 1947 the movement had ebbed. Now the treachery of the Stalinists and the union officialdom in bureaucratizing the unions and tying them to the Democratic Party got its payoff.

The Stalinist-led unions were purged from the CIO by their former "friends" in the bureaucracy. The CP's influence was largely destroyed. The entire labor movement was to suffer—to a degree that is becoming clear only today—as the unions were shackled by the Taft-Hartley Act and other repressive legislation.

As the Socialist Workers Party entered its second decade, it was facing the most prolonged period of adversity it would ever know—more than fifteen years of capitalist prosperity, witch-hunt, cold war, and depoliticization of the working class.

'American Theses'

Underlying the long decline in working-class radicalization were big objective changes in the fortunes of world capitalism. The slaughter of millions of human beings and the devastation of Europe and Japan had given capitalism a new lease on life.

The U.S. rulers, who emerged triumphant over their Anglo-French imperialist allies as well as the defeated Axis powers, forecast an "American century" of peace and prosperity. Abroad, Yankee knowhow and commitment to freedom would uplift the peoples of the world. At home, the housebroken

labor movement would be allowed to function as the "partner" of capital in the new era.

Against this entire schema of a benevolent and stable capitalism, the SWP reaffirmed its revolutionary perspective in a major document—"Theses on the American Revolution"—adopted by the party's national convention in November 1946.

American domination of the world, the SWP said, meant bringing into its own foundations all the insoluble contradictions of the world capitalist system. The U.S. imperialist colossus, apparently indomitable, was in reality "mined with revolutionary powder kegs."

Instead of peace, the U.S. rulers would drive toward war against the Soviet Union and against movements for national liberation in the colonies and former colonies.

Instead of prosperity, the anarchy of production for private profit would lead to new crises of an even vaster scope than in the 1930s.

Because of the overbearing role of American imperialism, the SWP said, the American revolution would be key to the world socialist revolution. On the one hand, this meant the American workers had a special obligation to defend the victims of imperialist assault throughout the world.

On the other hand, as James P. Cannon succinctly put it, "What the other countries need from us, above everything else, is one small but good revolution in the United States." Until then no victory of socialism anywhere would be safe.

New challenges

Even during the 1950s, some of the "powder kegs" foreseen by the American Theses resolution were beginning to explode—anti-Stalinist uprisings in East Germany, Poland, and Hungary; the Montgomery bus boycott and beginnings of the civil rights movement; anticolonial rebellions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

These events shook up the American left, further discrediting the Communist Party and providing new openings for the SWP. The party quickly seized the chance to win a wider hearing for its ideas. Some radicalizing young people, attracted to the party, began publication of the *Young Socialist* newspaper in October 1957. This led in 1960 to the formation of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The establishment of a nationwide youth organization in political solidarity with the SWP—but with its own leadership, its own publications, its own independent decision-making—was an historic step forward for the party. The YSA was to play an indispensable role in winning to socialism thousands of the campus and high school students who radicalized in the 1960s and who soon took the lead in anticapitalist actions—defending the Cuban revolution, marching for free speech, sitting in for civil rights, and building a mass protest movement against the Vietnam War.

As the contradictions of capitalism reemerged in accelerated fashion in the 1960s and 1970s, the radicalization of working people and their entrance into struggle took new and unexpected forms.

It began not inside the unions or around bread-and-butter economic issues, but among Blacks, students, Chicanos, and women. They raised new issues and demands and mobilized independently to win them.

This new radicalization posed yet another test for the party—to identify with the new demands of the oppressed and exploited, to participate wholeheartedly in their struggles, and to learn from the creativity of the masses, while applying the method of the Transitional Program to develop their anticapitalist dynamic.

Combined revolution

Responding to the rise of the civil rights and Black nationalist movements, the SWP enriched its understanding of the centrality of the Black struggle in the American revolution.

A socialist revolution in the United States will be a combined revolution, the party said. It will mean the coming together of two powerful insurgent forces—a revolution by Blacks and other oppressed nationalities for liberation and self-determination, combined with a revolution of the entire working class against capitalist exploitation. Both will succeed together, or neither will succeed.

Since the 1930s, the party noted, capitalism has brought about vast economic and demographic changes, drawing on Blacks as a more and more

central part of the industrial work force.

Paying Blacks lower wages than whites, keeping a huge pool of Blacks unemployed, and fostering racist prejudices among whites to hamper working-class solidarity—all these have become absolutely essential to U.S. capitalism's survival.

But the same process has also created an explosive anticapitalist potential. The aspirations and demands of Blacks for a better life encompass both a struggle against their exploitation as the lowest stratum of workers, and a struggle against their oppression as a distinct nationality that is denied the right of self-determination.

Chicanos, *mexicanos*, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities and national minorities each have their own history and suffer their own specific forms of oppression. But the method by which the SWP developed its analysis of the Black struggle has also proved invaluable in developing the party's program in relation to these groups.

Women's liberation

One of the most dramatic changes in U.S. capitalism since the 1930s has been the massive influx of women into the labor force, helping lead to the rise of the women's liberation movement. This movement has deeply affected mass consciousness and shaken up every aspect of American society.

The struggle for the emancipation of women strikes at the very foundations of class society. It will be, the SWP said, one of the driving forces of the American socialist revolution.

The consequences of the rise of independent struggles by women and oppressed nationalities are far-reaching. Minority and women workers to a growing degree tend to be the most militant on the job and in the union, setting an example and giving leadership to the entire work force.

They will play a vanguard role in the fight for class-struggle policies in the unions. And support to the demands of oppressed nationalities and women for genuine social equality must be among the policies of the union movement if it is to unite the working class in struggle.

The SWP's understanding of the changed dynamic of the American revolution was not arrived at all at once, but developed through a lengthy process of discussion and participation in the new struggles as they arose. From feminism to the rise of Chicano nationalism, from gay and lesbian liberation to protests against environmental destruction, the SWP has welcomed each new battle-front against capitalist oppression.

It has drawn fresh inspiration and confidence from the radicalization.

It has enriched its program and strategy in accordance with the actual development of the class struggle.

And hundreds of the best fighters from all these movements have seen that the better world they are striving for has a name—socialism—and have joined the SWP to help bring that world into being.

Perspectives today

There has always been another element to the SWP's appreciation of the independent protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s—the certainty that these foreshadowed and would help lead to the radicalization and mobilization of the big battalions of American labor.

In a major resolution adopted at its 1975 convention, "Prospects for Socialism in America," the party brought together this entire analysis. It concluded that we are now on the threshold of "a new period in the transformation of the political consciousness of the American working class." This transformation is being brought about by the effects of the social and economic shocks of the past half-decade—double-digit inflation, mass unemployment, shortages, breakdowns, decay of social services, antiunion assaults—combined with the changes in attitudes already fostered by the radicalization.

The capitalist rulers worry about "subversion." But they fail to realize—as the SWP learned from Marx—that capitalism itself is the great subversive. What perspective does it offer the masses of working people?

What capitalism offers

On a world scale, not peace but incessant war. From Korea to Vietnam, Washington has unleashed military force to protect Wall Street's profits. And every new conflict on the horizon—today in Africa, tomorrow in the Middle East—threatens to provoke a nuclear holocaust that will incinerate humanity.

What about prosperity? Even the staunchest defenders of capitalism have stopped promising that. Now their talk is of permanent scarcity and the "limits of growth." They demand sacrifices and belt-tightening from workers.

With Black unemployment more than twice as high as for whites, the Democratic and Republican politicians have opened fire on affirmative-action quotas. Schools and housing are becoming more segregated, not less. The gap between Black incomes and white incomes is widening.

The aspirations of women for equal rights are stymied in similar fashion. The stronghold of capitalist "democracy" still refuses to enact a constitutional statement that women are equal to men before the law.

Even the social gains workers thought had been assured for decades—such as free public education and Social Security—are threatened.

Instead of a rising standard of living and "partnership" with the unions, the employers have

Continued on next page



Coal miners demonstrate. Attack on United Mine Workers epitomizes new employer offensive against unions.

...40 years

Continued from preceding page

launched virulent new attacks on the labor movement. The current nationwide coal strike—in which the coal bosses, led by the giant steel, oil, and utility companies, are openly threatening to cripple the United Mine Workers—epitomizes the new assault.

The destructiveness of decaying capitalism has emerged in new and more horrible forms. The environment is ravaged, the seas poisoned, whole sections of the earth turned into wastelands. Cancer, predominantly caused by industrial pollutants, is reaching epidemic proportions.

Working-class response

The ruling-class offensive had provoked a variety of defensive actions by working people—strikes for economic demands; rallies for jobs; protests against cutbacks; demonstrations for abortion rights, school desegregation, and the Equal Rights Amendment. The frustration and radicalization of Black and Puerto Rican youth has been seen in sporadic explosions such as the one during the New York City blackout. Recently, working farmers have rallied and struck against the squeeze on their living standards.

At the same time, millions of working people—far more than the limited numbers who have taken to the streets in protest actions—have begun to draw radical conclusions about the current political, social, and economic setup. It has somehow gone awry, they suspect. The system is not working in their interests.

But the defensive protests remain sporadic and isolated from each other. And the questioning of the system has not yet progressed to an understanding that the source of these attacks is the division of society into classes and the determined effort of the capitalist class to make the workers pay for the long term crisis of the profit system.

Two major reasons stand out for the weakness of the working-class response.

First, the capitalists and their news media take skillful advantage of every division in the working class to sow confusion and disorganization.

Public employees and welfare recipients are blamed for soaring taxes.

Undocumented immigrants are made the scapegoats for unemployment.

A concerted effort is underway—exemplified by the *Bakke* case—to convince white male workers

that their economic insecurity is caused by the demands of oppressed minorities and women.

The offensive is carefully selective. The heaviest blows fall on women, minorities, young workers, the unskilled, and the unemployed. Workers who are relatively better off are encouraged to accept and even welcome these attacks with the false notion that their own positions will be left secure. Instead, the effect is to undermine the ability of all workers to protect themselves.

The second key weapon of the capitalists—just as in the 1930s—is their two-party political monopoly. Carter's election is a prime example. The leaders of the unions and the established organizations of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women told their followers to trust Carter and to prune their demands to what the Democratic Party would go along with. Once in office, Carter has quickly abandoned his election promises and carried on the same anti-Black, antilabor, antiwoman offensive begun by Nixon and Ford before him.

Both the social divisions and political powerlessness of the working class are perpetuated by the misleaders of the labor movement. These bureaucrats—corrupted by material privilege and dedicated to collaboration with the bosses—stand as formidable obstacles to the workers using their own organizations, the unions, to advance independent class political action.

Revolutionary party

These fundamental problems facing the working class today underscore the need for a revolutionary party.

As James P. Cannon explained in one of the last articles written before his death, the party “has to be constituted by those elements of the class and their spokesmen who grasp the requirements for revolutionary action and proceed to their implementation sooner than the bulk of the proletariat on both a national and international scale.”

This concept is in no way elitist or substitutionist, as is sometimes charged. Only the masses of workers can defeat the capitalist offensive and carry through a victorious socialist revolution. But to do so the workers must be *conscious* of their common social interests and politically *organized* to win them. As the “Prospects for Socialism in America” resolution puts it, the workers have to learn “to think socially and act politically.”

The party's program expresses these objective needs of the working class and the party acts—through involvement in the day-to-day struggles of

the workers—to further the self-awakening of the class. To do so it must be *democratic*, in order to draw on the collective experience and ideas of all its adherents. And, flowing from this decision-making by the majority, it must be *centralized* in order to act as an effective fighting unit against a violent and ruthless capitalist class.

How is the SWP trying to carry out this necessary leadership role today?

Among other things, the SWP stands in the forefront of the fight against the *Bakke* decision, of defending undocumented immigrants, of pressing for women's rights.

It takes these social issues into the labor movement, explaining the need to champion the interests of the most oppressed workers.

It joins the efforts of the workers to defend and strengthen their unions, democratize them, and transform them into class-struggle weapons.

It seeks to explain clearly and concretely the need for independent labor political action.

Through the *Militant* and party election campaigns, it provides socialist answers to the urgent problems confronting workers in their daily lives.

In many respects the tasks of the party today are fundamentally the same as those laid out at the SWP's founding convention.

But we've come a long way. The party has accumulated experience, trained cadres, expanded geographically, and developed leadership. It has become a pole of attraction for the best forces on the American left and dramatically improved the relationship of forces against the Stalinists and other anti-Marxist currents.

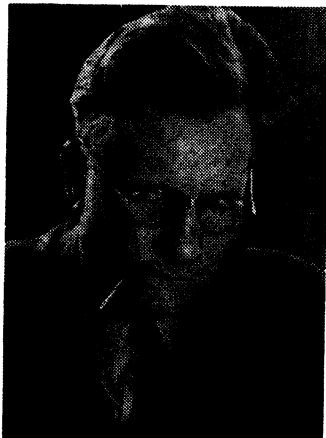
It has a continuity of tradition, program, and leadership unique in the world revolutionary movement.

Today the SWP is in a preparatory period of explanation, modest growth, and organization—not ascending mass actions and massive recruitment. But its revolutionary optimism is based on the conviction that out of today's defensive struggles, more and more workers will learn that class-collaborationism is a dead end, that a new course and new leaders are needed.

Cannon predicted in 1946 that “the American workers will learn politics as they learned trade unionism—‘from an abridged dictionary.’ They will take the road of independent political action with hurricane speed and power.”

After a long detour and unexpected delays, today's conditions are setting the stage for the accelerated fulfillment of that vision.

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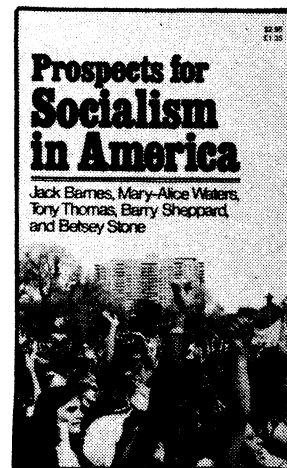


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'1900'

1900. Starring Robert De Niro, Gerard Depardieu, Dominique Sanda, Stefania Sandrelli, and Donald Sutherland. Screenplay by Franco Arcalli, Giuseppe Bertolucci, Bernardo Bertolucci. Directed by Bernardo Bertolucci. Paramount Pictures.

1900 is the saga of two Italian families intimately and immediately bound together by history.

The Berlinghieris are rich landlords. The Dalcos are a sprawling, extended family of landless peasants. The Dalcos break their backs for their masters, the Berlinghieris.

The four-hour-long film traces the evolution of three generations of these families from the turn of the century to the downfall of Mussolini in 1945.

The achievement is spectacular. Bertolucci brings a painter's love of color to the screen. His direction evokes a passion and ease of portrayal in his characters that is especially noteworthy: they stand up to the immense detail and power the story's length requires of them.

There is not a minute that drags for lack of dramatic tension, humor, tragedy, triumph, pain, or eroticism. At the same time, the film is paced so that one has time to absorb it and think about it without becoming lost.

Bertolucci is an analyst of character. He is with the peasants, with the oppressed, with the victims. But he is not a crude "socialist realist" who presents the workers as wartless saints and the bosses as simply fang-toothed, blood-drinking misers.

His peasant men and women are human paupers,

Film

ignorant, superstitious, beaten-down beasts of burden. But there is more to them: an earthly goodness, a warmth of solidarity, a zest for living.

Bertolucci masterfully shows how—as the traditional and supposedly paternalistic family-to-family relationship between rulers and ruled evolves into a more sharply defined class antagonism—the peasants become more politically conscious, more organized, more combative, more human.

The *padrone*—the lord of the land of old, the robust lover of the good life, the rugged individual (played by Burt Lancaster)—gives way to a more vicious, predatory capitalist (Giovanni, the father of Alfredo), who rules with an iron fist as class warfare becomes more open.

Similarly, the utopian socialist vision of Leo, the Dalco family patriarch (played by Sterling Hayden), finds a more conscious and consistent rage in Olmo (Gerard Depardieu), who confronts Alfredo (Robert De Niro).

Olmo and Alfredo

For Olmo, the "elm," the "peasant bastard," maturity and political growth go together. He knows his work, what he's expected to do, and he does it. He becomes an organizer on the farm and a member of the Communist Party.

Depardieu's subtle awkwardness and rugged features are fitting complements to the inner rage and hatred that animate his life and his work against the misery of his family and class.

De Niro, as Alfredo, is cut from different cloth. Aware since boyhood of the brutal oppression of the peasant toilers, enamored and envious of Olmo as an adolescent, Alfredo cannot will himself to become the new *padrone* after his father dies.

Torn between a social role that repels him and the wealth that allows him to escape from ugliness, Alfredo does not, cannot, break with his class. He is spineless, immature, and dissolute.

In telling the story of Alfredo and Olmo's growing up, Bertolucci deftly combines the innocence of adolescence, the bittersweetness of the boys' friendship, and the irreconcilability of their social positions. Boyhood discoveries, the material that is the basis



Striking peasant women confront mounted cops in one of most dramatic scenes from Bertolucci's landmark film.

of adult men's memories and consciousness are of a world where one family inflicts inhuman suffering on the other.

However austere this seems, and the film reviewers for the big-business press roundly and routinely condemned Bertolucci for ideological heavy-handedness, 1900 is anything but shrill propaganda.

It is Bertolucci's finely drawn small incidents of the private moments and shared experiences of the young boys as they grow up that make his conclusions unavoidably convincing.

Most of 1900 takes place on the Berlinghieri lands. But the film is much more than a portrait of two families. Bertolucci depicts the giant social battles that reached into every corner of Italy through the smaller world of the Dalcos and Berlinghieris.

Fascism

This includes the rise of fascism, a movement unleashed by the ruling rich to crush the workers' and farmers' radicalization of the 1920s.

Donald Sutherland's characterization of Attila, the fascist chieftain in the Berlinghieris' village, is nightmarishly evil. The brutality of fascism is stunningly visualized through Attila's lust for violence, as well as his perverse and degenerate personal life.

Bertolucci, whose previous film, *Last Tango in Paris*, conveyed to some feminists a contempt for women, leaves much less margin for criticism in 1900.

Stefania Sandrelli as Anita, the communist organizer who is Olmo's companion, leads the wives of striking farmers in a heroic confrontation with horse-mounted cops.

The scene is shot in varying hues of grey and dark browns and greens—cold, ominous, eerie. There is no romance, just roused anger; no frivolity, just unrelenting hate. The women's spirit—they sing workers' songs as the horsemen prepare to charge—dominate the screen. This is one of the most powerful, inspiring moments in the film.

Bertolucci contrasts Dominique Sanda as Ada to Anita. Ada is a frivolous, alienated bourgeois youth. Alfredo falls in love with her, and later they marry.

Anita is down-to-earth, joyful, serious, fiery, handsome.

Ada is juvenile, affected, purposeless. Her beauty is skin deep, as shallow as her character. But 1900 traces Ada's eventual development of will and strength as Alfredo drowns in his own weakness, becoming a spiritual hostage to the fascists who serve him.

Bertolucci's treatment of women, and the relationships between men and women, reveals a subtlety and insight that few, if any, male directors have.

His portrait of how Olmo and Alfredo buy their way into the bed of a poverty-stricken young woman is as haunting as any on film—and as any showing men's cruelty to women, anywhere. Bertolucci's 1900 has a ring of truth and an originality that spares no taboo.

But despite Bertolucci's efforts to fully picture the lives of the women in his film, it remains the men who dominate in 1900—as in the story it tells.

The major flaw in 1900 is its editing. (The version shown at the 1976 Cannes film festival was five-and-a-half hours long.) This is jumpy and jagged, bringing you suddenly out of, or into, the middle of scenes.

Perhaps this explains the compactness, abstractness, and difficulty of the last part of 1900 as it is commercially shown.

What is Bertolucci trying to say about the possible outcomes of the struggle he shows us?

Cynical?

The brutal reign of the fascists gives way at the end of the Second World War to a triumphant armed rising of the toilers. On the Berlinghieri estate, the peasants scream out their indictment of Alfredo at a people's trial, forming a canopy for the outdoor courtroom with scores of red flags they have carefully preserved during years of underground activity.

But in the end, despite Bertolucci's compelling portrayal of the possibility and necessity for his story's completion in revolution—there remain, still, the *padrone* and the peasant.

This is, of course, only historical accuracy. But it is not at all a statement of pessimism about the chances for emancipation and human freedom from the bondage of class oppression.

Not at all. 1900 shows how Communist Party leaders of the partisan resistance use their authority to turn back the spontaneous wave of land occupations, factory seizures, and workers' armed self-defense actions that promise to end capitalist rule in Italy.

A rebellious peasant youth is slapped down by a CPer when he resists turning in his rifle.

The audience winces at the boy's pain and impotent anger. How can this have happened?

1900 doesn't make explicit that the revolution's betrayers were acting under orders from their leaders in the Kremlin, that the Italian upsurge was slapped down by the bureaucrats in Moscow as part of their postwar deals with Roosevelt and Churchill.

But the film's conclusion does not depress the viewer with the hopelessness of the peasants' rebellion, rather it challenges the audience: find a way to make sure this hopeful power is never again betrayed.

—Jon Hillson

Calendar

ALBANY, N.Y.

ABORTION RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK. A panel discussion. Speakers: Jane Dwyer, Friends of Family Planning; representative, SWP; others. Fri., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

ATLANTA

CARTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA: MYTH VERSUS REALITY. Speaker: Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader. Thurs., Jan. 19, 8 p.m. Georgia State University, Urban Life Auditorium. Ausp: SGA, USLA.

BERKELEY-OAKLAND

WILL THE EGYPT-ISRAEL TALKS BRING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST? Speakers: Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis*; others. Fri., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 653-7156.

DENVER

ENERGY CRISIS: FACT OR FRAUD? Speaker: Alan Gummerson, University of Colorado at Denver

Economics Department, member SWP. Fri., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

CUBA TODAY. Speakers: Joel Edelstein, associate professor of political science, University of Colorado at Denver; Jeff Hamill, SWP. Fri., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

ABORTION & FORCED STERILIZATION: WE STILL DON'T HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE. Speakers: Kika Epstein Warfield, LA NOW, Women & Welfare Task Force; Laura Garza, SWP. Fri., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. (near Western). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST

NO FORCED STERILIZATIONS! Slide show by Debbie Freeman and Angela Coron. Speaker from Committee to Stop Forced Sterilization. Fri., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

NEW ORLEANS

GRAND OPENING OF MILITANT BOOKSTORE. Speaker: Joel Aber, former SWP candidate for

mayor. Fri., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

TWO TALKS ON RACISM, REVOLUTION, REACTION, 1861-1877. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, former SWP candidate for city council at large. Sat., Jan. 21, first class 12:30 p.m.; second class 2:30 p.m. Donation: 50¢ per class. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

NEW YORK CITY: THE BRONX

SPECIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Nelson Gonzalez, SWP candidate in 21st Congressional District. Fri., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

NEW YORK CITY: LOWER EAST SIDE

DEFEND HECTOR MARROQUIN/DEFENDAMOS A HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speakers: Margaret Winter, attorney for Marroquin; others. Fri., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. 7 Clinton St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum/Foro Militante. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT

FREE THE PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST PRISONERS! Speakers and slide show from the San Francisco Puerto Rican Solidarity Organization. Fri., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more

information call (415) 824-1992.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA 1978 SOCIALIST WORKERS STATE CAMPAIGN RALLY. Featured speaker: Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for governor. Sat., Feb. 4, 6-7:30 p.m. refreshments, 7:30 p.m. rally. St. Peter's Church, 24th & Alabama, San Francisco. For more information call (415) 824-1992; 261-1210; 653-7156; or (408) 295-8342.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: ADAMS-MORGAN

HOW TO WIN THE ERA. Speakers: representatives from NOW, Labor for Equal Rights Now, and SWP. Fri., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. 2416 18th St. NW. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: GEORGIA AVENUE

CLASS SERIES ON RACISM, REVOLUTION, AND REACTION: A MARXIST VIEW OF BLACK HISTORY. A five-part series. Class 2: Civil War, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow. Wed., Jan. 18, 6:30 p.m. Classes each Wednesday. Howard University, Locke Hall, Room 236. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

MINORITY WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVE ON HOUSTON NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

Speakers: Sharon Parker, NOW Minority Women's Task Force; Penny Hickleberry, reporter for WHNR news; Afrodita Constantinidis, 1977 school board candidate of SWP. Fri., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. Howard University, room to be announced. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

...Bakke

Continued from back page

mobilization and a clear demonstration of people that the *Bakke* decision be overturned. It's setting back gains that have been made by women and Blacks during the past fifteen years."

Nelson countered the argument raised by some opponents of *Bakke* that demonstrations don't help.

"If there are enough people in the streets saying what they want, that kind of pressure can have a big effect on the Supreme Court."

Jeff Mackler is an organizer for American Federation of Teachers Local 1423 in Hayward, California, and national coordinator of the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education. He explained that "opposition to the *Bakke* decision is essential to teachers if we are going to prevent the rash of layoffs that are totally distorting the civil rights gains that the AFT fought for in the past.

"I'm expecting sharper interest in the *Bakke* case among AFT locals," he continued. He pointed to the fight led by the desegregation caucus at the AFT's August convention to reverse the union leadership's support for *Bakke*. AFT President Albert Shanker's pro-*Bakke* position lost or barely carried in every major urban local except New York. Because of the AFT's unit-voting rule and the size of the New York delegation, however, Shanker's racist stance withstood the challenge.

"The April 8 and 15 protests will give teachers another opportunity to express their opposition to the attacks on affirmative action," Mackler concluded.

William Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union and East Coast coordinator of the AFT desegregation caucus, said, "We have to be eternally vigilant in dealing with affirmative action to make sure there is no backsliding. Local 6 is in support of the general principles of keeping up the fight to ensure that affirmative-action programs continue. We will be

involved in April 15 in some way, shape, or form."

National Education Association deputy director and general counsel **Robert Chanin** said he hoped the organizers of the April 15 March on Washington would contact the NEA. "The NEA is a firm supporter of affirmative action and for the overturn of the *Bakke* decision," he said.

Vincent Benson is grievance committee chairperson of Lodge 1906, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks and chairperson of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists in Washington, D.C. Benson told the *Militant*, "I think it's essential to have a mass demonstration around the overturn of *Bakke*."

"It is essential particularly for trade unionists, who have had one setback after another. When you think about the whole jobs situation, you have to deal with racism and discrimination, which immediately leads you back to dealing with the broader implications of *Bakke*."

Benson is absolutely right. And that's why unionists will be marching in Washington April 15 and in cities around the country April 8.

For further information on April 15 contact: NCOBD, P.O. Box 3026, So. Berkeley Station, Berkeley, California 94703; or: NSCAR, 160 5th Avenue, Room 615, New York, New York 10010.

...Farm

Continued from page 24

This is where farmers collected much food to support the Minneapolis Teamsters' strike in 1934.

During the National Farmers Organization's holding action in the early 1960s, farmers here stopped all produce coming in from South Dakota. And union truckers and railway workers in this area honored NFO picket lines at that time.

lightly at anyone messing with us. Every member of the YSA is precious to us. The capitalists have now attacked us. They have attacked Héctor, one of our comrades."

But this attack will backfire like all the others, Camejo warned. "We will turn this attack against them and make them pay for it every single day." The audience expressed its agreement by prolonged applause.

Holly Harkness, *Young Socialist* business manager, was the final speaker. "Twenty years ago when our paper was launched," she said, "its masthead read 'Young Socialist—Voice of Ameri-

Ultimately, a lasting improvement in farm prices can only come about with a greatly improved standard of living for all working people in this country. To win the majority of people to their cause, farmers will have to take up the cause of the unemployed, the elderly, and the oppressed minorities.

Today there are signs of a reawakening of the past militancy, when the farmer and the laborer felt the need to combine their power. This will take place here in Minnesota again.

And not just here, but in the nation as a whole.

...Vietnam

Continued from page 8

tries is ill-defined and has long been in dispute.

Both regimes have proposed that the matter be settled by negotiations. The Vietnamese urged in their statement that "the two sides meet as early as possible, so as to together solve the border issue between the two countries in a spirit of brotherly friendship."

The Phnom Penh regime has announced that it wants peace talks too, but it demands that first Vietnamese troops be withdrawn from what it considers to be Cambodian soil.

Neither call for negotiations can be taken as proof of peaceful intent in the absence of objective information.

For the imperialist butchers who devastated all of Indochina and slaughtered millions in the process, the spectacle of two supposedly Marxist regimes trading charges of horrible atrocities and locked in a conflict over pieces of territory is a welcome one. By playing up the dispute, the capitalist media hopes to discredit socialism, while implying that what Washington did in Indochina wasn't so bad after all—U.S. troops have been withdrawn and fighting is still going on.

Meanwhile, the Stalinist regimes in Moscow and Peking have been quick to take sides. The Kremlin's attitudes

ca's Future.' That was true then, and it's true now. Because that's exactly who reads the *Young Socialist* today—America's future.

"The young people who read our paper are the future of the YSA, the future of the American revolution."

Funds are needed to help the *Young Socialist* keep "reaching, inspiring, and convincing America's youth to join the struggle," Harkness explained. The rally responded generously to her appeal; \$4,200 was raised that night—a fitting tribute to twenty years of the *Young Socialist*.

...YSA

Continued from page 3

YSA and SWP will be in the schools and in the factories to help them understand what to do.

"If that nucleus exists, and people begin to listen, things can explode with great rapidity," Camejo predicted.

"The hardest thing is laying that groundwork today, but it is the most important."

Camejo also stressed the importance of the YSA's efforts to defend Héctor Marroquín. "We can't look

The Lesser Evil?



**Peter Camejo
George Breitman
Jack Barnes**

VS.

**Michael Harrington
Carl Haessler
Stanley Aronowitz**

What is the Democratic Party—the 'party of the people' or a dead end? Should feminists, Black people, union militants, socialists, and others support the Democratic Party? Or should they run their own candidates in opposition?

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The Autobiographies of the

HAYMARKET MARTYRS

Philip S. Foner, ed.



The Haymarket incident took place in 1886, at the peak of the struggle for the eight-hour day. In Chicago on May 1 40,000 workers went on strike. On May 6, a group of police threatened to disperse a peaceful demonstration. A bomb was thrown into their ranks, killing one policeman. In the police riot that followed, more than 200 workers were injured and six killed.

In the subsequent wave of police repression, strike leaders Albert Parsons and August Spies were arrested. With six others, they were convicted for murder in a hysterical frame-up trial. Six, including Parsons and Spies, were executed, and two were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Hundreds of thousands of Chicago workers attended the funeral of the martyrs, and the movement pushed forward. A few years later, Illinois Gov. Robert Altgeld pardoned all those convicted in the trial—living and dead.

These essays were written while the Haymarket martyrs awaited their execution. The writers tell how they came to enter the workers movement, and what they fought for. Now, for the first time, these moving and important documents from the hidden history of the working class are available in a paperback edition.

The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs, edited with an introduction by Dr. Philip S. Foner, is a MONAD PRESS BOOK. 198 pages, paper \$3.95. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.



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THE MILITANT

Unionists speak out against 'Bakke'

By Omari Musa

More and more trade-union supporters of Black and women's rights are speaking out against the *Bakke* decision.

The decision itself involves a university special admissions program struck down by the California Supreme Court as unconstitutional. Allan Bakke, a thirty-seven-year-old white engineer, sued the University of California, claiming that his rejection from the Davis Medical School constituted "racism in reverse." Davis had set aside 16 of the 100 places in its entering class for minority applicants.

The California court decision is now before the U.S. Supreme Court on appeal.

This assault on affirmative action poses a threat not only to Black, Latino, Asian-American, and women students, but to workers in these specially oppressed groups as well.

Last October, for example, a federal district judge in Los Angeles struck down a government program reserving

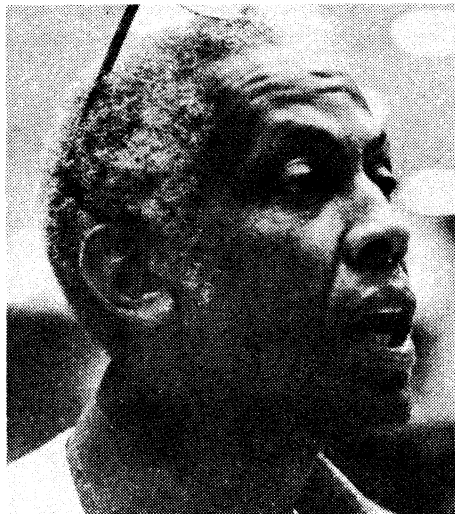
10 percent of some government construction contracts for minority contractors. The judge cited the *Bakke* case, calling quotas "invidious and unconstitutional."

In Louisiana a white steelworker recently won a suit ending an affirmative-action program wrung by Black workers from Kaiser Aluminum and racist misleaders of the United Steelworkers of America.

Unions oppose 'Bakke'

Many unions with large Black, women, and Latino memberships have filed "friend of the court" briefs with the U.S. Supreme Court, urging the reversal of the *Bakke* decision. These include: the United Auto Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Education Association; United Farm Workers of America; United Mine Workers; and International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

Last fall some union locals and labor



William Simons Militant/Lynn Henderson



Jeff Mackler Militant/Lynn Henderson



Sara Nelson



Randy Potts Militant/Andy Rose

leaders endorsed demonstrations in defense of affirmative action initiated by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD) and Black American Law Students Association (BALSA).

The NCOBD has now called for a national march on Washington April 15 and local demonstrations April 8.

In telephone interviews with the *Militant*, a number of union activists and leaders said that the idea of such a national mobilization was a good one.

The all-white quotas

Randy Potts of United Steelworkers of America Local 65 said, "I

am for a march on Washington to overturn *Bakke*. Quotas have always been there—it was acceptable when it was 100 percent white men.

"But once people began demanding that Blacks and women get an adequate percentage of better-paying skilled jobs, then all of a sudden quotas are unfair, immoral, or illegal."

Potts is former chairperson of the civil rights committee in Local 65.

Sara Nelson, national labor task force director for the National Organization for Women (NOW) and a staff member of Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), told the *Militant*: "It's absolutely necessary that there be a

Continued on page 30

Labor steps up plans for Va. ERA march

By Flax Hermes

RICHMOND, Va.—A January 7 meeting of the Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN) discussed what trade unions and women's groups are doing to make the January 22 Richmond demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment a success.

The meeting, held in the Richmond LERN office, was attended by representatives of the Virginia AFL-CIO, two locals of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, American Federation of

An editorial on the January 22 protests appears on page 10.

Government Employees, Communications Workers of America, United Auto Workers, Tobacco Workers union, the D.C. chapter of the National Organization for Women, and Women for Racial and Economic Equality.

The January 22 demonstration will climax a week of activity for the ERA organized by LERN, a coalition of Virginia trade unions initiated by locals of the Meat Cutters union.

The January 7 meeting discussed how to maximize the turnout of trade unionists and other supporters of equal rights at the demonstration. According to reports at the meeting:

- The Teamsters union has printed 100,000 copies of a new leaflet for the LERN rally. In two days 5,000 copies were distributed in Richmond. Similarly, the northern Virginia American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has printed thousands of leaflets.

- The Virginia AFL-CIO plans a mailing about the demonstration to its 80,000 members. The Virginia Education Association is also mailing information about January 22 to its 45,000 members.

- The United Auto Workers has been organizing representatives to speak to UAW locals.

- Although most members of the United Mine Workers are in the coalfields organizing the current strike, the UMW hopes to send a contingent of women miners to lead off the January 22 march.

- The Tobacco Workers union from southern Virginia is organizing buses to bring supporters to Richmond.

- LERN has also stepped up its efforts to speak to Black organizations and win their endorsement.

- In Richmond, northern Virginia, and Washington, D.C., LERN has assigned people to publicize the demonstration on campuses.

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All out Jan. 22!

Mark January 22, the fifth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, by taking part in one of the activities planned by the National Organization for Women and other groups to defend women's right to choose abortion:

CALIFORNIA: Sacramento statewide rally on January 23 will meet at the east end of Capitol Park at 11:00 a.m. and march west to rally at Capitol Park between 9th and 10th Streets. The rally, organized by California NOW, has been endorsed by the United Steelworkers Union Local 1304 . . . **Los Angeles** rally January 22, 2:00 p.m. at Lafayette Park on 6th and Hoover . . . **Oakland** picket line during the evening rush hour on January 18 at the offices of Health, Education and Welfare, 13th and Broadway . . . **San Francisco** picket line at noon on January 20 at the HEW Building, UN Plaza.

FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY: Statewide protest on January 22 gathers at 1:00 p.m. at Juniper Hills Park to march to state capitol for a 2:00 p.m. rally.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI: Abortion speakout on January 22 at 1:30 p.m. at the Unitarian Church, Bragg Auditorium, 4500 Warwick. Donation requested: 50 cents.

NEW YORK CITY: Teach-in on abortion rights on January 21 at 2:30 p.m. at the Martin Luther King Labor Center, 310 W. 43rd Street (between 8th and 9th. avenues). Speakers include Betty Friedan, Ruby Jones of the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women, Dr. Helen Rodriguez of the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse, anthropologist Evelyn Reed, Kate Millet, NOW leader Alice Chapman, journalist Ellen Willis, and attorney Florynce Kennedy.

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY: Abortion rights speakout at 1:00 p.m. on January 29 in Robeson Student Center at Rutgers University. Speakers include Valorie Caffee, NOW Minority Women's Task Force director and Father Joseph O'Rourke, president of Catholics for Free Choice.

AKRON, OHIO: Statewide rally on January 21 at noon at Cascade Plaza.

TACOMA, WASHINGTON: January 20 picket line during evening rush hour at the federal courthouse.