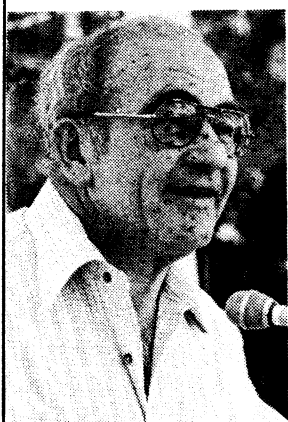


# THE MILITANT

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

## TV, film celebrities back socialist lawsuit



Star of  
'Lou Grant'  
hosts  
L.A. benefit  
—PAGE 14

## Spanish unionists map fight against austerity pact

—PAGE 19

## Satellite crash spotlights nuclear hazards

—PAGE 8

# Unions pledge support to coal miners

By Nancy Cole

PITTSBURGH—More than 1,200 striking coal miners and their supporters from other unions rallied here January 29 in a spirited display of labor solidarity.

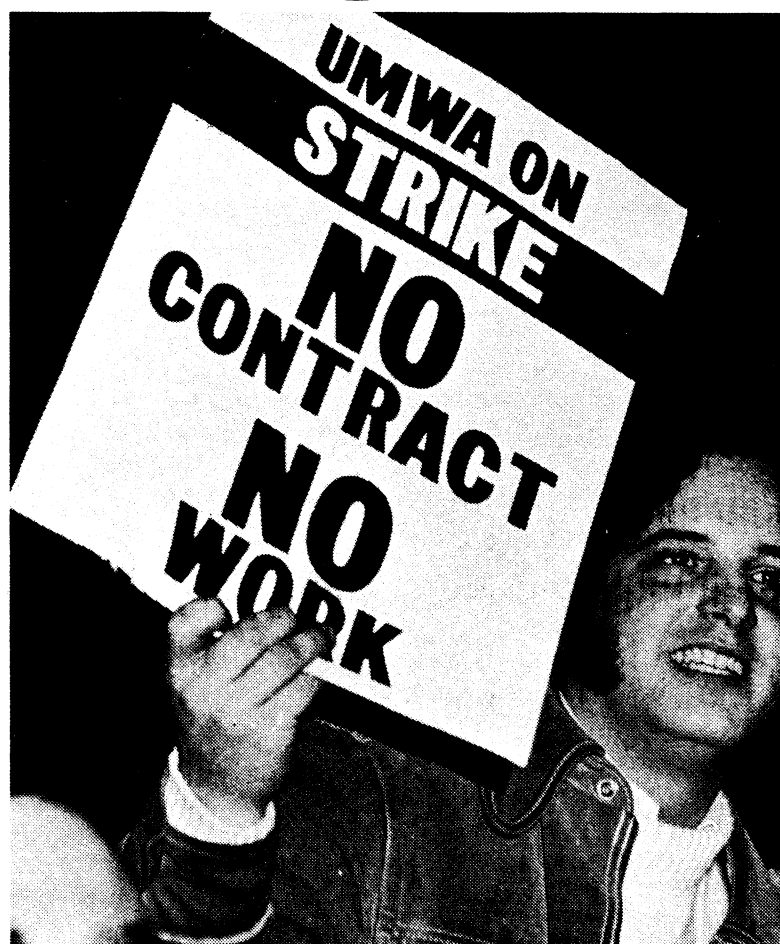
More than half of the audience was made up of coal miners, who came despite hazardous conditions on the roads from outlying mining communities. The stormy weather undoubtedly prevented many others from attending.

Top billing for the Sunday afternoon event went to United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller and to country and western singer Johnny Paycheck. But the stars turned out to be the striking miners, who greeted each pledge of support with shouts and applause.

The benefit was sponsored by UMWA District 5 and the Allegheny County Labor Council. The labor council sent out a 20,000-piece mailing to publicize the event. Some 25,000 leaflets were distributed by union and student supporters, including a newly formed University of Pittsburgh Committee to Help the UMW Win.

Lou Antal, president of UMWA District 5, kicked off the rally by reading a telegram signed by fifteen United Steelworkers local presidents from the Mesabi Iron Range and by Linus Wampler, director of USWA District 33.

*Continued on page 15*



Militant/Nancy Cole

PITTSBURGH—1,200 rally in solidarity with mine workers' strike.

## 'MILITANT' EXCLUSIVE



Nat'l Wilmington 10 Defense C'ttee.

## BEN CHAVIS SPEAKS OUT

Interview with Wilmington 10 leader

—PAGE 6

## Defend coal strike!

As the coal industry starts to feel the pinch from the nationwide coal miners' strike, there is a growing danger of federal strikebreaking action against the United Mine Workers.

When the strike began, the industry boasted of huge stockpiles of coal. The employers were confident that cutoffs of pensions and health benefits would bring the UMWA ranks to heel.

But the miners have stood tough. They are united and determined to win a just settlement.

Now utilities and other industries are starting to run short of coal. And the coal profiteers are looking to Washington for help.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reports that executives of the utility companies—themselves among the biggest coal owners—"are privately asking whether Mr. Carter might invoke the Taft-Hartley Act and order the miners back to work."

Gov. James Rhodes of Ohio announced January 29 that he had sent Carter a telegram "pleading" for the president's personal intervention. The governors of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia have also warned of an "emergency" unless the strike ends soon. None of these Democratic and Republican politicians, however, have called on the *coal operators* to settle the strike by honoring the right of coal miners to safety, health care, and a decent living.

Carter, at his January 31 news conference, hinted that he is considering a Taft-Hartley injunction. He said that he saw no "immediate prospect" of issuing such a back-to-work order—only because the "danger" is not "at that point yet."

Speaking at an enthusiastic labor support rally in Pittsburgh January 28, UMWA President Arnold Miller pointed out that federal injunctions have not mined coal in the past and are not likely to do so today.

A representative of Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride told the rally that there was "no way that our generation" could "fully repay" the miners for their role in building the industrial union movement. McBride should recall that in 1949, when the steelworkers were fighting a long and bitter national strike, UMWA President John L. Lewis proposed that the big AFL unions join with the UMWA to raise \$2.5 million a week in strike aid.

Today the beleaguered miners are receiving no strike benefits. There could surely be no better occasion for the Steelworkers officialdom to tap its \$100-million strike fund—and mobilize its membership—for massive aid to the miners.

The threat of stepped-up federal intervention against the UMWA is a danger to the entire labor movement. It ought to prompt an outpouring of solidarity actions like the one in Pittsburgh. The pledges of support made there by officials of the Steelworkers, Teamsters, Clothing Workers, and other unions should be followed up with actions across the country.

## Blow to civil liberties

Led by liberal Democrat Edward Kennedy, the Senate dealt a blow to democratic rights January 30. The occasion was the passage of S. 1437, a bill to revise the federal criminal code. The proposal will now go to the House.

Originally introduced by the Nixon administration under the title S. 1, the bill ran into popular opposition due to the increased awareness of government repression after Watergate.

Following the demise of S. 1, Kennedy and other Senate liberals helped to revive the proposal, while eliminating some of the most notoriously repressive provisions in the old bill. The American Civil Liberties Union has denounced the result as a "dangerous compromise of civil liberties."

S. 1437 is filled with provisions that could be used to prohibit political expression through assemblies, demonstrations, and picketing. For example, Section 1302 of the bill would enable any federal officer to order a protest to disperse merely by claiming that it "creates a risk of serious injury to a person or serious damage to property."

A new offense created by S. 1437, "obstructing a government function by physical interference," could be used, according to the ACLU, against "virtually every strike, picketing activity or mass demonstration at or near a Federal facility."

Another aspect of the proposed criminal code is expansion of statutes against "conspiracy," "solicitation," and "attempt." Such charges have been a favorite weapon of prose-

cutors in political frame-ups, since they need not prove any criminal *action* on the part of the defendants to convict them.

Other provisions in S. 1437 expand government powers to prosecute both its own employees and reporters who are involved in publicizing information the government wants to keep secret. In addition, police powers in political investigations are strengthened, and laws on blackmail and extortion are made applicable against labor unions.

Of course, the mere passage of repressive legislation of this type would not mean that the government will be in a position to use it successfully. As was shown during the Vietnam War, mass opposition can defeat attempts by the ruling class to victimize opponents of its policies.

Nevertheless, S. 1437 would put new legal weapons into the hands of the rulers. This repressive "reform" bill should be opposed by every supporter of democratic rights.

## CAIFI 6

The charges against six members of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) by the Jersey City State College administration pose a grave threat to freedom of speech both on campus and off. (See story on page 9.)

And since the six defendants are all Iranians, the U.S. government could use these trumped-up charges to try to deport them to Iran. There they would face certain imprisonment and torture, and possibly death, since all have been outspoken critics of the Iranian government's brutality.

It has been CAIFI's effectiveness in fighting this repression that has now made it a target for political victimization in the United States. At the same time that CAIFI was launching a defense campaign for the six, it was announcing two new victories in Iran—the lifting of the travel ban on playwright Gholamhossein Sa'edi, and the release on bail of Behazin, a leader of the Writers Association of Iran.

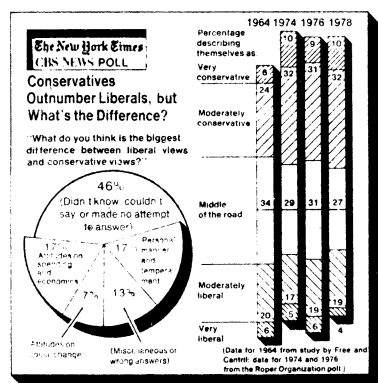
CAIFI has called on all supporters of civil liberties to send messages to the president of Jersey City State College demanding that the charges be dropped. We urge all our readers to join this campaign.

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**Answering abortion foes**  
Opponents of women's rights have mobilized in the streets by the thousands. How can the women's movement fight back?  
**Page 4.**



### Social (in)Security

Carter has raised payroll taxes to the highest levels in history. But 'excessive' benefits to the elderly aren't the real reason. **Page 26.**

### Is U.S. moving to right?

Chuck Petrin, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, looks behind the polls in speech on 'Students and class polarization.' **Page 12.**



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# Movement growing to Defeat 'Bakke'



Successful anti-'Bakke' demonstrations last fall spurred further protests, such as the march on Washington planned for April 15.

Affirmative action is on trial this spring as the U.S. Supreme Court considers the case of Allan Bakke. Bakke, a white engineer whose application was rejected by a California medical school, successfully sued the school, claiming he was a victim of "reverse discrimination" because of a special-admissions program for students of oppressed minorities.

The National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision has called for a national march on Washington, D.C., on April 15, as well as regional protests April 8 and a week of educational activity February 19-25.

The following reports describe coalitions being formed around the country to organize support for the April 15 march.

## Detroit unionists back fight

By Terry Bell

DETROIT—At its January general membership meeting United Auto Workers Local 51 voted to oppose the Bakke decision and to support a February 24-25 conference at Wayne State University called by the Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

An introduction to the union's resolution explains why the auto workers voted to defend affirmative action:

"... It is crucial to understand that a Supreme Court decision in favor of Bakke and his charge of so-called 'reverse discrimination' would be a blow against all working people.

"Affirmative action programs help correct past discrimination by opening up new opportunities in education and employment that previously were closed to women and minorities. This benefits everyone by promoting genuine racial and sexual equality.

"Affirmative action aids in healing the racial and sexual divisions among working people, which employers traditionally use to hold down wages and employment. By supporting affirmative action workers can help create the

kind of unity, based on equality, that gives the trade union movement the power to fight for full employment and the needs of all working people."

The resolution also notes that the UAW; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Farm Workers; United Electrical Workers; and United Mine Workers also oppose Bakke.

Other unionists who have endorsed the Detroit anti-Bakke conference include Tom Turner of the Detroit Metropolitan AFL-CIO, Edith Van Horn of the UAW Community Action Program, the presidents of AFSCME Locals 1640 and 25, and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists executive committee.

## Boston sets up April 15 coalition

By Don Gurewitz

BOSTON—At a press conference here January 25 more than a dozen leaders of the Black, women's, labor, and student movements announced the

formation of a Boston-area coalition to organize support for the April 15 March on Washington, D.C.

Four days later some sixty people, more than a third of them Black and Puerto Rican, attended the coalition's first meeting.

At the news conference Charles Ogletree, chairperson of the Black American Law Students Association (BALSA), read a statement signed by himself; Brenda Franklin, Boston coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR); and Wayne Robinson, executive secretary of the Boston NAACP.

Explaining the importance of the April 15 march and local coalition, the statement said, "If the court affirms the opinion of the California Supreme Court... the modest gains won by minorities since *Brown vs. Board of Education* will be lost."

Others who spoke at the news conference included Don Merwyn, representing the executive director of the Massachusetts Teachers Association and Hattie McKinnis, cochairperson of the Citywide Parents Advisory Council (CPAC).

Among the others lending their support to the news conference were three state legislators and activists and leaders from the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts; the National Conference of Black Lawyers; the A. Philip Randolph Institute; the South Middlesex chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW); the Meat Cutters union; HOPE, a Boston Hispanic

organization; and the Black Ecumenical Commission.

The coalition's first meeting was held on January 29 at the Freedom House, a Black community center. Speakers opened the meeting by explaining the Bakke case.

Terrell Calloway, student body president at Madison Park High School, reported that a debate on Bakke is planned at his school. "We need to educate the high school students," he urged.

Discussion repeatedly stressed the need to answer public confusion about the Bakke case. One example of the kind of educational activity needed is a parent-teacher meeting of forty people held in December at Boston's Harriet Tubman House. It was sponsored by the Black Teachers Caucus and the Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education of the Boston Teachers Union (BTU).

Among the people attending the January 29 coalition meeting were members of community groups such as the NAACP and CPAC; students from NSCAR, BALSA, and the Puerto Rican Student Union; women from NOW; and unionists from the BTU and United Steelworkers union.

In addition, there were members of the Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Workers Party, and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade.

## Bay Area schools plan conference

By Rick Reades

SAN FRANCISCO—Students on campuses throughout the Bay Area are preparing a February 18 conference to defend affirmative action.

At San Francisco City College, where the conference will be held, endorsers include the president and vice-president of the student council; heads of the departments of Latin American studies, Afro-American studies, and Philippine studies; the assistant dean of students; and the college president.

Many student organizations are supporting the conference: La Raza Union, Student Coalition Against Racism, Organization of Arab Students, United Samoan Organization, Young Socialist Alliance, and members of the Black Student Union.

At other area schools, endorsers include the president of Laney College, the president and vice-president of Associated Students at the University of California at Berkeley, the editor of the Merritt College Reporter, chapters of the Black American Law Students Association at Hastings and UC-Berkeley, Berkeley sociology professor and Black activist Harry Edwards, and a number of American Indian Education Projects.

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# How can women answer abortion foes?

By Diane Wang

When it comes time to vote on the next anti-abortion Hyde amendment or on changing the constitution to outlaw abortion, what will the Democrats and Republicans do?

Will they study the opinion polls documenting the majority support for abortion rights? The reports of deaths and maimings suffered by women forced into illegal abortions? The letters and news releases from pro-choice groups?

No, more likely, they will assume their most statesman-like pose and point out their windows to the crowds of anti-abortion protesters in the streets and say with phony helplessness, "What can I do? They're clamoring to ban abortion."

And, in fact, outside the window there will be the spectacle of anti-abortion protests. Police estimates range between 26,000 and 70,000 people at this year's anti-abortion "March for Life" in Washington, D.C., on January 23.

True, many of the protesters were children brought on chartered buses from Catholic schools. (Asked why she was there, one thirteen-year-old answered, "Beats me. . .")

But there is still no denying it: tens of thousands of people poured into the streets in late January to oppose legal abortion.

It is no wonder Nellie Grey, leader of the January 23 march, could crow so confidently, "The life issue is not one for compromise and negotiation." This year the anti-abortionists are riding high on the wave of government attacks on women's rights. The White House, Congress, and the courts have combined their powers in a massive assault on abortion rights.

At the same time, the International Women's Year conferences in 1977 overwhelmingly supported government funding for abortion.

Throughout the fall, wherever prominent anti-abortion leaders like Rep. Henry Hyde or Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano appeared, women came out to protest.

Black organizations such as the NAACP and Urban League have sided with women against the Hyde amendment. In California, Steelworkers Union Local 1304 endorsed an abortion rights protest. And in New York City, District 65 of the Retail Workers and Local 1199 Health Care Workers endorsed an abortion rights teach-in.

In recent weeks local chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and other groups organized picket lines and speak-outs demanding women's right to choose.

Support for abortion rights exists. What has been missing is a national mobilization of that senti-



Washington, D.C., January 23. Democrats and Republicans use anti-abortion protests as cover for bipartisan attacks on abortion rights.

ment. Pro-Democratic Party women's leaders have refused to confront the politicians who have betrayed women.

The leadership of NOW, which rightfully points out that it heads the largest and strongest women's organization in the country, has not assumed the responsibility to organize a national campaign of action to defend abortion.

There is a nationwide political debate over abortion rights going on. Women's voices must be heard in that debate—through speak-outs, picket lines, and demonstrations. NOW could mobilize the show of strength necessary to demonstrate who is the real majority.

The January issue of the *National NOW Times* does call on NOW's reproductive rights task force "to develop a total, comprehensive reproductive rights drive which places the feminist movement on the offensive position."

But then it goes on to say, "An important component should be the development of both a new legislative strategy and a political election strategy on the federal and state levels."

This gets to the heart of the strategy that the NOW leadership has practiced: maneuvering within

the Democratic and Republican parties to "pressure" and "bargain" for women's rights.

Public, militant actions get in the way of that maneuvering; they look "too radical" and "embarrass" the politicians.

And once the women's movement is preoccupied with quiet lobbying in capitol corridors or busy with a steady-but-silent stream of letter writing, then the politicians are off the hook. They can point to the reactionaries in the streets as "public opinion."

The idea that women can pick out "friendly" Democrats and Republicans is wishful thinking. Look at the voting records in Congress. There are fifty-three representatives who voted against an anti-abortion amendment for the 1975 budget but then voted for the Hyde amendment when it came up for the 1977 and 1978 budgets! "Friends?"

To paraphrase Nellie Gray, "The right to choose is not one for compromise and negotiation."

What women need to do is mobilize an independent movement into massive and visible support for abortion rights. We need to retake the streets.

Then let the politicians look nervously out their windows and explain to the anti-abortion reactionaries, "What can I do? The women insist on their rights."

## Reject exclusion of socialists

# Phila. NOW members appeal for democracy

By Sharyn King

PHILADELPHIA—Eleven members of the Philadelphia National Organization for Women (NOW) have signed an appeal for democracy in NOW addressed to the national board. The statement was released at the NOW Middle Atlantic Regional Council meeting held January 28 in Charles Town, West Virginia.

The appeal repudiates red-baiting attacks on members of the NOW chapter here who are also in the Socialist Workers Party. It calls on the national board to affirm that "NOW is open to all women regardless of political affiliation, just as NOW is open to all women regardless of race, ethnic origin, religious belief, income, and sexual orientation."

"What kind of organization are we trying to build?" the statement asks. "Will Black and Latino women, campus women, miners' wives, who have different experiences in struggles, be encouraged to join and help build NOW if they can't express their points of view, without fear of being labeled, attacked, and excluded?"

"How will NOW be able to organize the large, independent women's movement needed to win the ERA, abortion rights, affirmative action, and other

women's rights if some women are excluded from participation because of their political affiliation?"

Signers of the appeal include the Philadelphia chapter secretary Irene Osborne; programs secretary Ellen Wooters; and state board representative Jean Hassan.

At the West Virginia meeting the NOW regional officers invited two Philadelphia members to give a report on the appeal and the fight against nonexclusion in Philadelphia. Copies of the appeal and other materials were distributed, including a "Petition for Non-Exclusion in NOW," which is being circulated for signatures and will be sent to the national board.

The appeal was prompted by the decision of the NOW National Board to set up a fact-finding committee to investigate the "problems in the Philadelphia chapter." In December the major media here sensationalized the resignations of eight NOW officers with a stream of articles depicting the chapter as severely weakened and divided. The media played up the false charge of "an attempted SWP takeover" raised by those who had walked out.

Many members here are quite concerned about the leadership-appointed

investigating body because of the pattern of red-baiting in NOW.

At the national NOW conference in Detroit last April a motion condemning the SWP was rammed through at the very end of the agenda in an atmosphere of hysteria. That motion, passed with only several hundred of the 2,000 conference participants present, laid the basis for red-baiting attacks in chapter newsletters and intimidation against any NOW member with a different viewpoint.

Even though dozens of NOW meetings have passed motions and resolutions repudiating this attack on democracy in NOW, the national board has refused to overturn the conference motion, thus maintaining the witch-hunt atmosphere in NOW.

At the Philadelphia chapter elections December 19, Eleanor Smeal, national NOW president, called the charges of gross disorganization in the chapter "natural" to large city chapters. She defaulted in her responsibility to speak out against the vicious media charge of the "SWP threat to NOW." Nor did she mention the slanders against SWP member Clare Fraenzl, the only NOW officer who did not walk out.

Smeal's nonstatement on the red-baiting makes the national leadership

appear to be "neutral." But with the anti-SWP motion passed last April still in effect, the national policy of NOW is not neutral on political exclusion. In fact, until repudiated, this motion continues to feed and escalate the red-baiting attacks.

This situation provides a dangerous context in which committees not elected by the membership are carrying out investigations. The fact-finding committee reports directly to the national board, seriously undermining the right of the chapter to decide the future activities of its membership.

Pat Fisher, new Philadelphia chapter president, has also appointed a committee to propose how the chapter should respond to the national fact-finding body and what action the chapter should take.

The Philadelphia chapter itself has the greatest stake in learning the facts surrounding the eight officers' resignations.

The membership needs to hear and discuss the opinions about the "problems" in their chapter and any charges raised against individual members. As it stands now, the appointed investigating committees supersede these rights of the membership.



# Socialists focus work on Marroquin defense

By Arnold Weissberg

Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance units around the country have begun focusing their political energies on the campaign to win asylum for political refugee Héctor Marroquin.

SWP and YSA members, along with other supporters of Marroquin's right to asylum, have begun to establish Héctor Marroquin Defense Committees and have started work to build his national speaking tour.

A member of the SWP and YSA, Marroquin has been falsely accused of murder and "subversion" by the Mexican government. The U.S. government is seeking to deport him.

The SWP and YSA in New York City organized a special blitz week January 23-29. "The point was to make Héctor's case the center of all our activities for the week," said Linda Jenness, SWP local organizer.

"We set out with the idea that everyone in the SWP and YSA—whether

through their union local, their chapter of the National Organization for Women, on their campus, or in their community—would focus on winning support for the case.

"This approach proved successful in kicking off our Marroquin defense work—which will remain a top priority of the socialist movement here."

High school teacher Ed Berger got thirty teachers, including the teachers union chapter chairperson in his school, to sign a petition calling for asylum for Marroquin.

"Nine of the teachers I asked to sign already knew about the case from reading the *Militant*," Berger said. He had sold twelve subscriptions to the paper during the recent circulation drive.

SWP and YSA members in Brooklyn dropped off brochures at forty movement and community offices. They hit the Brooklyn office of the *Amsterdam News*, a Black weekly, and the offices of the NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Nelson González is the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in a special election in the Bronx. González spent all day Saturday, January 28, campaigning on street corners and talking to people about the Marroquin case.

SWP members in the Bronx circulated petitions in a large housing project, calling for asylum for Marroquin.

And the Bronx SWP branch put out a mailing to 155 groups and individuals, asking them to support Marroquin. The mailing has already netted eight endorsers and fifty dollars for the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee.

Two New York branches of the SWP combined their forces for a forum Friday, January 27. The featured speaker was Margaret Winter, Marroquin's attorney. Winter explained the background of the case and noted the importance of a united defense.

Also speaking was Chinese activist Ken Chin. Entertainment was provided by the Aztlán Players. A collection at the meeting raised seventy dollars for the defense committee.

SWP and YSA members in Kansas City mailed materials on the Marroquin case to a list of local unions. Six unions—including the Mississippi-Kansas Conference of Teamsters and the Kansas City Central Labor Council—invited a speaker to address their executive boards.

Another mailing has gone out to civil libertarians in the area. The SWP, YSA, and other supporters are now discussing setting up a Kansas City chapter of the Marroquin Defense Committee.

## National tour set

Héctor Marroquin begins his national speaking tour on February 14 in San Antonio.

Following is Marroquin's tour schedule:

San Antonio	Feb. 14-17
Dallas	Feb. 18-21
Portland, Ore.	Feb. 23-25
Seattle/Tacoma	Feb. 27-28
San Francisco/Bay Area	March 1-9
San Diego	March 10-11
Los Angeles	March 12-17
New York City	March 19-30

Marroquin recently spent two days gathering support for his case in Los Angeles.

On January 28 Marroquin spoke to the state executive board of Social Services union Local 535, which has supported his request for asylum. Board members took up a collection and donated twenty-five dollars.

The next day, a group of twenty-five activists met and decided to form a Marroquin Defense Committee chapter. At the meeting were José Jacques Medina, a leader of CASA who is also seeking political asylum in the United States; Alberto Juarez, director of One-Stop Immigration, an immigration counseling center; aides to Rep. Yvonne Burke (D-Calif.); and members of the Socialist Labor Party, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

The meeting laid initial plans for public activities in March, when Marroquin will spend a week in Los Angeles as part of his national speaking tour.

Activities over the weekend netted \$135 in donations.

## New materials available

New materials on the Marroquin case are now available from the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee in New York: a picture button reading "Political Asylum for Héctor Marroquin," and *My Story*, a pamphlet written by Marroquin, which outlines the events that led up to his fleeing Mexico and describes his political activities in the United States. A brochure explaining the facts in the case is also available.

Committee spokesperson Barry Fatland told the *Militant* that funds are urgently needed for legal expenses, expected to run over \$20,000 for Marroquin's deportation hearing alone.



MARROQUIN Militant/Susan Ellis

The committee also asks supporters of Marroquin's right to political asylum to:

- Send messages to Immigration and Naturalization Service Director Leonel Castillo (Washington, D.C. 20536) asking him to grant Marroquin asylum. Send copies to the committee.

- Circulate petitions calling for asylum for Marroquin. Seek individual endorsers for the case. Endorser cards and petitions are available from the committee.

- Ask prominent individuals, politicians, labor officials, union locals, women's groups, Black organizations, Latino groups, and student groups to endorse Marroquin's case.

Please send me:

\_\_\_\_\_ buttons (50¢ each, 35¢ in bulk)

\_\_\_\_\_ copies of *My Story* (50¢ each, 35¢ each on orders of ten or more)

\_\_\_\_\_ copies of the brochure (2½¢ each)

\_\_\_\_\_ Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_

☐ I/We endorse Marroquin's appeal for asylum.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

School/Org. \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

# Letters flood INS in support of Marroquin

Hundreds of letters and telegrams supporting Héctor Marroquin's right to political asylum have been sent to Immigration and Naturalization Director Leonel Castillo. In response to the flood of protests, Castillo has mailed each petitioner a form letter in which he says "A final decision in this matter is pending. . . ."

Following are excerpts from some of the messages sent to Castillo. They were released to the media by the Marroquin Defense Committee.

We urge that [Marroquin] be granted asylum, that deportation hearing be postponed to allow defense to prepare adequate testimony. Demand that all restrictions on travel and speech be dropped.

Portland branch, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom  
Portland, Oregon

This is to strongly urge you not to deport Héctor Marroquin. All the evidence indicates that if he is deported, his life will be endangered because of his political views. If ever there was someone who needs political asylum, it is Mr. Marroquin.

The right of political asylum should be a human right for everyone, regardless of their particular politics. . . .

Signed by fourteen members of the Human Rights Defense League, Glendale, Arizona

I am writing to you . . . to grant political asylum to Héctor Marroquin as he has requested. If he is returned to his country you will be directly responsible for his torture/death and/or disappearance.

In light of all the evidence available concerning the frame-up surrounding this case in all fairness only political asylum can insure the human rights of Héctor Marroquin.

Anne Sheppard Turner  
Raleigh, North Carolina

Anne Sheppard Turner is one of the Wilmington Ten.

As an attorney and former Immigration Aide for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, I have been following with concern the case of Héctor Marroquin. I feel that it would be unconscionable for the Service to allow deportation in this case. I strongly urge that political asylum for Marroquin be granted.

Sherri L. Katz  
Cincinnati, Ohio

We, as individuals, would like to express our support for Héctor Marroquin in his effort to gain political asylum. We ask that you:

1. Postpone his deportation hearing to allow time for adequate defense to be prepared.
2. Remove restrictions on his travel and speech. We believe that a denial of these requests would be a

serious violation of human rights.

Peace Team

American Friends Service Committee

Portland, Oregon



Militant/Bruce Kimball  
Marroquin supporter confronts INS Director Leonel Castillo in San Antonio.

# 'People in the streets ...that's how we can win victories'

## Interview with Ben Chavis



December 1977 protest in Fayetteville, N.C.

Militant/Doug Clark

By David Frankel

McCAIN, N.C.—The government of North Carolina is running scared.

Outrage at the continued imprisonment of the Wilmington Ten is high here, and it reflects sentiment not just in the United States, but all over the world.

Discussing his case January 28 at the McCain Correctional Center, Rev. Ben Chavis expressed confidence that "the pressure is going to increase. There are a number of demonstrations planned—in Washington next weekend and on March 25, for example.

"I think that this publicity is probably the most important factor in the case at this point. International pressure has kept it alive, along with the antiracist movement here in the United States."

The *Militant* asked Chavis how he viewed Gov. James Hunt's January 23 action in his case. Hunt refused to pardon the defendants, saying that they had received "a fair trial." At the same time, he made them eligible for earlier parole, stressing that such action was not automatic. Chavis replied: "I'm not disheartened about what Hunt did. I think it will backfire. North Carolina is in trouble—a lot has been exposed.

"I think we have to see this as a partial victory and use it as a stepping stone to win a larger victory. At the same time, we have to vehemently reject what Hunt put down. It was an attempt to appease the movement."

### Gagging the defendants

If Hunt had his way, the racist frame-up of the Wilmington Ten would now be swept under the rug. North Carolina officials are doing their best to accomplish just that by preventing the media from getting access to Chavis.

When the *Militant* tried to arrange an interview, state officials said that individual interviews were not being allowed as they would "interfere with prison routine." Instead, they explained, a list of those wanting to interview Chavis was being kept, and

when the department of corrections felt "enough" names were on the list, a news conference would be called.

Although the *Militant* did get to interview Chavis, it had to be done unofficially, without a tape recorder and in spite of the obstruction of the authorities. Chavis noted that the January 24 news conference where the Wilmington Ten replied to Hunt's statement "was my first opportunity to talk to the press in at least six months."

Asked what he felt the next step in the defense of the Wilmington Ten should be, Chavis said:

"To put pressure on the White House to come forth with some definitive statement on political prisoners. I think that international pressure can force Carter to admit that there are political prisoners in the United States.

"He just went around the world preaching about human rights. He talked about it in his State of the Union message. Now, the Wilmington Ten case is asking him, 'Jimmy Carter, are you for real?'"

"He's trying to run away from this question, but he can't run forever. The eyes of the world are on the United States.

"If Carter admits the Wilmington Ten are political prisoners, he has to admit that there are others. Will his administration investigate these cases and come out for justice?"

"I think people should start putting pressure by all means necessary on President Carter. We shouldn't let him off the hook. A violation of human rights is not a state issue."

What about the courts?

"The thing I have always emphasized," Chavis replied, "is that in our case, the judicial system worked as it was supposed to. The courts were never set up to give justice to poor people. They want it known that they don't want anybody out there organizing for social justice."

A representative of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice, Chavis went to Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1971, to

help community activists there in a struggle for school desegregation. In response to this struggle, Chavis explained, "Homes and schools were being attacked by racist vigilantes.

"Innocent people—women and children—would be walking down the street and carloads of racists would shoot at them. More than forty people were injured, and nobody was ever prosecuted."

### Right to organize

Naturally, in the absence of any protection from the authorities, people in the Black community organized to defend themselves. But that is not all they did.

"We began to talk about running our own candidates, about setting up our own Black studies programs.

"We began developing models for other parts of the South," Chavis continued. "And that became very frightening to defenders of the status quo." So, in 1972, authorities arrested him on trumped-up arson and conspiracy charges, along with nine other civil rights activists—eight Black men and a white woman.

The real issue in the case, as Chavis sees it, "is the right of people to organize and protest. Do Blacks, other minorities, the poor, have the right to

organize to bring about social change?"

Chavis argues that the case of the Wilmington Ten "is classic repression, no different than what is going on in South Africa."

Can anything different be expected from Carter?

Chavis replied: "I've written Carter several letters. No response."

No answer at all?

"None. He's found time to write to Sakharov, to meet with Soviet dissidents, but it appears that this whole human rights thing was a fraud. Carter talks about human rights, but he's still sending military supplies to Iran.

"All I give Jimmy Carter credit for is that his foreign policy has backfired. Carter attempted to use human rights as propaganda for U.S. foreign policy, but this has opened up a whole can of worms domestically. People may be poor, but they're not dumb."

Chavis emphasized that Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans, and people in general are worse off in 1978 than in 1968. "Poor people can't afford to live in this country anymore," Chavis said.

He called 1977 "a year of disappointment and despair," saying of Carter's domestic program:

"There has been no substantive action on behalf of the poor and oppressed. I don't accept 6 percent unemployment—in fact, I don't accept any unemployment. I don't accept inadequate health care. A country like Cuba has better health care than the United States."

### Question for Andrew Young

Turning back to his own case, Chavis said, "I do intend to write to UN General Secretary Kurt Waldheim and ask for a United Nations investigation of political prisoners in the United States.

"I plan to write to Andy Young, who is also a United Church of Christ minister, and I'm sure he's aware that it's time for Carter to move. I'm hoping—I'm praying—that Andy will come forward and speak out. He has a responsibility to Black America, and as a spokesman for the nation, to speak on this international issue."

Another point that Chavis discussed was his treatment inside prison. He stressed the attempts to isolate him from other prisoners. "The very fact that I'm assigned to a prison hospital shows the attempt to isolate me," Chavis pointed out.

He recalled his transfer from Caledonia Prison in March 1976: "Because I was speaking to prisoners about their rights, they put me in chains and put me on back of a truck and took me here, 200 miles away."

### Threats and provocations

Nor have the harassment and threats stopped. Chavis is in "gun clothes"—his clothes, unlike those of other inmates, are gray. This is supposed to alert guards—in case the color of his skin is not enough—that Chavis is to be shot if he attempts to escape.

"Everytime I step outside the prison," Chavis says, "I'm either in chains or else I have a 12-gauge shotgun aimed at me. I had to go to the Tuesday [January 24] press conference



Chavis (center) speaking at January 24 news conference

Militant/Doug Clark



## Defendant to make tour

The only one of the Wilmington Ten not currently in prison will be speaking in defense of the others in cities throughout the country this March. Anne Sheppard Turner, who was released from parole January 24, told the *Militant* she hopes "to answer questions that people have in their minds about this case."

Stressing "how much the continued support of the people has meant to all of us when things are low," Sheppard Turner added:

"This is a particularly important time for unity. We need to rally all the forces we have in local demonstrations all across the country, as well as in Washington on March 25. We need to bring increased pressure to bear on North Carolina authorities and especially on President Carter. . . ."

Local areas interested in arranging speaking engagements should contact: **National Student Coalition Against Racism, 160 Fifth Avenue, Room 615, New York, New York 10010. Phone (212) 243-5403.**

in chains—I could have been in South Africa.

"They've already told me if I try to escape I'll be shot. They would like to silence me, the way Steve Biko was silenced in South Africa. So, while I do have breath, and while I do have life, I will speak.

"I can understand what Joanne Little said, that she'd rather die than come back to the North Carolina prison system."

Chavis is careful not to respond to the provocations of the racist prison guards. "I don't want to wind up like George Jackson," he said.

"They are trying to provoke me—I've been pushed from the back whenever I

go anywhere under guard. The guards put handcuffs on too tight, and sometimes blood comes from my wrists. If I say anything, I'm hit with a nightstick. I have to keep myself under pretty firm control."

At first, prison authorities at McCain wouldn't allow Chavis to have direct contact with his family—he had to talk to his three small children through a grill and look at them through a glass partition. Chavis had to get a court order allowing him a right that is accorded routinely to other prisoners. (The *Militant* interview also took place through the glass and grill.)

Despite the harassment, Chavis was optimistic about his case. "We're going to win—there's no question. Time is on our side."

### A view from behind bars

Speaking of the mood in the country generally, Chavis said, "I sense an eagerness among people to get back out into the streets again."

He noted that during the Vietnam War, the government was saying one thing and doing another—the same policy that Carter is following today in regard to human rights and economic policy. "People in the streets—that's how the Vietnam War ended, and that's how we can win further victories."

Giving the *Bakke* case as an example, Chavis said, "We're going to lose that case if we don't get out into the streets and put some peoples' pressure on the Supreme Court."

Asked what he would like to say the most to people reading this interview, Chavis replied, "My message is a general message to the people of America—the poor and minorities especially. We have got to learn to organize to bring about social change.

"We need a structural change in the American economy. As long as we have monopoly capitalism we are going to have an exploiting class. I think we have got a lot of struggling to do. Our conditions are getting worse every year.

"We cannot be obedient to racism or repression, we cannot accept it."

## Wilmington 10 decision provokes outrage

By David Frankel

RALEIGH, N.C.—Trying to sound as if he believed it, Gov. James Hunt told reporters here January 24 that the case of the Wilmington Ten was closed.

"I have made my decision. . . . My decision is final. I will not have any further discussion in the matter," Hunt declared.

But even as Hunt was trying to fend off questions from reporters, demonstrators outside the state capitol were chanting, "Human rights begins at home, free the Wilmington Ten!"

Protests in support of the Wilmington Ten also took place in Charlotte and Chapel Hill. More than 100 persons picketed Hunt January 26 when he attended the annual North Carolina Newspaper Institute banquet in Chapel Hill.

"The people of North Carolina will continue to be outraged until the Wilmington Ten are free," said Doug Clark of the Wilmington Ten Defense Committee.

Hunt's refusal to pardon the Wilmington Ten defendants was blasted by Black leaders throughout North Carolina. Nor did Hunt's decision arouse much enthusiasm among capitalist politicians nationally. "This just starts this mess all over again," complained Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.).

Rep. Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) said Hunt "missed the whole point that all of the evidence on which these people were convicted has been vacated because three witnesses have come out

and said that the district attorney actually paid them to give the evidence that they did."

Condemnation also came from Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. Mitchell charged it is "rank hypocrisy" for the Carter administration to talk about human rights abroad while "the stain of gross violation of human rights is within our own borders. . . ."

An editorial in the January 25 *Washington Post* asked, "Why wasn't the issue of possible unfairness [in the trial of the Wilmington Ten] dealt with fully in the governor's exchange with the public? . . . As it is, valid claims persist that this group was railroaded.

"It may well turn out that by avoiding the opportunity to address those claims, the governor has fanned the fire, not doused it."

Despite the national and international attention focused on the case, both President Carter and Attorney General Griffin Bell have refused to comment. Justice Department officials say they are in the process of deciding whether to file a friend-of-the-court brief in an appeal by the defendants currently being heard in the federal district court in Raleigh.

Meanwhile, at least one person was pleased by Hunt's decision. Jay Stroud, the prosecutor who gave witnesses in the original trial gifts and money, said: "I do not disagree in any fashion with what the governor has done."

## ...an injury to all

This is the first of a new occasional column reporting developments in the fight against political repression.

### Leonard Peltier acquitted

American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier was acquitted January 27 of charges of attempted murder of two Milwaukee, Wisconsin, cops. The charges stemmed from a 1972 incident at a local restaurant where two drunken off-duty cops got in a fight with Peltier and two companions.

Despite the acquittal, Peltier is not free. Last year he was sentenced to two consecutive life terms for the 1975 shooting deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. Three codefendants had earlier been cleared of the charge.

A three-judge federal court heard arguments in the appeal of Peltier's conviction in December. This January, word got out that Judge William Webster, one of the members of the appeals court, had been offered the job of FBI chief, and an official announcement was made shortly afterwards.

Since FBI misconduct is a key issue in Peltier's case, offering the job to Webster could be construed as a flagrant attempt to bribe a judge. A rehearing of the appeal before a new panel has now been scheduled for March.

### Joanne Little released on bail

Joanne Little was released on \$51,000 bail in New York January 31 pending the outcome of her fight against extradition.

In 1975, Little became internationally known while fighting charges of murder for the death of an armed prison guard who tried to rape her. Last September Little was refused parole on her original breaking-and-entering conviction. A month later she fled a North Carolina prison to escape harassment.

### La. top court denies Tyler appeal

A motion for a new trial for Gary Tyler was refused consideration January 13 by the Louisiana Supreme Court in a six-to-one decision.



According to Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, all the judges agreed that the charge before the jury during Gary's original trial in 1974 had been wrong. Yet six of them said the error wasn't grave enough to justify reconsideration of the case.

Tyler is serving a life sentence for allegedly killing a white youth during a school desegregation incident at Destrehan High School near New Orleans. The government's star witness against Tyler has recanted, explaining she was pressured to lie by the prosecution.

Tyler's case is being investigated by Amnesty International, which won the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize for its work defending victims of political repression.

Juanita Tyler said the latest ruling will be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

### Two grand jury resisters freed . . .

María Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, two staff members of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, were freed January 23 by Federal District Court Judge Robert Carter, who said keeping them in jail longer would serve "no legitimate purpose."

The women were put under "coercive custody" last March to try to force them to testify before a federal grand jury in New York. The grand jury is conducting a witch-hunt against Puerto Rican and Chicano activists under the pretext of investigating the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation).

In his order releasing the women, the judge noted, "There has been no showing that they are themselves involved in criminal activities or engaged in crime."

### . . . but harassment continues

Despite the release of Cueto and Nemikin, the government continues to harass activists by subpoenaing them to testify before the grand jury.

The latest victims are Stephen and Van Lucero, two brothers from Denver, Colorado, who are activists in the Crusade for Justice, a prominent Chicano movement organization. They were brought to New York January 27 to testify, but after a two-hour meeting between their attorney, William Kunstler, and government lawyers, Kunstler announced the government seemed undecided whether to press ahead with the subpoena.

Four other people are still in jail for refusing to testify. The three imprisoned for refusing to cooperate with a similar federal grand jury in Chicago were expected to be released January 31, when the term of that grand jury expires.

—José G. Pérez

## Next time in your backyard?

# Soviet satellite: fallout from US war drive

By Arnold Weissberg

A Soviet satellite bearing 100 pounds of highly radioactive uranium 235 fell to earth over a relatively uninhabited area of northern Canada January 24. U.S. and Canadian search teams have already found or detected fragments of the satellite scattered along at least a 200-mile area.

Cosmos 954 used the uranium as fuel for an on-board nuclear power plant. "If the reactor landed reasonably intact," said one American scientist, "anything coming within 1,000 feet would be harmed."

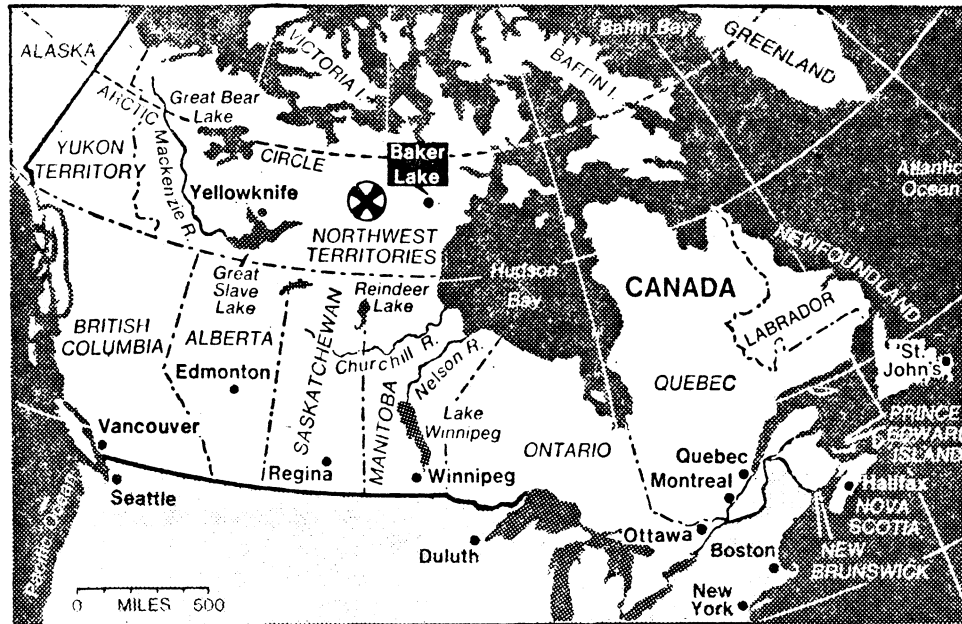
The danger comes not only from uranium, but from the highly radioactive byproducts of the uranium's decay. These include strontium 90 and cesium 137, also present in radioactive fallout.

Sixteen more Soviet and one American satellites equipped with nuclear reactors remain in orbit. All are designed to remain there for hundreds of years, but any could be subject to the same malfunctions that brought Cosmos 954 down.

Although Cosmos landed in a sparsely populated area, the February 6 *Time* magazine reported that "American space scientists admitted that if the satellite had failed one pass later in its decaying orbit, it would have plunged toward earth near New York City—at the height of the morning rush hour."

"If Cosmos 954 had somehow survived re-entry and released all of its radiation in a city like New York," *Time* continues, "the death and disabling effect could easily have devastated an acre or more."

Nonetheless, the area where the satellite came down is an important hunting area for the Inuit (Eskimo) and other Indian peoples.



Satellite crash site: 'One pass later it would have been New York City at rush hour.'

At least four previous satellites carrying radioactive material have fallen to earth unexpectedly. In 1964, a U.S. satellite with a particularly intense form of plutonium reentered the earth's atmosphere and scattered its contents.

The U.S. government knew in mid-December that Cosmos 954 was falling, but—with the Kremlin's full cooperation—kept that information a secret from the public.

The cover-up continued even after Cosmos fell, with both the U.S. and Soviet governments minimizing the danger.

The attempted cover-up can be traced through successive *New York Times* headlines: "Soviet Spy Satellite With Atomic Reactor Breaks up in Canada" (January 25); "U.S. and Canadian Planes Detect no Debris From

Soviet Satellite" (January 26); "Powerful Radiation Detected in Canada" (January 27); "Satellite Radiation Now Held Unlikely" (January 28); and by Monday, January 30—despite overwhelming evidence of dangerous levels of radiation—the story moved off page 1 to page 3.

Carter's National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski called a news conference praising the Kremlin for its secret communications with Washington.

The U.S. government is anxious to keep the truth under wraps for two reasons. First, the incident helps expose the insanity and horrible dangers of the nuclear arms race, for which Washington bears primary responsibility. And second, the government wants to downplay the risks associated with radioactivity, for fear of stirring up

public opinion against nuclear power.

Top U.S. officials promptly issued hypocritical statements of concern about radioactive substances in space.

Energy Secretary James Schlesinger suddenly decided January 29 that it was "inappropriate to have nuclear reactors circling the earth." President Carter told a January 30 news conference he wanted the USSR to agree to keep radioactive materials out of earth-orbiting satellites.

This sudden concern over the dangers of radiation might well lead an objective observer to wonder why nuclear power plants on earth—located just miles from big cities—are not at least equally dangerous.

Schlesinger's and Carter's statements have nothing to do with nuclear safety. Instead, they are aimed at scoring propaganda points against the Soviet Union around an aspect of military technology that Washington has not up to now chosen to pursue as intensively.

Cosmos 954 was designed to keep track of missile-carrying U.S. ships. Since the end of World War II, the United States—spurred by its drive for profits and world domination—has built up an enormous arsenal of atomic weapons and ringed the Soviet Union with them. In order to defend itself, the Soviet Union has undertaken its own military buildup.

But this does not absolve the Kremlin for cooperating with imperialism in hiding and downplaying the dangers of nuclear weaponry and technology. The Stalinist bureaucrats rely on secret deals with their détente "partners" in the Pentagon and White House, rather than on appealing to the world's working people to expose and demand an end to imperialism's mad arms race.

## Tour demands 'US out of Panama now!'

By José G. Pérez

Ronald Reagan and his "truth squads" are now criss-crossing the country speaking against the proposed Panama Canal treaties. President Carter appealed for ratification of them in his State of the Union message and put Secretary of State Cyrus Vance on the road to drum up support.

A third point of view—that of the Panamanian people—is also being heard all over the country, thanks to a tour by Prof. Miguel Antonio Bernal.

Viewpoint Speakers Bureau is sponsoring the six-week tour of sixteen U.S. cities by this prominent Panamanian opponent of U.S. domination. Bernal's message is captured in the title of his speech: "Panama for the Panamanians: Why the U.S. Should Unconditionally Give Up the Canal."

Bernal's tour is designed to help

clarify what the real issues are in the Panama Canal debate. Despite months of exchange between ruling class supporters and opponents of the treaties, the fundamental question—whether the United States should own and occupy a slice of Panama at all—has been deliberately obscured. Why? Because these Democratic and Republican politicians are only discussing how best to preserve this U.S. domination over the Panamanian people.

Carter and other supporters of Senate ratification argue that U.S. control needs a facelift to help dissipate growing anti-imperialist sentiment and protests in Panama.

Opponents counter that the U.S. should continue the arrangement forcibly imposed on Panama in 1903 through the threat of U.S. military intervention. These arrangements in effect incorporate into the United States the ten-mile-wide Canal Zone, which cuts through the heart of Panama from one coast to the other.

Despite the sometimes heated rhetoric, however, both sides back permanent U.S. domination of the canal. Neither defends the elementary right of the Panamanian people to control their own country.

How narrow these differences really are is shown by the recent Senate discussion of the pacts.

Late last month, the Senate bipartisan leadership agreed on amendments to the text clarifying Washington's imperialist prerogatives in Panama after the year 2000. (Until then, things are to remain pretty much as they are now.) These amendments make even more explicit the "right" of the United States to unilaterally send troops into

Panama after the canal has formally reverted to Panamanian control.

With this new language, ratification of the treaties seems practically assured.

(The original language has been less blunt to help Panamanian dictator Gen. Omar Torrijos sell the deal in the rigged referendum he staged last fall. Of course, the Panamanian people—a majority of whom voted for the treaties, based on Torrijos's claim that they would end U.S. domination—will not be given a chance to vote on the new version.)

Bernal's position is counterposed to that of the jingoists of both the pro- and anti-treaties variety.

In an interview with the socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* last fall, Bernal called the treaties "a contemptible and historic betrayal of the struggles and sacrifices of the Panamanian people. . . ."

"The new treaty is not a genuine abrogation of the old accord. . . . The United States is going to be granted indefinitely the privilege of being able to enter and intervene in Panama, and this time with legality conferred by the Torrijos regime."

Bernal added: "For us, the slogan that the Panamanian people have raised throughout long years of struggle remains valid: Not one single base, not one single Yankee soldier on our soil. . . . We want them to get out! We don't want any American presence!"

Bernal is a prominent socialist opponent of General Torrijos's dictatorship. He was deported by Torrijos in February 1976. Although no charges were brought against him, his outspoken

opposition to any treaty that would perpetuate U.S. domination was clearly behind Torrijos's decision.

Before being deported, Bernal was a professor of law and political science at the University of Panama and editor of the monthly magazine *Dialogo Social*. He now lives in Mexico, where he is a columnist for the daily *El Sol de Mexico*.

## Schedule

Following is the schedule of Prof. Miguel Antonio Bernal's tour of the United States:

February 1-3	Houston
February 8-9	Albuquerque, N.M.
February 10-11	Salt Lake City
February 13	Phoenix
February 14	Los Angeles
February 15	Champaign, Ill.
February 16-17	St. Paul
February 18-26	New York
February 28-March 1	Boston
March 2-3	Washington, D.C.
March 6-7	Miami
March 8-10	San Francisco
March 13	Denver
March 14-15	Los Angeles-San Diego

More information on Bernal's tour can be obtained from: Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone (212) 741-0690.



Miguel Antonio Bernal

Militant/Silvia Zapata



## Six Iranians framed up in N.J.

# CAIFI plans nat'l campaign to defend activists

By José G. Pérez

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran has launched a national campaign to demand that the Jersey City State College administration drop the charges against six CAIFI members arrested there January 19.

The CAIFI Six are: Kateh Vafadari Zahraie, CAIFI assistant national secretary; Fariborz Khasha, a CAIFI national field secretary; Faranak Colon, CAIFI chapter president at New York University; and Siamak Zahraie, Massoud Nayeri, and Kianoosh Mahdavi, all longtime CAIFI activists.

"What's at stake here is freedom of speech, and especially freedom of speech on the campuses—academic freedom," said Vafadari Zahraie. "We're appealing to all supporters of civil liberties and democratic rights to help us in our fight to have the charges dropped."

She reported that a brochure and sample protest letter were at the printers and would soon be sent to CAIFI chapters and supporters all over the country.

The committee is asking that letters of protest be sent to William Maxwell, President, Jersey City State College, Jersey City, New Jersey 07305. The letters should demand that charges be dropped and that CAIFI's right to distribute literature on the campus be respected. Copies of these messages should be sent to CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

The six were arrested January 19 at the Jersey City, New Jersey, campus on charges that they "did disrupt the normal academic procedures of the college"—four of them "by being present on the premises without permission," and the other two "by being involved in a political dispute with several persons."

The six had gone to the campus to obtain a permit to set up a literature table.

The law they are charged with breaking carries a maximum penalty of three years imprisonment and \$1,000 fine. In addition, since all six are Iranian nationals, the U.S. government could use the charges as a pretext to try to deport them to Iran. There they would face imprisonment, torture, and possible death, since all six have been outspoken opponents of the brutal repression of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

"The charges are outrageous—we in no way interfered with any classes or other 'normal academic procedures,'" Vafadari Zahraie said.

"Far from being present 'without permission,' we had been specifically instructed by the administration to come to the campus in person if we wanted a permit for a literature table.

"The political motivation of the charges is made clear by the complaint against me and Faranak Colon. We are charged with disruption for supposedly taking part in a 'political dispute.' Why are *political* 'disputes' singled out? Is there now a ban on all political discussion on the campuses?"

"What's really involved here is an attempt to gag CAIFI and victimize us for holding dissident views. It's that simple."

To back up her accusations against the college administration, Vafadari Zahraie showed the *Militant* a copy of a letter sent to CAIFI by the Jersey City State College administration canceling the literature table permit she had obtained on January 19.

The letter, signed by Henry Flax, director of student services, branded CAIFI a "'clear and present danger' to the safety of our students." Flax cited "an incident between members of your group and several Iranian students" to back up his claim.

"This is a slander," Vafadari Zahraie said. "He tries to give the impression we started trouble, when in fact we were merely victims of harassment from Iranian students who oppose CAIFI's campaigns for human rights in Iran."

"This is a very serious threat to the rights of everyone. Without notice,



Militant/José G. Pérez

**KATEH VAFADARI ZAHRAIE: CAIFI assistant national secretary warns of threat to rights of all.**

without a chance to present a defense, without a hearing, the administration can simply declare anyone a 'clear and present danger' and ban them," she said.

The CAIFI Six case is before the Jersey City Municipal Court. At a January 23 hearing, consideration of the case was postponed for a month so the six could get an attorney.

## Iran human rights victories

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran has announced important victories in two human rights cases.

On January 21 the Iranian government lifted its two-year-old travel ban on Gholamhossein Sa'edi, a highly regarded playwright and anthropologist. Sa'edi will visit this country in early March at the invitation of several U.S. publishers.

Sa'edi has been imprisoned eight times, by SAVAK, Iran's political police. His most recent imprisonment lasted nine months. He was released in March 1975 following an international protest campaign.

Since then, Sa'edi had been forbid-

den to travel abroad, sparking protests around the world. The most recent such protest was the CAIFI-sponsored January 12 informational picket line in New York outside a banquet for the Shah of Iran's wife.

In the second case, CAIFI announced that it has learned from unofficial sources that Mahmoud Etemadzadeh (best known under his pen name Behazin), a leading member of the Writers Association of Iran, has been released on bail from prison.

Behazin was arrested on November 24, 1977, after his scheduled lecture on "Freedom" at a university was broken up by plainclothes cops. Behazin was reportedly released on

an enormous bail—the equivalent of half a million U.S. dollars. He still faces trumped-up charges of "inciting hooligans and thugs to break windows of banks and stores."

The CAIFI press release expresses the fear that Behazin will be given a summary trial and railroaded to prison.

CAIFI is asking that protest messages demanding that charges be dropped and that the bail money be refunded be sent to: Ardeshir Zahedi, Ambassador of Iran, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20008. Copies of the messages should be sent to CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. —J.G.P.

## Protests rip S.F. school tracking plan

By John Votava

SAN FRANCISCO—At a January 7 meeting 300 students, parents, and teachers confronted Superintendent of Public Schools Robert Alioto and about half the school board to protest the proposed Redesign Plan for public schools here.

At one point during the volatile meeting, seventy-five students marched Alioto back into the hall after he attempted to leave.

The Redesign Plan would close eight schools and fundamentally alter the curricula at seventeen others. The school board promises the plan will accomplish all things for all people: improve test scores, desegregation, a multicultural setting for students, and reduces costs.

In reality, the plan will mean increased overcrowding and intensified tracking and segregation.

The school board brushes aside the complaints about overcrowding, saying this will be a problem only until a trend toward lower enrollment reaches the high schools—in two or more years.

Tracking—the assignment of students into narrow, dead-end programs—will be intensified with six "courses of study" for high school students. Only one of the six courses will be college preparatory, and only one of six schools will concentrate on that academic program.

The other five courses of study will range from vocational to "general," a category apparently intended to graduate functionally literate students. An ominous note in the Redesign Plan advises that "students not move from one course of study to another."

A look at a city map shows that the heaviest burden of the plan will fall on Black, Latino, and Asian students whose neighborhood junior high schools will be closed or converted.

The Redesign Plan does not ensure desegregation, but depends on voluntary efforts. San Francisco schools already depend on voluntary busing. As a result, in 1976 fifty-four of ninety-seven elementary schools were racially out of balance.

The school board claims the school closings are necessary because a de-

clining birth rate has reduced school enrollment. The public schools have lost 27,661 students in the last seven years.

But this loss of almost one-third of the public school population has been paralleled by a rise in private school enrollment. Financially better-off families, most of them white, have put their children in private schools because of the plummeting quality of public education. Consequently, though half the city's population is white, only 18.8 percent of white children are enrolled in public schools.

The school board is trying to ram through the Redesign Plan quickly. The plan was made public on December 30 and is to be approved on February 7, little more than a month later.

The Redesign Plan is available in English, with only summaries available in Spanish or Tagalog (the language spoken by many Filipinos). Although by 1979 a majority of public school students will be Asian, there are no summaries in Chinese or Japanese.

# 'Young Socialist' launches sales drive

By Susie Berman

A three-month sales drive launched by the Young Socialist Alliance at its recent convention is under way with the February issue of the *Young Socialist*.

Headlined "Save the life of Hector Marroquin!" the February YS will play a vital role in helping the YSA win political asylum for one of its national leaders.

The YSA convention set a goal of selling 4,000 copies of the YS each month during the sales drive.

In her report to the YSA convention, National Organizational Secretary Betsy Farley explained what this drive can accomplish.

"The YS is a tool to organize and lead students," she said. "It participates in struggles and educates about how to build the movements for social change."

The YS can do this, Farley explained, because "it's a paper that speaks to young people in their own

students in the United States should support his case.

The issue also features a special "Campus Appeal for Political Asylum."

The appeal notes that Marroquin's "fight is the fight of all members of the academic community for the elementary right to freedom of speech and freedom of political activity."

Among the forty-three initial signers of the appeal are: Adebale Ajayi, president, Howard University Student Association; Rick Barbarash, president, student government, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Missouri, Kansas City; and Lee Serrano, president, United Mexican American Students, Colorado University, Boulder.

Because of the importance of getting out this issue of the YS, YSA chapters around the country have gone on a campaign to raise their February sales goals. Twenty-three chapters have raised their goals so far, pushing this month's total goal way over the 4,000 mark.

The New York City YSA has increased its February goal by 100, making a new target of 400.

Margaret Jayko, the New York City YSA organizer, explained how they plan to sell the YS this month. "We think the best way to get student support for Héctor Marroquin will be through selling the YS. We're planning on taking the YS to some schools in the city that we don't usually get to. We also plan on selling at two high schools every week.

"We're going to be setting goals for how many papers we want to sell at each campus every week."

Jayko says the New York chapter has decided to make the second week in February a special "blitz" week to sell the YS and do Marroquin defense work.

This kind of special campaign is not new to the YSA. In the early 1960s three YSA members in Bloomington, Indiana, were framed up on charges of trying to overthrow the state of Indiana.

The May 1963 issue of the *Young Socialist* was a special eight-page issue focusing on the Bloomington case (the paper was normally four pages at that time).

The YS ran a banner headline—"3 Students Face Jail for Political Ideas." The YSA went on an all-out campaign and sold 13,000 copies of this issue.

It was this kind of special effort, including using the YS to win public support for the Bloomington three, that eventually won the case.

And it is with this same spirit that the YSA has launched its newest campaign to sell the *Young Socialist*—and win asylum for Héctor Marroquin.



language about the specific problems they face.

"From its beginning," Farley said, "the YS has also been a tool for convincing revolutionary-minded youths to join the YSA."

The sales drive kickoff issue is dedicated to winning support for Héctor Marroquin's fight for freedom.

Marroquin fled Mexico after frame-up charges were leveled against him while he was a student activist there. Now he faces torture and possible death if the Carter administration turns down his request for political asylum and sends him back to Mexico (see story on page 5).

In an interview with the YS, Marroquin tells about his activities in the Mexican student movement and why

# Campaigning for socialism

**OHIO: COLD WEATHER, WARM RESPONSE:** *Militant* correspondent Dean Elder reports from Toledo that cold and snowy weather haven't kept backers of **Pat Wright**, SWP candidate for Ohio governor, from starting a vigorous petitioning drive to get the socialist ticket on the ballot.

The socialist candidate for lieutenant governor is **John Gaige**, a member of the United Auto Workers in Toledo.

Supporters of Wright and Gaige must gather 5,000 valid signatures by March 23 to meet ballot requirements. The state legislature waited until the last minute to make changes in the election law, forcing the SWP and other independent candidates to petition during the coldest part of the winter.

Wright notes, "We have already collected more than the number of signatures required, but we plan to double that amount to assure our place on the ballot."

"Unemployment and inflation are the issues at the top of the list for most of the people I have asked to sign our petitions," says Gaige.

"I explain that Socialists call for shortening the workweek to thirty hours with no cut in pay, so that everyone can have a job. Instead of billions being spent on the war budget, we need a massive, federally funded program of public works.

"I also talk to people about the coal strike," Gaige says, "and the importance of solidarity with the miners to defeat the coal operators' union-busting drive."

**MEDIA LIKE K.C. SOCIALISTS:** The *Kansas City Star* reported January 15 that the three Socialist Workers Party candidates announcing for school board elections "read an opening statement that was a far cry from the typical 'I'm-running-because-I-can-make-this-a-better-district' statement normally offered on such occasions."

The three candidates are Shirley Smith, an accountant; Jim Levitt, a machinist; and Bill Bolinger, a member of United Auto Workers Local 31. The socialists hit hard at the incumbent board's refusal to implement a serious school desegregation plan and at the board's attacks on the teachers' union.

"Two-way busing of students is the only way to achieve a district-wide proportional racial balance in each school and to ensure equal sharing of



Socialist candidates in the running (clockwise from top left): Pat Wright for Ohio governor; Bill Bolinger for Kansas City School Board; Libby Moser for St. Paul mayor.

school district resources," Smith said. "This must be accompanied by the expansion of bilingual/bicultural education for Chicano students."

Levitt noted, "When the teachers asked for better pay, smaller class sizes, and more materials so they could teach more effectively, the board forced them out on strike and has done everything in its power to break the Kansas City Federation of Teachers."

**RUNNING AGAINST UDALL:** The Socialist Workers Party announced January 26 that **Betsy McDonald** will be its candidate for U.S. Congress from the Second Congressional District in Arizona—the seat now held by liberal Democrat Morris Udall.

McDonald is active in support of a local ballot measure that would force a Tucson public hospital to perform abortions. She also notes that while Udall has said he is for the Equal Rights Amendment, he has done nothing to get it ratified in Arizona. McDonald and her supporters are also helping to build the February and April actions for affirmative action and against the *Bakke* decision.

The SWP must collect 11,000 valid signatures to get its candidate on the ballot. Petitioning will begin in Tucson February 18.

**ST. PAUL MAYORAL CAMPAIGN UNDER WAY:** Supporters of **Libby Moser**, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of St. Paul, Minnesota, have begun collecting the 1,400 signatures needed to put her name on the ballot for the April 25 election.

Unlike her opponent, Democratic Mayor Latimer, Moser has spoken out against attempts to reverse local civil rights legislation for gays.

Opponents of a 1974 law prohibiting discrimination against gays have gathered 7,100 signatures, enough to force the city council to reconsider the law. If the city council refuses to reaffirm it, it may be subject to a ballot referendum.

—Arnold Weissberg

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By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—"Vote for the man, not the party."

That bit of election hokum is generally employed when candidates prefer that you not look too closely at their party's record.

Nevertheless, a close look at the candidates will often tell you a good deal about the political interests they represent.

Take Jerry Brown and Fred Halstead.

Both will be running for governor of California this year. Brown will be seeking reelection as a Democrat. Halstead, the 1968 presidential nominee of the Socialist Workers Party and a member of the party's national committee, will be heading the SWP state ticket.

The fact that they're both running for governor is about all that Halstead and Brown have in common. Their lives and backgrounds are as different as the political interests they represent.

Brown comes from a wealthy, influential family. Exploiting the name and influence of his father, a former governor of California, Brown quickly

SAN FRANCISCO—At a press conference here January 30, the California Socialist Workers Party announced its slate of candidates for the 1978 gubernatorial elections. The ticket includes: Fred Halstead for governor; Valerie Libby for lieutenant governor; Virginia Garza for secretary of state; Roland Sheppard for treasurer; Roberta Scherr for controller; Sam Manuel for attorney general; and Jeff Mackler for superintendent of public instruction.

climbed the political ladder to the governor's seat. Now he's actively eyeing the presidency.

Halstead comes from a very different background. Many activists know him from the central role he played in organizing the movement against the Vietnam War. Fewer people know that Halstead's record of political activism stretches back for many years as a trade unionist, an antiwar GI, and a participant in the civil rights movement.

Halstead's mother, a millinery worker, has been a socialist since her youth.

His father, a machinist who died in 1940, was an early member of the SWP. Before that, he belonged to the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World. During the 1930s, he was prominent in the California unemployed movement.

### Into the navy

Halstead graduated from Hollywood High during the last year of World War II. Rather than be drafted into the army, he signed up for the navy.

By the time he went overseas, the shooting war was over. He was assigned to a ship stationed in China.

"We didn't understand why, if the war was over, we were there," he recalls. "There was a lot of agitation among the men to be brought home immediately—especially those who had been there a long time.

"We were told we were there to repatriate Japanese troops that had surrendered to the Chinese after their invasion was defeated. And we did take one or two shiploads of them back to Japan.

"But then we went to Shanghai and took on board a contingent of Chinese soldiers, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist soldiers—all well armed and ready for battle. We took them up to northern China, right near the Great Wall.

"It was then that we discovered there was a war going on within China, between the Nationalists and the Communists.

"Well, we didn't want to get involved in all that. The agitation to go home increased.

"Eventually we were sent home—as

# A socialist for Calif. governor

Fred Halstead is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California. In the following interview he recounts his experiences as a trade-union militant, civil rights activist, and antiwar leader.



Halstead (inset) participated in mass demonstrations of GIs demanding to be brought home after World War II.

the result of the huge going-home movement that swept the U.S. armed forces abroad during that period.

"I remember going to the Red Cross building in Shanghai—just to get some hamburgers—and there was a big sign some GIs had put up: It said, 'GIs Unite. We Want to Go Home.' It advertised a rally.

### A lesson about GIs

"I went to it. It was a big demonstration in a polo field in Shanghai, as I recall. There were many such meetings and demonstrations in other parts of Asia and among the GIs in Europe."

"Of course, I learned from that experience that GIs could be organized. That was something tucked back in my memory when decades later I got involved in the movement against the Vietnam War.

"Those of us in the Socialist Workers Party were among the first to argue that the peace movement must reach out to the GIs, that it was possible and essential to get their support if the antiwar movement was to be successful. And, of course, it did work out that way."

Once out of the navy, Halstead returned to Los Angeles. He began shipping out as a seaman on oil tankers, taking out time for school when his finances permitted.

He began checking out the socialist groups and finally decided his father had picked the right organization. In 1948, Halstead joined the SWP.

He worked for a period as a construction laborer, then got a job in a plant where the United Auto Workers was organizing.

"The union did a good job," he recalls. "But nevertheless, we lost the vote for union recognition.

"The Korean War was on, and the company put on a big red-baiting campaign. I remember one item on the

bulletin board: 'The rivets you are making are holding together the planes that are smashing and killing communists.'"

That was the atmosphere in which the election was lost.

Shortly after, Halstead got a job in a garment shop where he acquired his trade as a skilled garment cutter.

During this same period he got involved in a strike of agricultural workers in California's Imperial Valley. There he learned another important lesson.

"I had been instrumental in getting the Los Angeles Laborer's local to contribute \$1,000 to the National Farm Laborer's Union, which was running the strike," Halstead recalls. "So I and several others went down to help out."

The striking union was well organized among the workers in the valley, including Chicanos, Blacks, and Anglos.

But the growers broke up the strike by bringing in undocumented workers from the other side of the Mexican border.

"The union leadership took a very bad position," Halstead said. "Their approach was to appeal to *la migra* and the FBI to stop Mexicans from coming across the border.

"The idea that these agencies would help the union win a strike, especially against powerful California agricultural interests, was nonsense.

"These undocumented workers had come from the interior of Mexico to Mexicali, thousands of them, seeking work. They would, in many cases, literally walk across that terrible desert. They were hungry and desperate."

"We proposed that the union make connections with Mexican unions and set up a soup kitchen for immigrant workers, explaining to them why they should not work behind our picket lines.

"But the union leadership said, 'Oh no, we can't do that.' They were going to rely on the Immigration Service. Well, it was a fiasco. The Border Patrol simply disappeared, the union failed to win over the undocumented workers, and the strike was lost.

"I learned there, in a way I'll never unlearn, about the need for class solidarity with the undocumented workers."

In 1953, the SWP asked Halstead to move to Detroit to help bolster the party branch there. He got a job cutting upholstery material at a Fisher auto body plant and became a member of the UAW.

After about a year, a strike broke out at a plant across the street from his. It was the Square D Company, which employed about 1,500 workers, mostly women, assembling electrical units.

The plant was organized by the United Electrical Workers, one of the unions expelled from the CIO at the beginning of the witch-hunt as "communist dominated."

### Union-busting attack

When the Square D contract expired, the company decided to utilize the UE's isolated position to get rid of it. They forced a strike and began bringing in scabs.

"That was something that just didn't occur in a strong union town like Detroit," Halstead said. "It was quite a shock to the workers around there. But the union movement had been weakened by McCarthyism, and for a while the strikers took a beating."

Halstead and some other Fisher workers helped with the picketing and approached workers at nearby plants to do the same. Then they went to neighborhood UAW locals and proposed they get behind the strike.

A number of locals responded, sending in their "flying squadrons," the roving picket formations that helped build the UAW.

There were pitched battles with the strikebreakers. Many workers were jailed. Halstead was arrested twice.

"But," he recalls with satisfaction, "the company was forced to sign a new contract. It was an important victory in a bad period for labor."

During the strike, Halstead also wrote some first-rate stories from the picket line for the *Militant*.

For his role in the strike, he was fired from Fisher.

Early in 1956, the *Militant* raised the price of a train ticket and sent Halstead to Alabama to cover a big story, the Montgomery bus boycott. It was the first widescale organized fight against Jim Crow by southern Blacks since Reconstruction.

Halstead wrote inspiring accounts of the struggle, helping the *Militant* to win many new readers among Blacks in the North. The paper was also circulated in Montgomery by boycott leaders, who welcomed the support.

After leaving Montgomery, Halstead and other SWP members participated in the station-wagons-for-Montgomery committees, which helped ensure the eventual victory of the boycott.

Halstead became a regular staff writer for the *Militant*, covering labor and political developments.

With the advent of the Vietnam War, the SWP pressed for united actions against the war and demanded the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Halstead played a major role in the antiwar movement that developed. He became an administrator of New York's Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

He was one of the central organizers of the series of demonstrations that culminated in mammoth actions in the streets of New York, Washington, and San Francisco in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Much could be written about Halstead's contribution to that movement. Part of that story is woven into his forthcoming book, *Out Now—A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War*.

# Students & class polarization

## Today's challenge to the Young Socialist Alliance

The following article is based on excerpts from the report by Chuck Petrin at the seventeenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance held in Detroit, Michigan, December 28-January 1. Petrin is YSA national secretary. Recent issues of the 'Militant' have covered the convention's decisions to continue the YSA's active participation in the student, Black, women's, and antideportation movements.



### By Chuck Petrin

Last December an article in the *New York Post* reported the results of a recent Harris Poll. Called the Harris Index of Alienation, it had to do with the attitudes of people toward "the power structure."

According to the poll:

- A 59 percent majority feels "the people running Washington, D.C., are out of touch with the rest of the country."

- A 60 percent majority—the highest ever recorded—feels "the people running the country don't really care what happens to you."

- A 61 percent majority feels "what I think doesn't count much anymore."

And then the real clinchers.

- A 77 percent majority feels "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer."

- A 73 percent majority feels "the tax laws are written to help the rich, not the average man."

- A 76 percent majority feels "special interests get more from the government than the people do."

"Eleven years ago," the *Post* article explained, "29 percent of the public could be classified as alienated or disenchanted. This number rose steadily and hit a peak of 59 percent in 1976."

"When Jimmy Carter was elected, with the support of most of the country's alienated voters, many thought the level of disenchantment would come down. In fact, 1977 shows no perceptible improvement."

No perceptible improvement. And in a year when the "good ole boy" from Plains, Georgia, was supposed to shake up the Washington establishment and get down to the business of clean government, honest government, compassionate government, good government—"good as the American people themselves." That was Jimmy Carter's promise.

### Not catching on

Carter wanted to restore confidence in the idea that this government is everybody's government—mine, yours, no matter what your occupation is or who your friends are. He wanted everybody to believe in the government—believe that their interests are being looked out for and that their views are getting a fair hearing.

But now the Harris Index of Alienation tells us that the idea isn't catching on. There is "no perceptible improve-

ment" in the attitude of the American people since Carter's election. The government is considered to be as much an alien, uncaring government of the rich and for the rich under Carter as it was under Nixon or Ford.

That is what Jimmy Carter is up against today. And frankly there isn't much he can do about it. Because try as he may to tinker with the government's image, there is no getting around the fact that this is a capitalist government serving first and foremost the capitalist ruling class.

Carter has a hard time posing as a credible "friend" of the exploited and oppressed. Because given the shaky condition of the world capitalist economy, his job—the job his bosses on Wall Street are paying him to perform—is to drive down workers' standard of living, drive down our hopes and expectations. And it's hard to sugar coat such a bitter pill.

So, disenchantment continues to grow. A poll conducted in early January by the *New York Times* and CBS News, for example, showed that fully 50 percent of the American people are dissatisfied with their personal economic situation, and half of those feel worse off now than before Carter took office. A clear majority doubts that Carter can either check inflation or reduce unemployment to any real extent.

Among Blacks, trust in the Carter administration has plummeted from 71 percent to 43 percent since last April. More than twice as many Blacks now believe the economic crisis is deepening, while the number who believe Carter cares "not much" about their problems has nearly tripled.

### The 'new right'

With this in mind it would be useful to examine the phenomenon some in the media are calling the "new right."

*Newsweek* magazine ran a "special report" on this in its November 7 issue, dredging up all the familiar arguments used to support the idea that "grass roots America" is turning to the right:

- *More people consider themselves to be conservative than liberal.* Not true, says the University of Michigan Center for Political Studies. The center's director reported January 17 that there are nearly three times as many "liberals" as "conservatives" today, a ratio that has not changed throughout the past fifteen years.

There is also ample evidence that political views once considered to be liberal, or even radical, are now considered to be part of the mainstream of public opinion in this country. This includes opposition to U.S. government warmaking; support for government spending on education, health care, and other social services; defense of democratic rights against the FBI, the CIA, and other government spy agencies; and so on (see box).

- *Radical idealism among students has given way to a concern for practical matters such as getting good grades and finding a good job.* Once again, not true. Students have always been concerned about good grades and—like everyone else—getting a good job, otherwise they would not be

in school. But that doesn't mean students don't care about the social and political conflicts around them, conflicts that are the source of "radical idealism."

### Backlash?

- *There is a backlash against the programs to help the poor and racially oppressed and a return to traditional values about happy homemaking and the family.* The answer here is yes and no.

Yes, you can look at some opinion polls and see a small decline in support for the Equal Rights Amendment, welfare, abortion rights, abolition of the death penalty, and affirmative action.

But no, if you consider the majority of people in this country—who are themselves the exploited, the oppressed, and the young—there is no backlash.

Instead, what these polls reflect is the effect on people of the ruling-class offensive: the stunning impact of the blows that have already been dealt; the fear that more are on the way; the frustration bred by the lack of any effective opposition; and the demoralization that results when the misleaders of the labor, Black, and women's movements keep trying to convince the ranks to rely on the very architects of the attacks—the Democratic and Republican party politicians.

These factors, not the rise of a serious threat of reaction, are behind what some pundits label a "backlash."

If there really were a reactionary wave sweeping the country, why would

Jimmy Carter try to mask his reactionary attacks behind liberal phrasemongering? Why would he stress his claim to support the ERA, his phony amnesty for undocumented workers, his hypocritical concern for the "goals" of affirmative action?

Carter's progressive image is a fake. But he would hardly bother with such deceptions if a mass right-wing movement had already succeeded in changing the political atmosphere in the United States.

Look a little deeper into all the opinion polls, and you find some contradictory things. Like a recent *New York Times*/CBS News poll that showed general opposition to the use of affirmative quotas, but overwhelming support for the idea that "victims of past discrimination" should get "special consideration" and "a better break in the future."

Contradictions like this—bred by all sorts of fears, hesitations, and uncertainties—are the real key to understanding what people are thinking about today.

What is taking place in the United States today is not a clash between "rightists" on the rise and "leftists" in retreat, but the beginning of a class polarization.

The reason that the right wing—the Phyllis Schlaflys, the Anita Bryants, the antibusing groups such as ROAR—have some wind in their sails today is not because they enjoy majority support. *It is because they enjoy government support.* The right-wingers are emboldened because they see their

## Is country moving to right?

Two recent public opinion surveys confirm some of the key points made by Chuck Petrin in the article on this page.

Commenting on the latest *New York Times*/CBS News Poll (taken January 8-12), *Times* reporter Adam Clymer stressed that while a growing number of people describe themselves as "conservative" (42 percent as opposed to 23 percent who say they are "liberal"), it would be wrong to conclude that the country is moving to the right.

According to Clymer, the poll revealed that "most self-styled conservatives are as ready to accept bread-and-butter concepts like jobs for all who want them as are self-styled liberals."

"Support for that idea and for seeing that low-cost medical care is available has increased dramatically over two decades, just as more and more Americans were deciding that the label 'conservative' fit them best."

The need to be cautious in drawing hasty conclusions from such surveys, especially in a period of sharpening political polarization, was underscored by the 1977 survey of college freshmen recently released by the American Council on Education (ACE).

"Labels can be misleading," survey director Alexander Astin said, "since the decline in students who call themselves liberals has been accompanied by increasing liberalization of student attitudes about legalization of marijuana, student power and autonomy and equal rights for women."

The ACE survey found that the proportion of freshmen favoring busing to achieve school desegregation rose from 37 percent in 1976 to 40.6 percent last year.

Altogether 25.1 percent of the freshmen called themselves "liberal" and 1.9 percent identified themselves as "far left." On the other hand, 15.6 percent said they were "conservative" and .8 percent said they were "far right."

Although there was an increase in the proportion of freshmen who said they wanted to be "very well off financially" and "be able to make more money" by going to college, the overall survey results show that these concerns are prompted by today's economic squeeze—and not by any shift to the right among students.

As ACE survey director Astin put it, "views that were once considered liberal are now a part of the mainstream of opinion among today's college freshmen."





Students are concerned about the big social struggles of their times. Above, West Virginia University students rally to support striking coal miners.

Militant/Howard Petrick

program being carried out and because their mobilizations have not yet been met by countermobilizations of Blacks, women, unionists, and their supporters.

### Polarization

Despite what some people would have us believe, however, what is building up in this country is not just a one-sided right-wing assault. It is a massive clash between two opposing classes and their allies—a clash that eventually will pose the question of which class will rule.

The initial signs are already evident. Years of high inflation, worsening unemployment, and assaults on workers' rights have caused a lot of restlessness in the labor movement. Union members today are younger, better-educated, and more independent-minded than ever before. They expect more, and they are taking a new look at their unions to see how they can make them serve their needs.

Last year we saw the development of a movement for union democracy in the United Steelworkers of America—Steelworkers Fight Back—organized around the campaign of Ed Sadlowski for union president.

The Fight Back candidates campaigned for the right of the ranks to run the unions, to vote on their contracts and to strike when necessary. Sadlowski also raised a number of basic class-struggle concepts: the incompatibility of the interests of workers and bosses; defense of the special needs of those who have been victims of racist and sexist oppression; and rejection of the idea that foreign workers or undocumented immigrants are to blame for unemployment.

The Fight Back slate lost the election, but they won many thousands of adherents to their ideas.

This year we saw the biggest strike in the steel industry in eighteen years—on the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota. There the steelworkers struck a blow against the no-strike agreement signed by the top union bureaucrats. And they stuck it out, with only half-hearted support from Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride, to win a partial victory.

This year also we saw 160 coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky, brave hostile courts, cops, and government agencies—and sometimes nightly gunfire from hired thugs—in their fight to win a contract to protect them against hazardous working conditions.

And, of course, now we have the national miners' strike, with nearly

180,000 workers—who are getting no strike benefits whatsoever—sacrificing \$10 million a day in wages to defend their health and safety.

Outside the ranks of organized labor there is plenty of restlessness, too.

More than 10,000 women gathered last fall at the International Women's Year conference in Houston, Texas, to make it plain that they are not about to settle for second-class citizenship in this country.

A nationwide television audience of millions watched the conference go on record against the antiwoman policies of the very government that sponsored the event.

And there is restlessness among the hundreds of thousands of people who turned out last spring to protest the defeat of the gay rights referendum in Dade County, Florida.

And in the new movement that is growing to alert the world to the dangers of nuclear reactors.

And even among small farmers, whose growing protest movement has mobilized tens of thousands in rallies and tractorcades demanding that the government guarantee their right to make a living.

### Impact on youth

Many of capitalism's crises have an impact on the schools: the crisis of education, the crisis of jobs, the crisis of confidence in capitalist norms and institutions, including the government.

So it is not surprising that the high schools and colleges continue to be important centers of unrest and ferment.

We should take note of certain trends in the student movement today. Because while there is certainly less political activity in the schools today than in the period of the anti-Vietnam War movement, there is nonetheless a great similarity in the attitudes of students now and then.

First is the continuing interest in politics and political ideas. Students generally maintain all the illusions in the two-party system that pervade the population as a whole. However, students—especially college students—are exposed to a wider range of political ideas than most people, and they have more time to consider those ideas. Interest in Marxism and socialism is increasing on the college campuses, which still provide the biggest audience for radical speakers and literature.

Second is the spirit of international solidarity that has not faded with the end of U.S. military aggression in

Vietnam. This was demonstrated last spring by the protests against U.S. government support to the racist regimes in southern Africa and by the protests against university complicity with South African apartheid.

At Queens College in New York City, students led a fight to abolish a university program set up to benefit the shah of Iran.

And at Tufts University near Boston, a similar fight took place against a university grant from Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos.

Third is the influence of the women's liberation movement, both in terms of the concern shown by students around issues such as the ERA, abortion, and child care, and in terms of the general acceptance of the goals of women's liberation. This is increasingly true in the high schools as well as in the colleges.

Fourth is the sensitivity of students to racism and racist attacks. Of course, students—like society as a whole—are polarized by this issue. This is especially true in relation to school cutbacks, when the question is posed of where the axe should fall first and hardest, or in relation to affirmative-action admission programs. But the reality is that racism has less of a hold on young people than it does on others, and the struggle against racism con-

tinues to inspire student activists.

The size of the student population is another important factor: 11.5 million in college and 15.5 million in high school. These students are concentrated in the urban centers, where the working class and oppressed nationalities are also concentrated. This helps show what a potentially powerful and important ally students can be in the fight against the capitalist rulers and their government.

Young people from all different backgrounds—from working families, middle-class families, well-to-do families—are gathered together in the schools. The confrontation of ideas, attitudes, and interests there reflects the confrontation that goes on in society as a whole.

And it is in the schools that the rulers of this country square off with us—with socialists—to win the hearts and minds of youth.

They try to instill allegiance to the "free enterprise system." They try to instill pride in the "free world." They try to rationalize all the injustices and inequalities that exist—and make a hero out of a two-bit figure like Allan Bakke.

All the crucial questions posed by the vicious ruling-class offensive—what to do, what stand to take, how to respond—are posed sharply in the high schools and colleges.

Because it is of no small concern to students what the outcome of the *Bakke* case is. It is no small concern whether schools are shut down or cut back. It is no small concern whether young Blacks can find a job, or whether young women are able to get an abortion.

These issues touch students directly and deeply.

But there is more to it than that.

Students cannot by themselves bring about the kind of fundamental change that is needed in this country—the kind of change that issues like the *Bakke* case, cutbacks, unemployment, and racist and sexist attacks all pose.

Only the working class has the power to take on the capitalist rulers who stand in the way of social progress—take them on and win.

And so the fate of young people in the schools today is bound up with the gains and setbacks of the working class in all its struggles.

Our job—the job of the Young Socialist Alliance—is to link the struggles of students to those of the exploited and oppressed, to make students conscious of the independent power of the working class as an alternative to the defenders of capitalism who rule now, and to mobilize them in action to change society.

This is our job for the long run, and this is our job today: to win students to this perspective and win them to the Young Socialist Alliance.

## YOU CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE

Students have a big role to play in today's struggles for social justice. And the Young Socialist Alliance is helping the student movement meet this challenge. But there are millions of college and high school students from

coast to coast that the YSA wants to reach. Each new person organizing at their school to convince others of socialist ideas makes a big difference. That's why if you agree with what you've been reading on these pages, you should

## JOIN THE YSA!

- ☐ I'd like to join the YSA.
- ☐ Please send me more information.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a six month subscription to the 'Young Socialist' newspaper (50¢ for high school students).

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to: YSA, Post Office Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003

## TV's 'Lou Grant' holds benefit for PRDF

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—More than 200 people, including many television and movie notables, attended a benefit here January 29 for the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The gathering saluted Leonard Boudin, the noted civil liberties attorney who is heading the legal team for the lawsuit against government spying and harassment filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. PRDF is coordinating support for that suit.

The benefit was held at the Bel Air home of Ed and Nancy Asner. Ed Asner is star of the popular TV show, "Lou Grant."

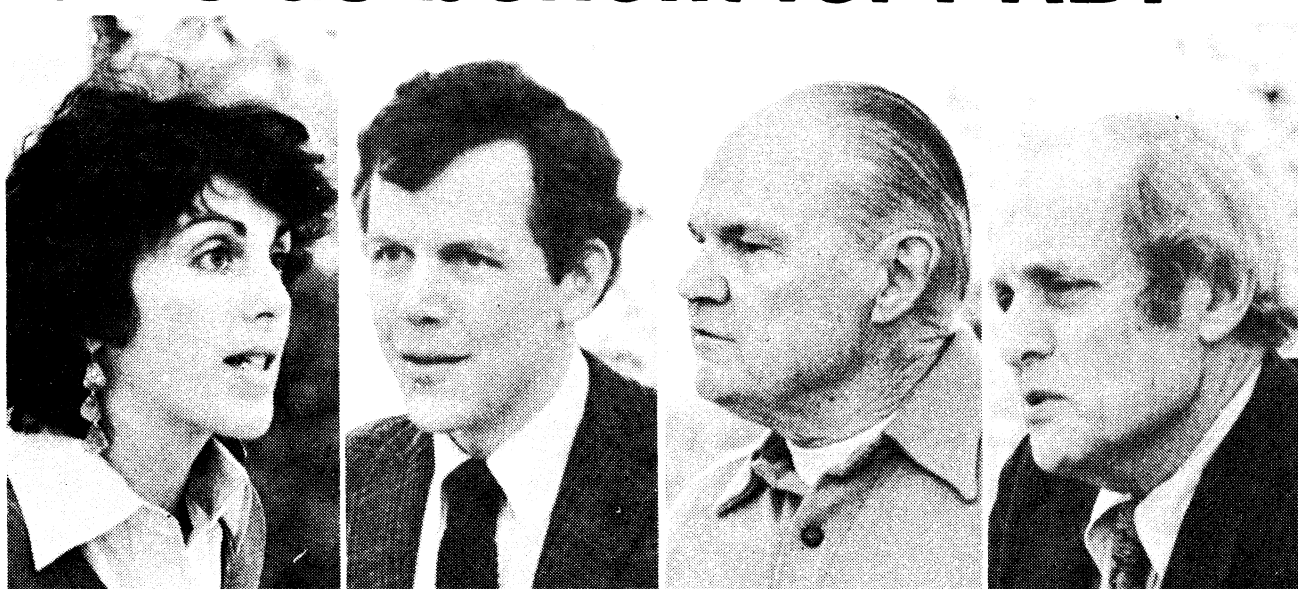
Contributions of twenty-five dollars at the door and response to a fund appeal by Sherry Smith of the Los Angeles PRDF raised \$10,000 to help defray the cost of continuing the suit.

Jazz music was provided by a quintet led by Buddy Collette, a veteran performer well known in jazz circles.

Collette told the *Militant* that although the group had been hired for the occasion, he and several other musicians were contributing their services as a show of support for the suit.

The program also included folk singer Holly Near. She said she was particularly appreciative of the PRDF gathering because her parents were factory workers who had been victimized during the McCarthy era.

Chairing the program was screen and TV writer



Speaking at benefit: (from left) Sherry Smith and Syd Stapleton of PRDF, screenwriter Dick Powell, and attorney Leonard Boudin.

Dick Powell. With incisive wit, he recalled his own experiences during the witch-hunt, when entertainers were blacklisted for their political views.

Syd Stapleton, PRDF national secretary, told the gathering that PRDF was formed in 1973 to help finance and publicize the SWP suit and that its function was limited to that purpose.

Tracing some of the history of the case, now entering its fifth year, Stapleton said that the government has mobilized its vast resources—funds, attorneys, researchers—to create major obstacles for the socialist plaintiffs. The government has repeatedly appealed unfavorable rulings by the presiding judge, even in instances where they knew they would ultimately lose.

Not only has the government stalled, Stapleton said, it has also lied under oath.

With such obstacles in its path, Stapleton said, PRDF would not have been able to carry on the legal fight without the support of people such as those attending the benefit.

Leonard Boudin, who has defended such figures as Daniel Ellsberg, the Berrigan brothers, and Dr. Benjamin Spock, told the gathering why he attached such importance to the SWP suit.

"The things that this particular lawsuit . . . has revealed were beyond anything we could have anticipated," he said.

"Who would have thought that in a short period of a few years, ninety-two burglaries would have been committed [against the SWP] in the city of New York by the FBI?"

"This is only one dramatic instance," he added, "of thousands and thousands of things that these thousands and thousands of papers . . . are revealing."

One particularly important aspect of the revelations stemming from the SWP case, he said, is detailed information about the scope of the use of informers to infiltrate and disrupt political organizations.

And what has been revealed so far, he emphasized, is but part of the story.

He described the reaction of U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa when he took a private look at some of the still undisclosed FBI files.

"He came out," Boudin recalled, "and said, 'Gentlemen, you don't realize what's in those files. It's absolutely amazing!'"

Griesa has ordered the government to release some of these informer files to the plaintiffs' lawyers, a ruling now being appealed for the second time by the government.

Boudin told the audience that Griesa had said that these files will reveal "the most dreadful things that the government has done, far beyond even the things we allege in our complaint, and far beyond the thousands of things we have discovered in this interim."

Explaining why he had decided to undertake the SWP case, Boudin said, "It seems to me that the case presents the opportunity . . . to understand the functioning of government as it really is. . . . The real important thing is that we are teaching the American public . . . how the institution of oppression really works."

The documentary material made public as a

result of the case, he concluded, "is the best thing you can read if you want to understand how the government works. The teachings that all of us will get from this case are the most valuable contributions that anyone can make to the democratic process. . . . It's a case that will go down in history—it's a case that deserves your support."

### Attending...

LOS ANGELES—The turnout at the Political Rights Defense Fund benefit here showed that there are an encouraging number of people in the entertainment industry who understand what the witch-hunt of the 1950s represented, and who are willing to help ensure that there will be no repetition of it.

Among the TV personalities who attended were Mike Farrell of "M\*A\*S\*H"; Max Gail of "Barney Miller"; Robert Walden, Mason Adams, Jack Bannon, and Daryl Anderson of the "Lou Grant" show; Leonard Nimoy of "Star Trek"; Peter Bonerz of the "Bob Newhart Show"; and Kevin Tighe of "Emergency 1."

Gene Reynolds, producer of "Lou Grant" was there, as was Stan Margulies, who produced "Roots."

There were a number of screen and stage actors and actresses, including Lee Grant, John Randolph, and Cathy Crosby. Filmmaker Haskell Wexler attended.

Other guests included Leonard Weinglass, attorney in the Skyhorse/Mohawk case; Anthony Russo, co-defendant with Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon Papers case; civil libertarian Stanley Sheinbaum; California Assembly member Allan Sirotky, writer Albert Maltz, one of the Hollywood Ten imprisoned in the 1950s for resisting the witch-hunt; and Ed Morga, national president of the Chicano civil rights organization, LULAC.

Also among the guests was Héctor Marroquín, a member of the YSA and SWP facing deportation to Mexico. Marroquín discussed his fight for political asylum with a number of people there, particularly with Morga, president of LULAC. Morga said he intended to use all of his influence to help fight the deportation of Marroquín.



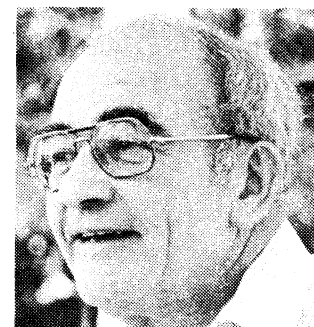
Militant/Harry Ring

Héctor Marroquín (left) and Ed Morga, national director of LULAC, at benefit

### Ed Asner on watchdogs

Following are the welcoming remarks by Ed Asner, TV's "Lou Grant," at the Political Rights Defense Fund benefit held at his home January 29.

Succeeding speakers are vastly more competent to present PRDF and its landmark lawsuit to you, along with the need for your money and your name. I would just like to point out a couple of areas as a homeowner, a taxpayer, and a concerned American.



Ed Asner, television's "Lou Grant"

Consider: Almost forty years of harassment; infiltration; wiretapping since 1945; getting good teachers fired—some of whom are with us today; disbanding of a Boy Scout troop because the scoutmaster's wife belonged to the Socialist Workers Party; from 1960 to 1976 \$1.6 million paid to 300 informers; 8 million pages of files covering these activities.

What do we have to show for this? Not one conviction for a federal crime. That's what I call a rotten return on the dollar and gross governmental inefficiency!

All other areas of government have their Proxmires, their fiscal watchdogs. Not so with the FBI and the CIA.

So may I suggest to our wonderful gathering here that on any future snooping on the SWP, the YSA, or any other group, that the government take bids—with strict limits on cost overruns. And if, after two years, no conviction has resulted, the contract be revoked and the bidding be reopened.

I would also like to suggest that since the FBI and the CIA have bombed out with the SWP—other than in the area of harassment—that we reverse the pattern. That is, take the funds, equipment, and expertise the FBI and CIA have enjoyed over the years and let the SWP and YSA infiltrate, wiretap, and in general snoop on the FBI and CIA!

I wonder how many convictions we can then obtain?

So, please, continue to enjoy the food, the wine, the wonderful music of Buddy Collette, the wonderful speakers to follow, and reflect on the fact that we are here to sustain and augment the Constitution of the United States.

*'Militant' readers who want to support the lawsuit can send contributions to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.*



# ...1,200 rally to support miners

Continued from front page

The message read: "18,000 iron ore miners in Minnesota and Michigan are behind you in your strike against the coal operators. We have just completed a 141 day strike and we know what it is like. We urge the coal miners to stay out until they get what they want in a new contract. Don't let the operators break you apart. Stay solid and you will win."

Representing the steelworkers international officers was Jim Smith, assistant to USWA President Lloyd McBride. Smith began by recalling the vanguard role of the UMWA in building the industrial union movement in the 1930s.

"We at the United Steelworkers could never forget that it was President John Lewis and Vice-president Philip Murray from the United Mine Workers of America who led a team of United Mine Workers organizers to organize the basic steel mills here in Pittsburgh and throughout the country to begin our union," Smith said.

"Neither can we forget that it was the same coal miners who struck, struck, and struck again to establish and lay the basis for the wages and benefits that are accepted in the coal industry and that you are building on now. . . .

"There is no way that our generation in the steel mills or the coal mines can ever fully repay that debt. But it is important that we keep that memory bright to remind ourselves of the obligations that we owe."

## McBride pledges support

Smith went on to say that the steel union must be as "generous in our willingness to help any other working people" as were the coal miners in the early days of the CIO.

"I do not have to tell you that you have the full support of the men and women that work in the basic steel mills and the fabrication plants in this area and across the country," Smith said.

"I do want to assure you on behalf of President McBride," Smith concluded, "that the entire structure of the United Steelworkers of America is in full support of you and your strike."

Also present to show support from the USWA was Jim Balanoff, director of Steelworkers District 31 in the Chicago area.

Throughout Smith's remarks and the other eagerly received speeches by union officials, strike signs waved in the crowd: "UMWA On Strike—No Contract, No Work."

Near the front, UMWA Local 9636 unfurled a banner that read, "Tell 'em shove it, Arnold," a play on Johnny Paycheck's hit record, "Take This Job and Shove It."

That song, understandably, was Paycheck's most popular with this audience. Paycheck presented Miller with a recording of it—"to take back to



AT PITTSBURGH RALLY: Jim Smith, assistant to USWA President Lloyd McBride; country and western star Johnny Paycheck; UMWA President Arnold Miller.

Militant photos by Nancy Cole

Washington" to guide him in negotiations.

Henry Dropkin, an international vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, announced several \$1,000 contributions that ACTWU had made to UMWA districts.

## Coal profits hit

Pointing to the "unlimited profits from the energy of coal, gas, and oil," Dropkin said, "it's about time that they protected the people who bring up the wealth from Mother Earth."

"We're ready to help you. We're ready to go all the way. Let's work together."

Tom Fagen, president of Teamsters Joint Council 40, turned again to the UMWA's history. "There isn't anybody in western Pennsylvania who would be organized today in other labor organizations if it weren't for the United Mine Workers of America," he said.

"This issue with the operators is the same as it was back in the twenties. They're trying to ruin this organization. They have never been able and they will never be able as long as we all do our part."

Fagen announced a contribution of \$1,000 and "another \$1,000 coming."

"We'll help you physically in any way we possibly can," he promised.

"We're collecting food, clothing, and whatever it may take. . . ."

Before moving on in the program, Antal, who chaired the rally, asked if any other labor leaders wanted to speak. Paul Piccirilli, a grievance committeeperson at Jones & Laughlin Steel's Aliquippa Works, went to the stage.

Piccirilli was a leader in the Pittsburgh area of Ed Sadlowski's campaign against McBride for USWA president last year. He said newspapers had charged that his statements in support of the miners did not represent the Steelworkers union.

"I say to President Miller, if there's any aid you need in financing, you ask our President McBride and the executive committee of our international union. They're going to give the kind of support you want."

Piccirilli added, "We don't want you to give up your right to strike under any conditions. This [right] is what led to unions. . . . We don't want you digging coal like a bunch of slaves manacled to the machines under that ground."

While the remarks by Smith and Piccirilli were welcomed by the coal miners and other unionists in the audience, some USWA members felt that the international could have given more concrete support.

After Smith spoke, several leaders of a rank-and-file group at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works stood up in the audience and demanded that the international pledge specific support for the miners, such as financial aid.

Later, members of that local—USWA Local 1397—handed Antal a fifty-dollar contribution from their rank-and-file group.

## Stearns miner speaks

Herb Tucker, a young striking miner from Stearns, Kentucky, told the rally of the unsafe conditions that forced miners there out on strike for a UMWA contract eighteen months ago.

Telling of the violent provocations by the Blue Diamond Coal Company, armed gun thugs, and state police, Tucker said, "I don't know when the last time was that you got your head busted, or had someone try to take your job, and your mother was dragged across the street and your kids beat up by the state police. But it's not been too long since it happened down there."

"And if you think it can't happen here, you'll find out. If those tactics work down there, they'll try them somewhere else."

"We've had a lot of support," Tucker said. "We're going to need a lot more support because that battle down there is not won."

Mark McColloch, a delegate from the American Federation of Teachers to the county labor council and a professor at the University of Pittsburgh, delivered a fund appeal for the Stearns miners. More than \$1,100 was donated.

## 'Hour of need'

The final speaker was Arnold Miller, who reported on the progress—or lack of progress—in negotiations.

"Tonight someone asked me what we were going to do if the Taft-Hartley law was invoked. I told the news reporter, you just look back and check the history on that and see how much coal was mined" under government injunctions, Miller said.

He thanked the unions present for their support and concluded, "We're in an hour of need today and appreciate all the help you can give us. We'll reciprocate. Any time you need help, mine workers will be there."

## California union leaders back UMWA

A broad coalition of San Francisco-area union leaders is sponsoring a tour by four representatives of the striking United Mine Workers of America.

The high point of the tour will be a labor support rally for the miners on Friday night, February 24.

On tour to build solidarity with the strike will be two miners from Stearns, Kentucky; Paul Fortney, UMWA press secretary; and Denny Estep, UMWA deputy director of organizing.

They will also speak on February 25 in Pittsburg, California, site of the biggest basic steel mill in northern California.

The tour is sponsored by the Miners' Strike Labor-Community Support Coalition. Some of its initial endorsers include:

James Herman, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Walter Johnson, president, Retail Clerks Local 1100; Stan Smith, president, San Francisco Building Trades Council; Tim Twomey, vice-president, San Francisco Central Labor Council; Jack Goldberger, president, Teamsters Joint Council 7; Mike Nye, business representative, Santa Clara County Central Labor Council.

Also: Rudy Quintero, vice-president, United Steelworkers Local

1440; Frank Favalora, recording secretary, USWA Local 1440; Rich Stuart, recording secretary, USWA Local 5649; James Ballard, president, San Francisco Federation of Teachers; and Larry Martin, president, Transport Workers Union Local 250-A.

In Detroit, United Auto Workers Local 160 passed a resolution supporting the coal miners and sent a \$100 contribution.

In Baltimore, USWA Local 5918 at C.M. Kemp Manufacturing Company sent a message of support. And USWA Local 6759 at Koppers, Inc., sent a support message and \$100.

# How the miners w

'If the miners had not fought and won, if they had been defeated, it would have meant not only the crippling and possibly the crushing of one of the most powerful industrial unions—the UMW [United Mine Workers]—but a demoralizing blow of shattering proportions for the auto, rubber, steel, electrical equipment, and other CIO workers.'

By Nancy Cole

The words above describe the 1943 wartime strikes by the United Mine Workers. They ring true today—as a warning and an explanation of what the current strike by coal miners means for the labor movement.

During World War II, miners were fighting for a livable income. Big business tried to discredit their demands under cover of a "patriotic" drive to "save democracy."

Today the list of miners' demands is headed by health benefits, safety, and the right to strike. And this time around the "national interest" at stake is Carter's energy plan—his "moral equivalent of war."

In 1943, through four national strikes, the UMW stood up to a seemingly impenetrable wall of opposition—including government take-over of the mines—and answered, "You can't dig coal with bayonets."

The quote at the top of this page is from a chapter called "How the Miners Won" in Art Preis's book, *Labor's Giant Step, Twenty Years of the CIO*.

Preis participated in the labor struggles of the 1930s leading up to the founding of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. From 1940 until his death in 1964, he was a staff writer and then labor editor for the *Militant*.

His recounting of the CIO's history is the best place to go to review the miners' 1943 battle and the lessons it offers for today's confrontation.

## War at expense of workers

The entry of the United States into World War II opened the door to golden opportunities for this nation's ruling rich. They planned to reap super-profits from the war—at the expense of American workers.

"The voracious war demand meant enormously increased pressure for output—longer hours of work, speed-up, the diversion of labor power from production of the 'nonessentials' of living to the 'essentials' of killing and dying," wrote Preis.

"The corporations and their government agents unleashed a savage drive on labor's standards of living and job conditions. Wages were to be frozen. Jobs also were to be frozen so that workers might not be lured by competing firms with offers of higher pay.

"Above all, the workers' power of organized resistance—their right to strike—was to be smashed."

The top officials of both the CIO and the American Federation of Labor capitulated to this anti-labor drive. They put their allegiance to Franklin Roosevelt's Democratic administration and its foreign policy above the interests of the union ranks.

Under cover of wartime "equality of sacrifice," Roosevelt organized an industry-labor conference in December 1941. The employers promised nothing. They refused even to sign a statement of intent agreeing that "all workers have a right to a living wage."

But union leaders—including UMW President John L. Lewis and CIO President Philip Murray—surrendered to Roosevelt with a pledge that there would be no strikes for the duration of the war. They also agreed to a government War Labor Board with authority to decide all labor disputes.

Lewis signed the no-strike pledge. But when the full fury of the capitalist offensive was unleashed against the miners, Lewis was willing to junk the no-strike pledge rather than see the UMW destroyed. In that one crucial respect he stood out above every other top union official of the day.

## Rising prices

The war soon accelerated rising living costs. Congress tried to quiet demands for wage increases through the War-Time Price Control Bill, but it proved to be nothing but a fraud.

"A general uprising against wage increases, despite steeply rising living costs, was launched with the announcement on July 15, 1942 of the War Labor Board decision in the Little Steel case. This

was the decision that came to be known as the 'Little Steel Formula.'"

The formula was based on a period starting before the strike wave the year before, which had upped depression-level wages. If pay increases since the beginning date had exceeded the official figures on the rise in the cost of living, workers were to get no more. For most unionists, this meant a wage freeze, or close to it.

This and further union-busting moves dragged a few feeble moans from the union bureaucrats, but they quickly fell into line. Despite this betrayal, in 1942 there were 2,968 strikes, involving 840,000 workers. That was more than in any year since 1919 except the record-breaking years of 1937 and 1941. But most of the 1942 strikes were quickly broken.

One of the most treacherous roles in this campaign to quell the rebellion of labor's ranks was left to the Communist Party USA. Then—as today—the Stalinists based their every move on the narrow diplomatic needs of the Soviet bureaucracy. The moment Hitler tore up his pact with the Kremlin and invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the CP became the war's most ardent supporter.

## Protests grow

As 1943 opened, protests were growing over the War Labor Board's burial of wage demands and grievances.

On January 2, 1943, anthracite miners in Pennsylvania started an unauthorized walkout, demanding two dollars more a day. The WLB quickly stepped in and ordered the miners back to work. Lewis concurred, but warned that the union would demand a "wholesale increase" in wages when its contract expired April 30.

"On March 10, the UMW opened negotiations with the Appalachian soft coal operators. Among the seven demands Lewis and the UMW committee presented to the mineowners were: (1) retention of the existing 35-hour, five-day week in the coal mining industry; (2) inclusion of all time traveled from the pit entrance to the point of work and back to the surface as part of the paid work time; (3) a \$2-per-day raise in base pay."

## Roosevelt-industry conspiracy

"In presenting these demands, Lewis unleashed a four-hour denunciation of the conspiracy of the Roosevelt administration and the coal operators 'who smugly hope the government will chastise the mine worker for daring to make known the miserable facts of his existence.'"

"He pointed out that a UMW survey in 80 Pennsylvania mining towns showed that between 1939 and 1943 food costs for the miners had gone up 124.6 per cent, a fact later confirmed by government surveys.

"Lewis spoke over the heads of the mine owners to the organized workers of America. The policies of the government and corporations 'inflamm the workers in industries who know that their rights are being withheld from them by this strange combination of government and industry. Let me warn you this afternoon that you can't do this to our people with impunity.'"

"The UMW president cited the terrific accident rate in the mines due to lack of safety equipment: 64,000 men killed and injured in 1941; 75,000 in 1942; an estimated 100,000 in 1943, with the intensification of war production.

"That's a lot of meat," he said, 'a lot of human meat to grind up in one year. There are too many funerals in this industry, gentlemen.' Demanding elimination of the third shift, thus permitting the mines to 'bleed' and slow down the formation of explosive gasses, Lewis continued, 'We care not if the elimination of this third shift takes a few shekels out of some operators' pockets.'"

## Propaganda assault

Lewis was called before the Senate War Investigating Committee where, Preis wrote, he "flayed the senators so mercilessly, exposing their stupid arguments with such withering scorn, that they publicly



The four wartime strikes of the United Mine Workers were a determination that had never been surpassed in the American labor movement.

flinched before him at this open hearing."

"If we restrain industry and finance, are you willing to work on holding down the wages?" came the parting question from Senator Burton.

"Rising to leave," Preis said, "Lewis glanced contemptuously at Burton and purred: 'My dear Senator, whenever you have restrained industry and finance, just call me on the telephone and let me know.'"

The coal operators continued to ignore the UMW's demands. Roosevelt intervened, trying to extend the contract and therefore the April 1 strike date.

"The moral position of the miners was becoming stronger every day. The CIO and AFL leaders backed the miners' demands and, for the time being, refrained from open attacks on the UMW's threat to strike. Local bodies of the United Auto Workers and other CIO unions passed resolutions of unconditional support for the miners.

"Only the Stalinist-controlled leadership of the CIO National Maritime Union, headed by Joseph Curran, chose the occasion to pass a resolution that openly smeared the UMW leaders.

"The showdown was temporarily averted when a 30-day truce was accepted by the UMW leaders on the agreement of the mine owners to make any upward wage adjustment retroactive. This period of grace was used by the operators and the administration to build up the assault."

On April 8, Roosevelt issued his "Hold the Line" decree—an order without precedent in American history. It froze all wages and prohibited workers from shifting to higher-paid jobs.

Two days later Lewis declared: "The farmer and miner in effect are being asked to maintain their living standards on a status quo, antebellum basis with no consideration of wear or tear or depreciation of human plant facilities, while corporate industry is given ample allowance for maintenance of plant and equipment and \$6,250,000,000 in nine months of monetary awards [net profits] for luxurious living. . . .

"It is beside the point that other labor organizations such as the AFL and CIO, through their leaders, have adopted a policy of cringing toadyism to the administration coupled with a blind worship of the astoundingly unsound economic policies of the administration.

"The United Mine Workers and its membership will continue to make the fight."



# 'on in World War II



carried out with a dispatch, discipline and singleminded can labor movement,' wrote Art Preis in 'Labor's Giant

The standoff continued. The WLB declared it was taking over the miners' case, then announced it would consider the dispute only within the framework of the Little Steel Formula.

Thousands of miners answered by striking, a week before the truce was to have ended.

"The spreading coal strike forced Roosevelt to step forward personally to take public responsibility for leading the opposition to the miners. He telegraphed Lewis on April 29 that he would use 'all the powers vested in me as President and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy' if the strikes were not ended by the morning of May 1.

"Roosevelt's threat brought an immediate defiant reply from the mine workers. Nearly 10,000 Ohio miners left the pits. By the morning of Saturday, May 1, every union soft coal mine in the country was closed."

## Largest single strike

"The national strike of the miners was not only the largest coal strike the country had seen up to this time," wrote Preis. "It was the largest single strike of any kind the land had ever known. It was carried out with a dispatch, discipline and singleminded determination that had never been surpassed in the American labor movement.



John L. Lewis. Denounced as 'traitor' for refusing to allow destruction of UMW.

"The press did surpass itself in the volume of vituperation, slanders and threats hurled at the miners and Lewis. Lewis was linked with Hitler in newsreels, on the radio, in countless newspaper cartoons. Union leaders joined the chorus of anti-labor forces who were screaming for nothing less than the destruction of the miners union under the guise of aiding the war for 'democracy.' UAW-CIO President R. J. Thomas said that the miners' walk-out was 'a political strike against the President.'

"On May 1 Roosevelt himself ordered government seizure of the struck coal mines and their operation under Solid Fuels Administrator Harold L. Ickes. Ickes 'seized' the mines by promptly ordering the American flag to be flown over all mine properties and directing all mine owners and managers to run the mines as government agents in the name of the government—all profits to continue as usual. Ickes then declared the miners were working 'for the Government' and ordered them back to work.

"The miners didn't budge. They waited for the decision of the union."

Lewis called another fifteen-day truce. Roosevelt went on radio to savagely attack Lewis and the miners.

Preis toured the western Pennsylvania coalfields and wrote in the *Militant*, "Sticking by their guns in a magnificent display of union discipline and solidarity, and in the face of an unparalleled barrage of government threat and intimidation, the miners throughout this key soft coal area today held hundreds of local meetings and in an organized, deliberate fashion voted to return to work tomorrow pending the outcome of the 15-day mine truce announced by United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis."

## 'Militant' defended miners

In *Labor's Giant Step*, Preis noted that "the *Militant* was the only significant press voice, in or out of the labor movement, that spoke unconditionally in defense of the mine strike."

Despite opposition from top officials, there was significant support and sympathy for the miners among the CIO ranks. Delegates representing Michigan's 350,000 UAW members overrode their leaders and voted to support the strike. Support resolutions were passed by hundreds of CIO locals in auto, steel, rubber, and others.

Yet no support was to come from the Stalinists.

"On April 29 the *Daily Worker* carried a front-page appeal by CP National Chairman William Z. Foster, urging the miners not to respond to their union's strike call. He claimed: 'If Mr. Lewis . . . had given support to Roosevelt's seven-point program for economic stabilization, the miners and other workers would not be finding themselves in their present difficult economic situation.'"

The CP even sent organizers, including Foster, into the coalfields to agitate for a back-to-work movement.

When the next truce deadline expired, 530,000 miners walked out without any strike call being issued. Roosevelt threatened troops, and the miners answered, "You can't dig coal with bayonets."

He threatened to draft the strikers. They still didn't move. The WLB ordered negotiations ended until the miners went back to work. The union opted for another truce.

## Antistrike bill

Congress jumped in with the first federal anti-strike bill, the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Bill. It gave the WLB power to subpoena union leaders and made it a crime for them to advocate a strike in any government-seized plant or industry.

On June 19, the day before the truce ran out, 58,000 miners walked out. The next day the mines were all closed. Two days later, Lewis called another truce until October 31.

Meanwhile, the War Labor Board tried to force the UMW to sign a WLB-dictated contract or face seizure of the union's treasury. It also demanded that Lewis be prosecuted under the new Smith-Connally Act.

On November 1, the fourth national miners' strike of the year was in full swing.

"Roosevelt was at the end of his rope. He could not arrest 530,000 miners. He could not force them to go down into the pits at bayonet point, and even if he could, they need not mine an ounce of coal.

"He could not jail Lewis and the UMW leaders, for the miners swore they would strike 'until Hell freezes over' if Lewis were victimized in any way. The President again seized the struck mines and

authorized Ickes to negotiate a contract."

That contract gave the miners \$1.50 a day more, up to \$8.50. On November 3, the UMW Policy Committee ratified the new contract and instructed the miners to return to work.

The miners had cracked the wage freeze.

"We have only to ask ourselves, 'What if the miners had not waged their fight?' or 'What if they had lost?' to realize the enormous stake the whole American labor movement had in the outcome of the miners' battles," concluded Preis.

## What defeat would have meant

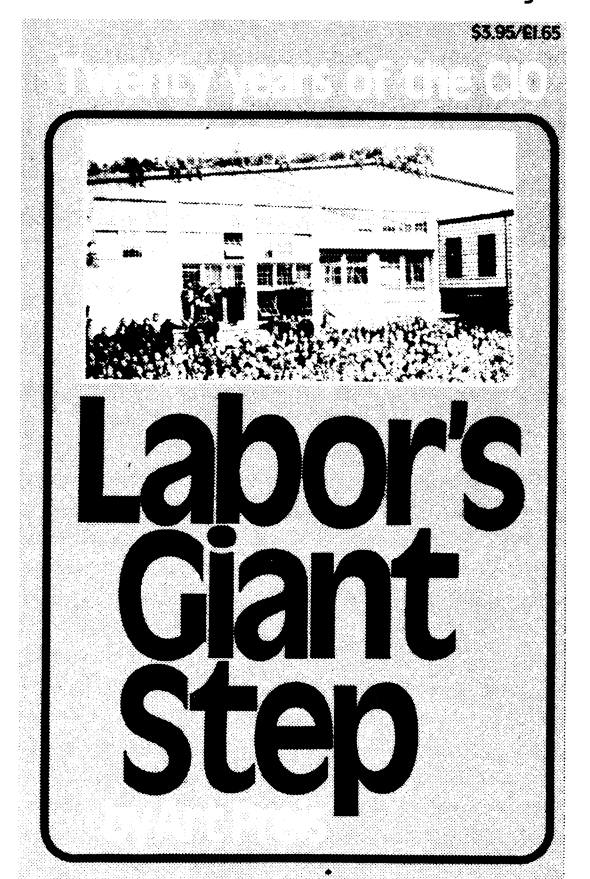
"In the wake of a miners' defeat, the corporate interests and their government agents would have fallen like a ravenous wolf pack on the most vulnerable unions. The government would have introduced new 'formulas' to slash wages, increase hours of work and intensify the exploitation of labor in the name of patriotism and the 'needs of the war.'

"The defeat of the miners would have become another and more convincing pretext for the union leaders, like Murray and [Sidney] Hillman, to give away the workers' rights and conditions and to restrain every impulse of the CIO workers to fight back.

"Instead, the miners' victory opened a whole new wave of labor struggle, mounting steadily through 1943, 1944 and 1945, reaching a titanic climax in the winter of 1945-46. The employers' post-war plan to turn the war veterans against the workers and smash the unions was never able to get going.

"The miners themselves were able to go on from victory to victory in the war and immediate postwar period, winning many new gains, such as health and welfare funds, retirement pensions and other conditions, which then became objectives of the CIO unions as well."

For the rest of the story...



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- The post-World War II strike wave—"American Labor's Greatest Upsurge"
- The 1946 record-long UMW strike, which won an unprecedented health and welfare fund
- The 1948 UMW strike to enforce those promised benefits, during which a federal judge ordered a Taft-Hartley injunction against the strike
- The 1950 UMW strike—again with Taft-Hartley threats—which defeated Truman's attempted wage freeze

An account by veteran labor journalist Art Preis

538 pp., \$3.95 paper, \$14 cloth

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

# The Nazis, the KKK, and free speech

By Fred Feldman

NEW YORK—"Free Speech for Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan?" was the topic of debate at a forum held here January 23. Sponsored by the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), and attended by more than 200 people, the debate featured Herbert Aptheker, a Communist Party

## AS I SEE IT

leader and former AIMS director, and attorneys Abraham Isserman and Paul Chevigny.

The attendance indicated the concern aroused by the recent step-up of Nazi and Klan activity and visibility. At Camp Pendleton, California, a KKK chapter last year organized systematic harassment of Black soldiers. In Chicago, Nazis have carried out violent attacks against the Black community, while in nearby Skokie, Nazis are planning an anti-Semitic march through a predominantly Jewish community. In Detroit, another Nazi grouplet has opened a "bookstore" as a headquarters for racist activities.

Although there has been little increase in support for the Nazis and the KKK, victims and potential victims of fascism—especially Blacks, Jews, and unionists—are looking for effective means of repulsing these outfits.

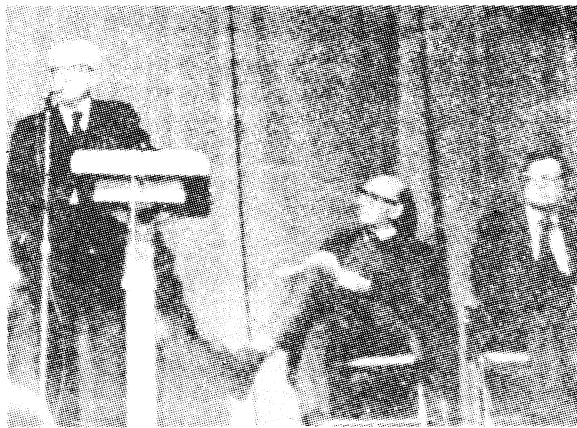
Many leaders of Black and Jewish organizations call on the government to ban fascist organizations. The American Civil Liberties Union, on the other hand, provided legal services to the Nazis in Skokie and for the KKK at Camp Pendleton.

Isserman, arguing in support of banning ultrarightists, said that "free speech should be a weapon for the good of society, not for its destruction." Aptheker called for legislation banning racist and fascist organizations and propaganda. He hailed measures along these lines adopted by capitalist governments in the Netherlands and Great Britain.

Chevigny defended the ACLU view that such bans violate freedom of speech, association, and assembly. He argued that it is "suicidal" for radicals to back such proposals.

"Such laws will be used against the chief enemies of the government," he said, "and those are on the left, not the right."

"For instance, many Jews believe that opposi-



Herbert Aptheker (speaking), Abraham Isserman, and Paul Chevigny.

tion to Zionism is racist. If New York City adopted such a law, the first victims might well be Arabs opposed to the state of Israel."

Chevigny's main point is well taken. Aptheker's policy, like that of the Communist Party, relies on the government and liberal capitalist politicians to repel fascist and racist threats. This view fails to take account of one small fact—that the government itself is as committed to defending racial oppression and class exploitation as the fascists, albeit today with very different methods.

The cause of the current increase in fascist and racist activity is not the effectiveness of Nazi and KKK propaganda—this is minimal at present—but the impact of the capitalist government's offensive against women, oppressed nationalities, immigrant workers, and working people as a whole. This has given new inspiration to groups such as the Nazis.

This government would certainly use the law proposed by Aptheker ten times against the left for every one time it turned against the right. Moreover, the government would continue to foster and protect racists and fascists through the covert activities of the CIA, FBI, and other police agencies, even while jailing an individual racist here and there in order to cover its tracks.

The Stalinist policy of relying on liberal capitalist governments to defeat the ultraright led to disastrous defeats in Spain and France in the 1930s and more recently in Chile.

The ACLU's approach, while correct in opposing legislation to suppress rightist organizations and ideas, actually involves a similar error. The ACLU also views the capitalist government and courts as "neutral" defenders of constitutional rights. Its efforts are therefore devoted in these instances to defending the legal rights of fascists and racists, rather than helping to develop an effective movement against them.

The civil liberties of the Nazis are not the real issue in Skokie, Camp Pendleton, or anywhere else these vermin raise their heads. Despite occasional spats, their civil liberties will be more than adequately protected by the ruling class and its government. Nazis and racists are organizing to smash the democratic rights of working people, and it is those rights that need defense.

The abstract debate over whether fascists have constitutional rights obscured the real issue that concerned most of those who attended the AIMS debate: How can racist and right-wing attacks be defeated? How can scum like the Nazis and the KKK be driven back into their ratholes?

At one point in the discussion, Isserman commented that Hitler took power in Germany because the Nazis won "the battle for the streets." The way to prevent that occurring again is not by government bans, but through the massive countermobilization of the real enemies of fascism—trade unions, Blacks, Jewish organizations, and other oppressed and persecuted groups. Unlike the capitalist government, these forces have a life-and-death interest in defeating the fascists—and they have the muscle to do the job.

In the case of a Nazi march in Skokie, Illinois, this would mean organizing a broad, united counterdemonstration. The Nazis can be set back by showing in action that the streets belong not to them but to the working people of this country.

### Further Reading

Education for Socialists Publications  
(9½x11 format):

• **Counter-mobilization—A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks** by Farrell Dobbs. \$75.

• **The Fight Against Fascism in the U.S.A.** by James P. Cannon, et. al. \$1.35.  
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

## ...Energy industry no ally in fight for jobs

Continued from back page

letely free hand to raise prices even higher!

### Nuclear power

The NAACP report also comes down on the side of nuclear power. Again, the justification is the acute economic plight confronting Blacks.

Thus, while the report expresses concern for the dangers inherent in the use of nuclear power, it criticizes the Carter administration's energy program for seeming to "call for a retreat from nuclear energy on the basis that the environmental and safety costs may be too high."

The real picture of Carter's approach to nuclear power is much different. While his energy plan gives lip service to the ecological dangers of nuclear power, his real attitude was revealed in his support of the bitterly contested nuclear power plant at Seabrook, New Hampshire.

Nonetheless the NAACP report counterposes to "overriding concern for the protection of the environment . . . other more compelling economic and social objectives that are more important to Black Americans."

Such a counterposition is dangerous and false.

The dangers involved in the use of nuclear power far outweigh any benefit.

There is no safe method of employing nuclear power as a source of energy. Radiation leakage, core melt-

downs, and the inability to dispose of nuclear waste safely stand as constant threats to human life.

Numerous studies have pointed up the dangers involved. "Low level" radiation from nuclear power plants could produce 32,000 new cases of cancer and leukemia each year. It is estimated that a major nuclear accident would leave 45,000 dead, 100,000 injured and destroy \$17 billion in property.



MARGARET BUSH WILSON

The danger this presents to Blacks' lives, health and safety is evident. As Vernon Jordan stated in his criticism of the NAACP report, "Black people, the most urbanized group in the nation, have a stake in clean air and water too. We need jobs, but we also need to be healthy enough to hold those jobs. . . ."

### Provide jobs?

Herbert Hill, former labor director of the NAACP, has noted the absurdity of the claim that the energy trust's program means jobs.

"Even a superficial study would clearly indicate that an expansion of nuclear energy and gas would result in no appreciable employment benefits for Blacks," Hill said.

The basic fallacy of the NAACP report is its acceptance of the notion that Blacks must accept a trade-off—jobs and economic advancement for higher energy prices and the dangers of nuclear disaster.

But Blacks and other working people need not give in to such blackmail by the energy industry. In fact, that is the surest way to defeat.

While the energy industry claims that world oil supplies are running short as motivation for price hikes and nuclear power, it is estimated that 1.6 trillion barrels of oil exist to be used. As for natural gas, estimates range upwards of 230,000 trillion cubic feet—enough for 5,000 years.

Actual resources, undoubtedly

known by the energy industry, may be even greater. And the swollen profits the industry enjoys are more than enough to finance development of those resources.

Blacks and the American people as a whole have a right to know what resources exist. The energy trust should be forced to open its books so the real state of affairs can be seen.

Nor should the unemployed have to wait until it becomes profitable for private industry to provide jobs. As the recovery from the 1974-75 recession shows, such an expansion of production and profits is no guarantee of jobs. Unemployment is still far above the prerecession figure, while Black unemployment—according to official figures—still stands above 14 percent.

The unemployed need jobs now, and the government has an obligation to put the jobless to work.

As the NAACP report itself points out, a prime target should be rebuilding the cities. This should be done through a massive program of public works, with preferential hiring of Black and other minority workers.

In addition, a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay would provide millions of jobs.

Instead of a partnership with the energy profiteers, what is needed is the mobilization of the Black movement—together with the labor movement, women, and youth—to fight for such working-class answers to the economic and social problems of Black Americans.



# World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international events

## Revolutionists hold union conference

# Spain: 2,300 map fight against austerity

More than 2,000 trade-union militants from across Spain gathered in Madrid December 11 to discuss a class-struggle response to the Moncloa Pact, an austerity plan put forward by the Suárez government and agreed to by the leaders of the two main workers parties—the Communist Party and the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE).

The conference was organized by the Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League).

The LCR publicized the conference for seven weeks. Its newspaper, *Combate*, carried weekly articles explaining the importance of the gathering and outlining the various topics to be taken up. LCR activists distributed thousands of copies of a twenty-five-page pamphlet, the resolutions drawn up for discussion at the conference.

The theme of the gathering was summed up on the back cover of this pamphlet:

“Workers—if you are:

• against the Social Pact, for the demands of the working class;

• for trade-union unity, for a unification congress of the union federations;

• for councils and committees based on rank-and-file assemblies—

“Participate in the First Trade-Union Conference of the LCR.”

LCR trade unionists organized meetings in their workplaces to prepare reports for the conference and to discuss the resolutions. In addition to the government's austerity plan and the need for trade union unity and democracy, the special problems of women workers, young workers, and immigrant Spanish workers elsewhere in Europe were taken up at the conference.

The conference lasted only one day, since many workers in Spain must work a six-day week. Nevertheless, there were three major reports and almost sixty contributions from the floor.

Michel Rovere reported in the December 16 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*: “. . . working-class leaders followed one another to the platform, most of them young, but recognized as leaders in all the main centers, in the key plants that have



Conference of trade union activists sponsored by Revolutionary Communist League, sister organization of U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Combate

captured the headlines in recent years or recent months: SEAT, Hispano-Olivetti, Numax in Barcelona, Ford and the hospitals in Valencia, the shipyards in Cadiz, Robert-Bosch in Madrid, Motor Ibérica, the Euskalduna shipyards, General Electric and Babcock-Wilcox in Bilbao, Imanesa in Pamplona, and the list could go on.

“Also present were workers leaders who have led a number of general strikes in Euzkadi, those who helped initiate coordinating committees in Vizcaya and Barcelona, the leaders of the March 1976 general strike in Vitoria and of the most recent general strike in Vizcaya, among others.”

Of the 2,300 persons attending the conference, 32 percent were metalworkers, 8.3 percent construction workers, 9 percent teachers, and 5

percent each worked in the textile, chemical, health, and graphic arts industries.

More than 500 of the participants held positions in their trade unions, and more than 400 were members of workers councils or factory committees at their workplaces.

The LCR's growing influence in the unions was also indicated by the fact that the big reformist workers parties felt compelled to take notice of the conference. The PSOE sent a message “wishing success in the work of the conference,” and the CP-led Workers Commissions sent a representative of their State Secretariat to give greetings “in the name of Marcelino Camacho and the leadership of the Workers Commissions.” (Camacho is the best-known CP trade unionist.)

The December 21 issue of *Combate* summed up the results of the gathering: “The conference has shown that there is an alternative to the Moncloa Pact. On the social and economic level, the workers can oppose the crisis with a different logic from that of capitalist profit—defending their demands and advancing at the same time radical social and economic measures for the total transformation of society. . . . On the political level, collaboration and unity among the union federations and the workers parties. . . .

“But the conference demonstrated something more: Although the reformist union leaderships have taken the road of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a growing opposition to this attitude is slowly making headway inside the union federations and in the factory assemblies and the councils and committees elected by them. The proposals and initiatives of revolutionary trade-union militants, of the hundreds of union cadres with more and more experience who attended the conference, are winning a larger and larger audience. . . .”

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## 10,000 Trotskyists in Spain

Members of the Liga Comunista (LC—Communist League) also participated in the LCR trade-union conference. The LC and the LCR are in the process of reunifying their organizations, which both grew out of a 1972 split in the Spanish section of the Fourth International.

The fusion of the Spanish Trotskyists took another step forward December 17-18 at a joint meeting of the central committees of the LC and the LCR. The gathering approved political and organizational resolutions on the reunification, and elected a Unified Central Committee. All the organizational structures of the two groups have now been fused. The process is scheduled to be completed at a unification congress to be held in March.

The December 21 *Combate* reported: “The unified party has about 10,000 members, including militants and sympathizers. Seventy-five percent came from the LCR, and 25 percent from the LC. . . . Activists from the unified party are playing an outstanding role, for example, in the state coordinating committee of Astilleros Españoles . . . , in the representative commission of Babcock-Wilcox for negotiations with the government, and in the strike committee at Motor Ibérica.

“About one-third of the members of the party are women, and the average age is twenty-three.”

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## U.S. firms digging in

# Henry Ford: 'I'm not pulling out of S. Africa'

By Omari Musa

The political and economic support to apartheid by U.S. banks and corporations was highlighted last month by the visit of Ford Motor Company Chairman Henry Ford II to South Africa.

After meeting with the racist regime's Prime Minister John Vorster, Ford told waiting reporters, "Our policy is that we are remaining in South Africa. It is our opinion that we do more for the people of South Africa by staying here and by providing equal opportunities."

The racists' glee over Ford's announcement was reflected by the government-owned broadcasting corporation: "We should learn to treat with due disregard the sound and fury of the [antiapartheid] activists, the way America's businessmen have done."

The Ford Motor Company of South Africa has a big stake in the country. With 4,800 workers, it is the largest employer among the more than 350 U.S.-owned companies there. Last year it had \$220 million in sales.

The majority of Ford's workers are Black—1,800 are classified by apartheid law as Coloured (persons of mixed race), and 1,100 as African.

For the first twenty-five years after its establishment in 1923, Ford hired only whites. In 1948 it began hiring Coloureds. It did not hire a single African until 1967!

Seventy percent of Ford's white workers are salaried; only 3 percent of Black workers are salaried. And while the average hourly pay for white wage workers is \$2.31, it is \$1.27 for Coloureds and \$1.09 for Africans. The real disparity is much larger, since the white salaried workers earn much more than white wage workers.

Ford has now "recognized" the newly formed United Automobile Workers Union as the "official spokesmen" for the Black workers. But the South African regime does not legally recognize the right of Black workers to bargain collectively.

One Black Ford worker explained what this means. "The whites bargain



Henry Ford II (left) and John Vorster reaffirm their alliance against Black majority rule.

for what concerns them, which are the higher grades, and the Blacks are left to fend for themselves," he said. "Without legal rights, Blacks will have to settle for whatever the company gives."

Henry Ford is not alone among U.S. industrialists in supporting apartheid. A representative of General Motors recently told a Johannesburg newspaper, "We've been there over 50 years, and we plan to be there for a long time to come." The GM subsidiary had sales of \$250 million last year.

The 350 U.S. companies in South Africa have a total direct investment

of \$1.7 billion. U.S. banks also have a big stake. They have provided the South African government and corporations with \$2.2 billion in loans and credits.

Correspondent Michael Jensen, writing in the December 4 *New York Times*, says that "by some estimates, the American banks have supplied, either directly or indirectly, as much as one-third of the money borrowed from any source by the Government bodies and corporations in South Africa."

The U.S. government's opposition to strong economic sanctions against South Africa during the United Na-

## Dissent labeled 'factionalism'

# MPLA congress strengthens Neto's grip

By Ernest Harsch

Meeting in Luanda December 4-10, 1977, the leadership of Angola's ruling party, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), held its first congress since the country gained its independence from Portugal more than two years ago.

The congress was billed as an event destined to completely transform Angolan society through a deepgoing "revolution." However, the most notable outcome was a tightening of President Agostinho Neto's authoritarian rule, accompanied by a sharp escalation in demagoguery.

Examples of the MPLA's rhetoric were plentiful. The organization, which has been renamed the "MPLA-Party of Labor," is now being presented as a "vanguard party." According to its program, it is "the party of the working class, uniting workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and other workers dedicated to the cause of the proletariat in a solid alliance."

During a five-hour speech on the opening day of the congress, Neto proclaimed that a key task of the MPLA was the establishment of a "revolutionary democratic dictatorship against internal and external reaction, creating the conditions for the installa-

tion of a Proletarian Dictatorship as a stage toward the construction of socialism." (Quoted in the December 13 Lisbon daily, *Jornal Novo*.)

### No shift in policies

Despite this radical-sounding verbiage, the congress marked no major shift in the MPLA's procapitalist policies. Though the Neto regime has nationalized some sectors of the Angolan economy (sugar, textiles, timber, a majority of the main diamond company, and plantations and businesses abandoned by the Portuguese), it has at the same time maintained capitalist property relations as such, although with a degree of state participation.

The MPLA, moreover, has repeatedly invited foreign companies to invest in Angola, and the most important industry, oil, remains in foreign hands. The Gulf Oil fields of Cabinda still account for the major part of Angola's export earnings, with the MPLA regime receiving \$500 million in royalties and tax payments from the American company each year.

Most importantly, the MPLA has expressed its real attitude toward the toiling masses by stifling any independent initiatives on their part. Workers are tied directly to the state apparatus through the MPLA-controlled trade-union federation. When strikes do

break out, as they did in Luanda in early 1976, they are broken and the strike leaders are arrested as "saboteurs" or "traitors."

Though it now chooses to call itself a "Party of Labor," the MPLA certainly does not represent the interests of the Angolan working class.

### Workers absent

This was reflected also in the composition of the delegates at the congress. According to a correspondent reporting in the January 2 issue of the London weekly *West Africa*, "... the absence of working class members is compensated for by the presence of a large contingent of military members."

In the context of the MPLA's general antilabor orientation, the two-year plan announced at the congress to raise production to the levels attained just before independence will most likely presage more "discipline," "sacrifice," and speedup.

Nor has the MPLA abandoned its repressive policies. No other parties are permitted to legally exist. And in the weeks preceding the congress Neto threatened an even greater crackdown against dissidents. During the November 11 independence day ceremonies, for instance, he warned that the MPLA would brook no "deviations" and that it would "act firmly against

those who persist in trying to destroy our unity or our regime."

Although the MPLA and its related organizations had already been extensively purged following the abortive coup attempt in May 1977 by MPLA dissidents, the state of emergency that was imposed at the time was extended for another three months on September 17—long enough to cover the congress.

The congress itself, and the new organizational measures adopted at it, marked a major effort by the Neto



AGOSTINHO NETO



tions debate last fall put a spotlight on its complicity in keeping the white-minority regime afloat.

And since the June 1976 Soweto rebellion, and the murder of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko and banning of all major Black organizations last fall, U.S. corporations and banks have come under steadily increasing pressure to withdraw from South Africa.

This public pressure has had an impact.

Recently, for example, Merrill Lynch, Fenner and Smith, Inc., the largest U.S. brokerage firm, discontinued sales of the South African Kruggerand gold coin. Student protests in Massachusetts and Wisconsin have

forced universities there to get rid of stocks they hold in companies doing business in South Africa.

The NAACP has now added its voice to those demanding the total withdrawal of U.S. businesses from South Africa. This is a change from the NAACP's earlier position, which only urged that U.S. corporations halt new investments there.

Despite these small steps, however, as U.S. corporate mouthpiece James Green put it, "Most of the American companies are standing pat."

And they will continue to stand pat until a mass movement here, and the struggle by South Africans for Black majority rule, force them to throw in their hand.

## Black auto workers: 'Ford should get out'

'Militant' correspondents in Detroit, Michigan, asked Black auto workers at a Ford plant there what they thought about Henry Ford's trip to South Africa.

Here are some of their comments.

"Ford should pull out and wait for things to get settled. He's there for one reason—big money. His investments in South Africa won't help Blacks."

—Cordell Taylor

"Ford has no business over there. By Ford pulling out it would help the struggle, and if all U.S. companies pulled out, it would help the struggle a great deal."

—Walt Snead

"I doubt if Ford cares about Black people in South Africa. His only thing is to make cars. If he could do anything to better their conditions, he wouldn't."

—Dale Collins

"Ford can't do anything for sisters and brothers in South Africa except use them as slaves. What he's doing there is the same as he's doing here—helping the government."

—John Hicks

"Ford's trip—coming as it does in the context of the present situation in South Africa and the international pressure being exerted against that racist government—can mean only one thing. The South African government will continue to receive his support in preventing Black majority rule.

"I think our union, the United Auto Workers, should take the lead in organizing a movement that would demand that Ford and all U.S. corporations and the U.S. government get out of South Africa. It will be through organizing such a movement that the UAW position opposing apartheid can become more than just words."

—Al Duncan

## on Angolan people

leadership to tighten its control over the MPLA and the Angolan people.

### Congress tightly controlled

The congress was carefully controlled. The documents that were discussed at it had been made public only shortly before. One-third of the delegates were directly appointed by the MPLA Central Committee and another third were chosen by the military and police. The rest were said to have been elected from among local MPLA bodies.

About half of the members of the new Central Committee chosen by the congress are from the military. One qualification for appointment to the Central Committee was membership in the MPLA for eight years. This favored the older guerrilla leaders involved in the MPLA's rural campaigns against the Portuguese, but greatly limited urban members who had joined during the more recent activities in the cities.

In a thinly veiled warning against any remaining dissidents, the congress passed a motion condemning "fractionalism"—a euphemism for criticism of the leadership.

In addition, the Central Committee announced that it would conduct a "movement of rectification," that is, a reduction in membership to only those

who fully support the leadership's policies and program.

Neto bolstered his own position. A large portrait of him adorned the stage, the congress awarded him a medal as a "national hero," and he was reelected president. He holds a decisive vote in the MPLA Political Bureau and has the power to dismiss the government.

The greetings delivered at the congress by foreign guests were likewise designed to help enhance the Neto leadership's prestige and its "socialist" pretenses.

Andrei Kirilenko, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, spoke on the second day of the congress. He approved of the MPLA's decision to christen itself a "vanguard party," calling it an important link "with the country's development in a socialist direction."

Raúl Castro, the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, praised Neto as "the supreme guide of the Angolan revolution." Today, he said, "Luanda has become a symbol of the new Angola, the free, sovereign and independent country that, under the leadership of its vanguard, the MPLA-Party of Labor, resolutely, bravely and courageously marches toward socialism."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

### Washington backs Morocco's anti-Polisario drive

The White House began seeking congressional approval January 30 for revisions in a secret 1960 treaty. The approval Carter seeks would permit sales to Morocco of \$100 million in arms for use against the Polisario Front. The Polisario has been fighting for the independence of the Western Sahara since Spain ceded this part of its Spanish Sahara colony to Morocco in 1975.

### Strike protests Nicaragua dictatorship

A Nicaragua-wide strike entered its second week January 30. About 75 percent of the shops, offices, and factories are closed. The strike was called to demand a full investigation into the assassination of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a prominent critic of the government.

The two main labor organizations support the strike, as does the main business organization. The opposition Democratic Liberation Union is calling for the resignation of Nicaraguan president, Gen. Anastasio Somoza. But Somoza, still backed by the National Guard, refuses to budge. His opponents, he claims, "are up in a coconut tree" and "don't know how to come down."



Women at Managua, Nicaragua, demonstration January 30, protesting government brutality against strikes and demonstrations, were attacked by National Guard troops hurling tear gas.

### Int'l tribunal on British role in Ireland

A group of prominent individuals announced January 24 the formation of an International Tribunal on Britain's Presence in Ireland.

The London-based tribunal will hear evidence on torture and other aspects of British violations of human rights in Northern Ireland.

Among initial tribunal sponsors are: Michael Mullen, general secretary, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (Ireland's largest union); Noel Browne, member of the Irish parliament; John Mulcahy, editor, *Hibernia*; Bernadette McAliskey, former member of parliament for Mid-Ulster; and Robert and Michael Meeropol, of the National Committee to Re-open the Rosenberg Case.

### Czechoslovak dissidents detained

Vaclav Havel and Pavel Landovsky, two signers of the Czechoslovak human rights manifesto Charter 77, were detained January 29 after they and some 200 other dissidents were prevented by security personnel from entering a Railwayman's Ball. The dissidents had purchased tickets for the ball in advance.

The arrests are a chilling answer from the Stalinist regime to a January 1 appeal marking the Charter 77's first anniversary. The appeal asked the Communist Party to open a dialogue on human rights "in appropriate places—not in prison cells."

### Time to end cruel joke

Donald Woods, the newspaper editor who escaped from South Africa after being placed under house arrest for his criticism of apartheid, told the United Nations January 26 that "South African authorities regarded condemnations by the United Nations as a joke as long as Western governments continued to protect them from punitive action."

Woods said it was time to end the joke, calling on the UN to adopt a "policy of ostracism" and sever all political, cultural, and economic ties with the racist regime. According to the *New York Times*, he "warned that blacks and whites there were on a collision course that could lead to civil war" and urged South Africa's trading partners to "bring the Pretoria regime to its senses."

### India's rulers want new repressive law

India's Janata Party regime introduced a repressive new "Preventive Detention" bill for approval by the Lok Sabha (lower house of parliament) December 23. The new legislation would retain many of the undemocratic features of the Maintenance of Internal Security Act, which was used by the hated Gandhi regime when it declared its state of emergency in 1976. The Janata Party—a coalition of anti-Gandhi, pro-capitalist political forces—ousted Gandhi at the polls by posing a more democratic alternative to her hated Congress Party dictatorship. But equally unable to meet the demands of the Indian masses for economic and social progress, the new capitalist government is now laying the groundwork for repression of future struggles.

### Chilean 'Trotskyists' await trial

Five people arrested last November by the Chilean police are still in jail awaiting trial. The trial is scheduled to take place in March. The name of a sixth prisoner has now become available: Victor Humberto Pizarro Vidal.

Also arrested at the time was Alejandro Gabriel Rojas Figueroa. Now Rojas has been released, although he may be tried at the same time as the others. These victims of the junta are accused of membership in the Liga Comunista, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Chile. Letters and telegrams demanding their release can be sent to Gen. Augusto Pinochet, Government House, Santiago, Chile.

## Rising mass unrest opens rift in Polish Communist Party

By Gerry Foley

Since June 1976, the ground has been visibly crumbling under the Stalinist regime in Poland.

Among those interested in the fate of the Gierek government are the Western capitalists, to whom it owes considerable debts. For example, in its December 19 issue, the U.S. magazine *Business Week* wrote:

Poland's larders are being filled for Christmas feasting. But come January, shortages of food, particularly meat, and coal are going to show up.

That could spell trouble. In 1970, rioting dumped Gomulka from Communist leadership. This time a strange "conglomerate" is trying to save Gierek and the Polish economy: West Germany's Chancellor Schmidt has just been in Warsaw promising more aid. And U.S. Secretary of Commerce, Juanita Kreps, following on his heels, signed credits for \$300 million and took under consideration another \$200 million, probably for increasing American grain purchases.

Nonetheless, the U.S. business magazine was doubtful if the efforts to prop up the Gierek regime could succeed. It quoted a "European observer" as saying: "One angry housewife in a butcher-shop line could unravel the whole thing."

### 'Grave situation'

In fact, just before the Polish Communist Party national conference held over the weekend of January 9-10, a group of veteran CP leaders raised an alarm about the worsening situation in the country. In a letter to Gierek, they wrote:

The political and economic situation in our country is very grave. Difficulties and tensions are steadily increasing, and the mood in broad sections of the population shows that the confidence of the citizens in the party and the state has been shaken. . . .

Severe shortages of food and industrial products, as well as hidden price rises, are creating an atmosphere of dissatisfaction and irritability. General indignation is being increased by the tone and content of the primitive propaganda in the press and broadcast over radio and television, which is regarded by every thinking person as an expression of contempt for public opinion.

The conviction is growing among the population that nothing can be achieved by honest methods. There is an ever increasing trend to corruption, to the development of cliques as parallel economic channels, and to dishonest methods of making money. There is indignant talk about persons making easy fortunes, about greed, and the misuse of positions for personal gain.

The main problem, the veteran CP leaders said, was "political," and thus not the difficulties arising from the condition of the world market and the stage of Polish economic growth, as the government contends. The problem was the "undemocratic form of government." And the lack of democracy in the party as well as paralyzing it in the face of the grave situation in the country:

Essential for changing the situation in the country is change in the party. . . . The healthy forces in the party must be activated. The development of the party is being obstructed by the bureaucratic machine leadership, which conflicts with the democratic and social nature of the party.

This machine promotes unprincipledness, it leads to dishonesty and ossification, it kills the initiative that should be forthcoming from party bodies. . . .

The development of democratic forces in the party and the society is being blocked by a mechanical and false interpretation of the leading role of the party. . . .

The initiative and independence of the groups, trade unions, and organizations linked to the party must not be restricted. The party can discuss with these bodies, it can attempt to win them over to its positions. But it must not force them to make decisions by administrative means. The leading role of the party cannot be exercised by decree.

This statement was signed by, among others, Edward Ochab, Polish head of state from 1964 to 1968. In the latter year he resigned his position, reportedly in protest against the anti-Semitic campaign whipped up in that year by the Gomulka government in its attempt to crush the critical movements developing among students and intellectuals. Most of the other signers had been high officials before 1968 and were shoved into the background when the Gomulka government moved to stamp out the vestiges of the liberalization launched in 1956.

One signer, Mieczyslaw Marzec, was a member of parliament until 1976. Another, Janusz Zarzycki, was mayor of Warsaw until 1967. The group included a founder of the Communist youth organization, Jerzy Morawski, and a former finance minister, Jerzy Albrecht.

The full text of the letter was published in the January 16 issue of the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*. However, the signers deny that they turned it over themselves to Western reporters.

The Gierek leadership tried to belittle the importance of this statement by suggesting that the signers were senile has-beens.

However, the impact of such a statement by former top CP leaders cannot be so easily conjured away. This document amounts to a political manifesto of an opposition that must reach deep into the ruling stratum itself. In its concrete formulations and denunciations, it goes quite far. Such language has not been heard from well-known CP leaders, semiretired or not, since the Prague Spring in 1968, if then.

### Opposition organizes

Divisions in the Communist Party are evidently widening under the pressure not only of mass discontent including a resumption of local strikes, but of organized opposition currents developing outside it. Thus, the letter of the veteran CP leaders mentioned the problem posed by "the activities of the KOR," that is, the Komitet Obrony Robotników (the Committee to Defend the Workers), which was formed to aid the workers victimized as a result of the June 1976 general strike.

After the workers were released, most members of the KOR joined the Committee for Social Self-Defense, an opposition movement of broader scope.

In Poland, an opposition press has developed to an extent unparalleled in the history of any Stalinist-ruled country. Even though the various unauthorized publications are available only to a vanguard, since the bureaucracy continues to hold a monopoly on mass-production printing equipment, they already constitute an important rival for the official press.

In its January 9 issue, the French



'One angry housewife in a butcher-shop line could unravel the whole thing'

Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, which has been used by even some of the big bourgeois press in Europe as a source of information on Poland, estimated the combined number of copies of new issues of the unauthorized publications at about 20,000. In a country where the official press is so despised, the actual circulation must be many times the number of copies.

Furthermore, *Rouge* reports that the unauthorized publications now usually include an address and telephone number where the editors can be contacted. It described one of these semilegal journals, the fortnightly *Robotnik* (Worker).

The journal pledged to support and promote actions "leading to increased participation by the workers in making the decisions about the amount of pay they get, their working conditions, their hours, as well as social conditions and housing." It also promised to promote discussion on "what kind of independent workers representatives should replace the unions, which are dead institutions."

In face of the growing discontent and ferment, however, the Gierek leadership was unable to come up with any better answer at the January 9-10 conference than a call for "national unity" of "patriotic Poles" and a decision to introduce increases in food prices gradually.

The rule of the bureaucracy depends on usurping all power in the society and the economy, and therefore on totally gagging the people. Despite three revolutionary explosions since 1956, the Polish Stalinist regime has not allowed any democratic institutions to develop. Every inch of freedom has had to be won by mass struggle and held against constant attempts to wipe it out.

Now the long tug of war between the Polish bureaucracy and the people seems to be reaching a critical stage. A regime that can neither win the support of the population nor effectively suppress opposition does not have much of a life expectancy, no matter how many powerful well-wishers may hope to prop it up.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Dissident workers announce independent union in USSR

By Peter Seidman

A group of workers in the Soviet Union, fed up with the failure by official trade unions and the government to protect their health and safety on the job, announced January 26 that they are forming a union of their own.

The leading spokesperson for the group is Vladimir Klebanov, a forty-five-year-old Ukrainian coal miner who was a shift foreman in a Donets Basin coal mine for sixteen years. Four other workers joined Klebanov at the Moscow news conference.

According to a dispatch in the January 27 *New York Times*, the workers plan to name their new group "something like the Union for the Defense of Workers Rights."

The group would apply to the United Nations-affiliated International Labor Organization for recognition, the *Times* reported. It added that "Mr. Klebanov said he hoped that George Meany, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., would give moral support to the new labor union."

The January 26 news conference was the third organized by Klebanov and small numbers of other workers since December 1, 1977.

At these news conferences, workers have reported on their struggles against safety and health violations on the job.

Klebanov explained how the production plan where he worked, for example, was "unrealistically high." To meet quotas, workers often had to work a twelve-hour day instead of the normal six. As a result, the accident rate zoomed. Twelve to fifteen miners were killed every year in the mine where he worked, he said. Some 600 to 700 were injured.

Klebanov was dismissed and then confined to a psychiatric hospital for four-and-a-half years because he would not cease his protests against these conditions.

After his release, Klebanov met hundreds of other workers with complaints similar to his. By the end of November 1977, he had collected the signatures of thirty-eight of these workers from twenty-four cities on an open letter of protest.

According to the *New York Times*, "Mr. Klebanov said that since news about the group was broadcast in Russian by the Voice of America, about 30 people have written to him at his home address in Donetsk to voice similar complaints."



## Mexican socialists fight for legalization

By Anibal Vargas

The campaign for registration of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party) opened on Saturday, November 16, 1977, when PRT members in Mexico City took to the streets to explain the party's views and ask for financial support from factory workers, students, and office workers.

Almost 400 activists distributed more than 60,000 leaflets and collected more than 30,000 pesos (about US\$1,200), according to a report in the November 26 issue of *Bandera Socialista*, the PRT's newspaper.

The day's activities were kicked off with a short rally held in the center of Mexico City, attended by about 400 activists.

During the rally, Manuel Aguilar Mora, a leader of the PRT, explained that the government's "political reform" was merely a reform of the electoral process that it was trying to implement as an escape valve for the organized opposition. Aguilar Mora emphasized that "clandestinity is not the PRT's political vocation," and that therefore the party had decided to set a priority on becoming a registered party.

### Fund drive

The PRT initiated its fight for registration by launching a fund drive, with the goal of obtaining half a million pesos (about US\$20,000). This money will be used to increase the press run of *Bandera Socialista*, to put full-time party workers on staff to take charge of the registration campaign, and to get out the ideas and program of the PRT more widely.

Last year, the government of President José López Portillo announced, with much fanfare, a reform of Mexico's political system. One of the most important aspects of this political reform is that it will apparently be somewhat easier for opposition political parties to become registered. This will enable them, at least theoretically, to take part legally in elections. Of course, even with this supposed reform, there are still many obstacles to the registration of new parties. Complying with the Federal Election Law requires a great deal of money and energy. And in the end, if the government does not



'Registering the PRT'—four-page tabloid being distributed by Mexican socialists in campaign to become an officially recognized legal party.

want to grant registration, it can always withhold it.

### Window dressing

Since its founding in 1929 the government party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), has completely dominated the country's political life, preventing legal participation in politics by all opposition parties that don't play its game. Accordingly, the various legal "opposition" parties are nothing but window dressing for a basically one-party regime.

However, in recent years, the government has seen the need to try and breathe new life into Mexico's doddering caricature of a parliamentary system. On the one hand, the militant movements of workers, peasants, and students—especially after 1968—have been a warning to the PRI that the Mexican people would like to get rid of government tyranny once and for all. On the other hand, at least a section of the ruling class understands that it must either get discontent out of the

streets and into parliamentary channels, or resign itself to the prospect of turning the government over to a military dictatorship, as in so many other Latin American countries.

For the revolutionary movement in Mexico, the new situation that has opened up with the political reform announced by the government presents an important challenge. Several left parties, such as the Mexican Communist Party, the Mexican Workers Party, and others, have launched campaigns to obtain registration. Among these parties, the young PRT, the Mexican section of the Fourth International, has responded in an exemplary fashion.

### Fighting austerity plan

Edgar Sánchez, a leader of the PRT, pointed out in an interview published in the December 3 issue of *Bandera Socialista*, that unlike other parties that have failed to involve themselves in the most important workers' struggles because they are trying to sign up new members, the PRT has not subor-

dated its positions and its participation in social struggles to the fight for registration.

"For example, we are carrying out the petitioning campaign as part of the struggle we are building against the government's austerity plans," Sánchez said.

In the busy marketplace of La Merced, in the center of Mexico City, the PRT carried out a series of activities at the end of November. In two days, they sold 40 pamphlets and magazines, 200 copies of *Bandera Socialista*, and handed out 15,000 leaflets.

They also held street rallies attended by housewives, delivery men and stevedores, passersby, and small shopkeepers. PRT activists spoke to the crowds about how austerity and unemployment are the official policy of the PRI government and outlined the central points of the PRT's program.

One day the police showed up in La Merced, but the people listening to the young revolutionists would not let the police do anything.

A week later, the police showed up again, better prepared this time. They made off not only with the sound equipment, but with a PRT activist as well.

But the comrades did not stop talking, and their angry audience got bigger and sales of *Bandera Socialista* went up. Later, a committee was formed to go to the police and demand release of the detained activist and return of the sound equipment. He was immediately freed, together with the sound equipment, and the rally resumed.

The PRT is at the beginning of its campaign. However, as part of this initial stage, through the fund drive and the registration campaign, many new workers have come in contact with the PRT's revolutionary-socialist ideas. The next step, in the words of Edgar Sánchez, will be "to organize a central rally to discuss our results so far and kick off the second stage, which has already begun: massive petitioning."

Sánchez added: "If we have to get 65,000 signatures to be registered, we will get them. If we have to get more, we'll get more."

From *Perspectiva Mundial*

## Statement by PRT: 'FBI, CIA out of Mexico!'

The following statement appeared in the December 3 issue of *Bandera Socialista*, the weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), Mexican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. The translation is by the Militant.

The Revolutionary Workers Party, Mexican section of the Fourth International, protests to the Mexican government that it has permitted—and continues to permit—spying and sabotage by the United States government's CIA and FBI in our country.

The documents the press made public November 23 speak for themselves and reveal the activities carried out with impunity in our country for decades by the American imperialists' agencies of espionage and provocation. We know that the Mexican people have directly experienced the exploitative and repressive character of American imperial-

ism. It doesn't surprise us that Washington systematically continues its sabotage and espionage against revolutionary and democratic Mexican organizations, especially against the PCM (Partido Comunista Mexicano—Mexican Communist Party) and against our revolutionary-Marxist current.

Despite constant warnings by the revolutionary and democratic movement in Mexico and around the world, the Mexican government has not denounced but rather tolerated American espionage (not to mention the clear complicity of many functionaries in this meddling).

Here, we will only recall how in 1969, the Cuban government, through Foreign Affairs Minister Raúl Roa, who personally met with then-President Díaz Ordaz, showed the provocative role played by Carrillo Colón, a functionary attached to the Mexican embassy on the island, as a spy for the CIA. Díaz Ordaz did not do anything, and then-presidential candidate Echeverría seconded this stance with his cooperative silence.

Today, certain forms of repression against members of guerrilla groups, such as their being kidnapped and held in clandestine jails or their pure and simple disappearance, suggest that the CIA or FBI are "advising" the Mexican political and military police.

The Mexican government has known for years that the CIA and FBI work in our country with impunity. Moreover, some of their activities have the explicit or tacit support of official bodies. Former CIA agent Philip Agee, author of *Inside the Company*, a book about the maneuvers of that espionage agency in Latin America, asserts that in the 1960s CIA contacts included the then minister of the interior: Luis Echeverría Álvarez.

The Mexican government has waited for these very American imperialist authorities to be the first to make public the illegal activities of the CIA and FBI in our country.

It doesn't surprise us that the Mexican government—very busy repressing electrical workers, univer-

sity trade unionists, revolutionary students, and peasants who fight against the big landowners—does not lift a finger against Mexico's imperialist enemies, but on the contrary protects all their interests.

Nevertheless, we energetically protest the complicity of the Mexican government with Washington for permitting Washington to continue its provocation and espionage within democratic and revolutionary organizations.

The supposed "Third Worldism" and "anti-imperialism" of the Mexican government has once again been exposed as a farce.

The PRT calls on all mass organizations and revolutionary groups to join in an energetic protest to the Mexican government demanding:

An end to government tolerance of the activities of the CIA and FBI in Mexico!

An end to the kidnappings and disappearances of workers, farmers, and students!

Imperialist hands off our country!

# In Review

Portraits, Political and Personal by Leon Trotsky, edited by George Breitman and George Saunders, New York. Pathfinder Press, 1977. 237 Pages. \$4.45.

*Portraits, Political and Personal* is a collection of twenty-two character descriptions selected from Leon Trotsky's books, articles, and speeches.

Most of these portraits are of Trotsky's Associates, friends, opponents, and enemies whom he knew in life and who participated, as he did, in the great historic events of our times.

They include Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Kautsky, Plekhanov, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Stalin.

Some, such as Engels, H. G. Wells, and the Tsar Nicholas and Tsarina Alexandra, were historical figures whom he never met.

Splendidly edited with helpful introductions and glosses, the book makes fascinating reading.

## Books

Trotsky had a profound sense of the drama of history. It is no wonder, then, that his historical characters come vividly alive. They were drawn by the pen of a man whom the British Laborite leader and journalist Michael Foot called "probably in all history, the greatest man of action who was also a very great literary genius."

Like the sensitive literary critic who discusses the characters of a drama not by abstracting them from their dramatic universe but by seeing them in relation to its inner laws, Trotsky is always aware of the persons he describes as participating in the drama of history—which proceeds in accordance with its own laws, not mechanically but dialectically, not through programmed automatons but through living human beings.

These human beings he sees as shaped by their environment but in turn acting upon it, although the actions of which they are capable are limited by the conditions at hand.

### Vera Zasulich

The degree to which Trotsky focuses on the personal traits or political role of the men and women included in *Portraits, Political and Personal* varies

with the occasion and purpose of the portrait. But he always makes us see the interconnection of the two.

Trotsky draws an appealing picture of Vera Zasulich, for instance, but one that shows the basis for her political evolution: a populist and terrorist in her youth, later an associate of Plekhanov and Lenin before the Bolshevik-Menshevik split, and finally a Menshevik who opposed the October revolution.

Zasulich's "heroic past," her "penetrating mind," and her "extensive education" put her in the top leadership, but "the simplicity and cordiality in her attitude toward young comrades" such as the twenty-three-year-old Trotsky "were truly beyond comparison."

However, despite her coming over to Marxism, she remained at bottom a populist of the 1870s for whom "the concept of 'revolutionary' had a self-sufficient meaning independent of class content." "Her diffuse radicalism, her subjectivity, and her untidiness" were a contrast to the new-breed revolutionist Lenin.

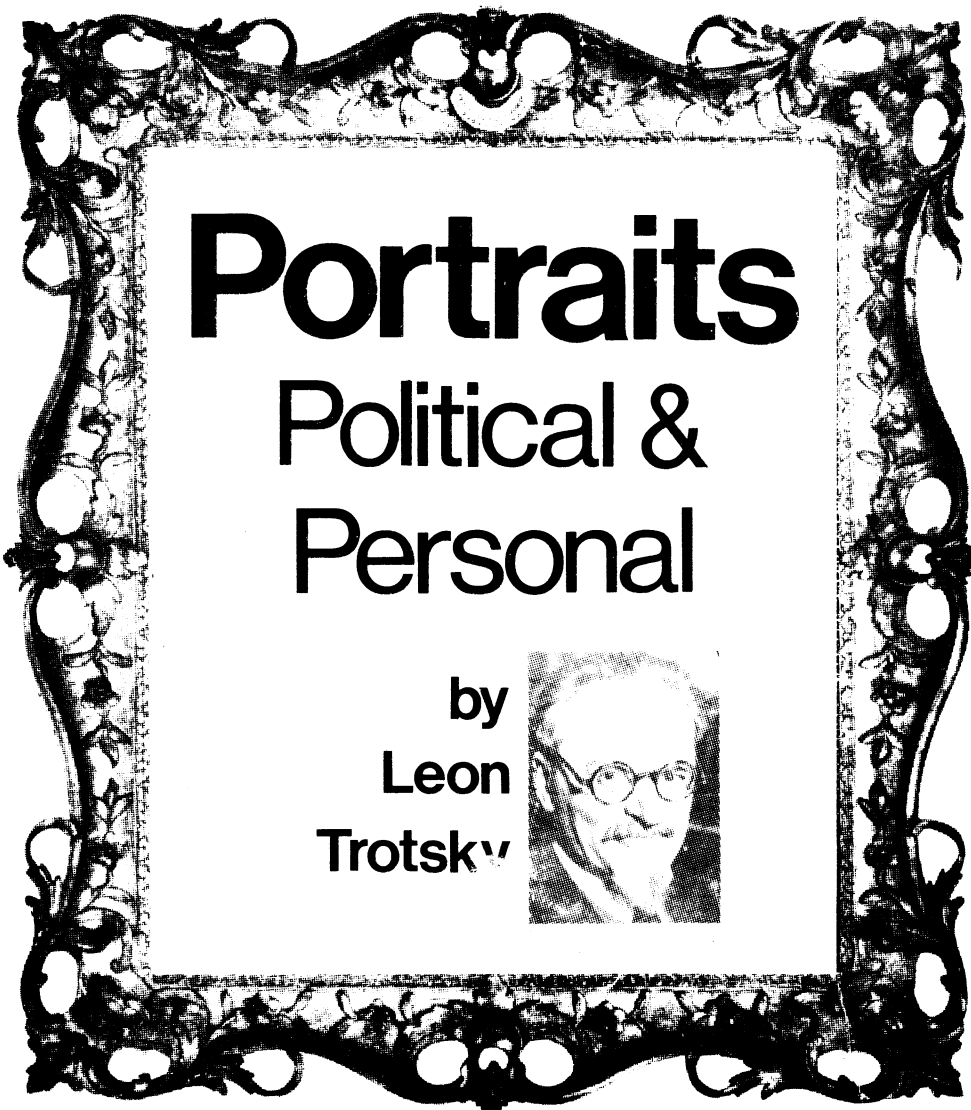
One affectionately humorous touch makes the portrait live and breath: "She would put her thoughts on paper one sentence at a time, pacing up and down the room, shuffling in her slippers, endlessly smoking hand-rolled cigarettes, disposing of cigarette butts, or simply half-smoked cigarettes, in all the corners and on all the window sills and tables, strewing ashes over her blouse, hands, manuscript, tea, and glass, and also, on occasion, her interlocutor."

The ability to both evoke the distinctive quality of a person and to trace his or her social roots is visible in the portraits Trotsky draws from research, as well as those based on his own personal observation.

### Tsar Nicholas

From the tsar's diary and the memoirs of cabinet ministers and ambassadors, he portrays Nicholas's apathy in the face of the waves of revolution sweeping over his empire.

While the country was in turmoil, Nicholas recorded in his diary the trivia of the day, barely alluding to momentous happenings. On a day when there were military uprisings, he wrote, "Was quietly busy until dinner and all evening. Went paddling in a



canoe." Trotsky comments tartly, "It was in a canoe he went paddling—that is told. But with what he was busy all evening is not indicated. So it was always."

Merciless in exposing his enemies, particularly those on the other side of the class struggle, Trotsky was nevertheless scrupulously fair. He writes as one dedicated to the historical truth.

Of Zinoviev and Kamenev, for example, who repeatedly capitulated to Stalin, abasing themselves and heaping abuse on Trotsky, he says, "Yes, they lacked sufficient character. These words, however, should not be taken too simplistically. . . . Zinoviev or Kamenev would have had more than ample character for a tranquil period. But our epoch of tremendous social and political convulsions demanded an extraordinary firmness of these men,

whose abilities had secured them a leading place in the revolution. The disproportion between their abilities and their wills led to tragic results."

For revolutionists steadfast in the struggle, Trotsky is generous in his praise, using their lives as inspirations for others.

### 'Reality is enough'

He does not make of them, however, plaster saints.

As he says in his speech on the occasion of the assassination of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, "We, comrades, have no need of legends, have no need to transform our heroes into saints. For us the reality in which we are living now is enough, for that reality is itself legendary. It is awakening miraculous forces in the spirit of the masses and of their leaders, it is creating magnificent figures which

## A Reader's Notes

Last April was the fortieth anniversary of the Dewey Commission's hearings on the charges against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow trials. The commission of inquiry headed by John Dewey went to Mexico to give Trotsky an opportunity to tell his side of the story about Moscow's accusations that he had plotted with the fascist powers to overthrow the Soviet regime and restore capitalism. The verbatim text of the Dewey Commission's proceedings for eight days was also published forty years ago in the book *The Case of Leon Trotsky* (Pathfinder Press).

And now, to mark the occasion, the *Antioch Review* has published an article in its Fall 1977 issue entitled "Memories of the John Dewey Commission: Forty Years Later." The author is Alan Wald, a frequent contributor to the *International Socialist Review*, who has written several studies of radical intellectuals of the thirties.

What Wald has done is to approach the Moscow frame-ups from the standpoint of the intellectuals of that period, most of whom were silent about the trials or apologetic about them, and to focus on the minority that stood up, spoke out against them, and supported the efforts of the Dewey Commission to reach an objective verdict on Trotsky's guilt or innocence.

In addition to examining the literature of the

case, Wald has interviewed or corresponded with several of the participants and observers in Mexico who are still alive and has studied the letters and papers of both the living and the dead. Among the living are: James T. Farrell, the novelist; John McDonald, the journalist; George Novack, the Marxist historian and philosopher; Albert Goltzer, who was the court reporter and transcribed the entire proceedings; and Bernard Wolfe, the novelist. Also quoted are the letters of the deceased Herbert Solow, the journalist; and Dewey. It makes a dramatic story about a dramatic event and adds a personal dimension that *The Case of Leon Trotsky* could not convey.

The *Antioch Review's* address is Box 148 Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387. The Fall issue costs two dollars.

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A new publishing house, named Ink Links, has been organized in London, and it is going to publish books of interest to the socialist and labor movements.

Among these will be an "International series" of titles to be published in association with *International*, the quarterly magazine of the International

Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.

The first Ink Links book, also the first in the International series, is already off the press: *From Class Society to Communism*, an introduction to Marxism by Ernest Mandel of Belgium, a leader of the Fourth International.

Other Ink Links books announced for 1978 include:

*A Prison of Measured Time* by J.-M. Bröhm, a critique of competitive sport.

*A History of Zionism* (provisional title) by Nathan Weinstock.

*The American Labor Movement 1886 to Today* by Daniel Guérin.

*Theses, Resolutions, and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Communist International* (newly translated and never before complete in English).

*The Fourth International: A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement* by Pierre Frank (another in the International series).

Ink Links books will be distributed in the United States by Pathfinder Press (410 West Street, New York, New York 10014).

More about Mandel's *From Class Society to Communism* next time. —George Breitman



tower over the whole of humanity."

Trotsky's obituary speeches and essays are inspirational. Where Trotsky was close to their subject, they are also vibrant with controlled emotion. Particularly moving is the essay on the death of his son, Leon Sedov, under circumstances that suggested—and more evidence was unearthed in subsequent investigations—that he was murdered by Stalin's secret police.

"Every painter puts something of himself into his pictures," rightly say the editors in their introduction.

Trotsky himself does a masterly job of displaying in H. G. Wells's description of Lenin—in an interview he had with him after the revolution—the smug, condescending self-satisfaction of the interviewer, a self-satisfaction that was a carry-over from the pre-World War I days when the Fabians were confident of the uninterrupted progress of humanity.

Trotsky's own character too comes out in his character descriptions, perhaps not least in his description of Charolambos, the professional fisherman with whom he went fishing for recreation during his exile on the Turkish island of Prinkipo.

Charolambos was illiterate, but he read "with artistry the beautiful book of the Sea of Marmora."

Trotsky's task was to row, and, admits the former leader of the Red Army, "I was not quick at learning to note the almost imperceptible motions of the hand by means of which the master directs his assistant."

One of the techniques of the "high art" of Charolambos's fishing was how to throw large rocks close enough to the net to drive fish in without actually netting the rocks.

Charolambos politely told Trotsky that he wasn't bad at it. But, says Trotsky, "I need only compare my work with his, and pride departs immediately." If Charolambos's companion would get the rock entangled in the net, the fisherman would forget his politeness and cast on him "an annihilating look—and justly."

When they captured a large fish, "in a language comprehensible to no one but us, and which we ourselves only half understand,"—a language made up of "Turkish, Greek, Russian, and French words," from which they had constructed phrases "after the manner of two- or three-year-old children"—they would "share the sensations of the adventure."

Sympathy with ordinary humanity and the ability to communicate with it, admiration of good craftsmanship, pride in a job well done, modesty in the face of superiority (one thinks of Trotsky's attitude toward Lenin), a sense of fraternity in a common effort—these were some of the qualities of Leon Trotsky. They entered into his portraiture as well as into his work as a revolutionary leader. —Paul Siegel



VERA ZASULICH

# \$126 billion up in smoke

Carter calls his budget "lean and tight" and claims to be "restraining defense expenditures."

Lean and hungry is certainly the look of the unemployed and the poor whose social services are being cut back. But "restraint" on the Pentagon? Look again:

Carter has requested a total "budget authority" of \$126 billion, up 7 percent from last year, for so-called national defense. Then there's \$49 billion for interest payments—mainly the costs of previous wars.

And there's no telling how much war-related spending is hidden elsewhere in the budget—under appropriations for the State Department, space program, nuclear research, and so on.

The amount of wealth drained away from social needs by war spending is so great as to be almost incomprehensible.

In fiscal 1979, Carter proposes to spend \$1.7 billion to buy just one Trident nuclear submarine. The nuclear-warhead missiles are extra—\$1.1 billion extra.

The cost overrun alone on this Trident is \$373.2 million—enough to run the entire Detroit school system for a year without cutbacks.

Carter is asking for more money to develop the Cruise missile (\$643 million)—a major escalation of the arms race—than to enforce the civil rights laws (\$588 million).

The amount budgeted to buy seventy-eight F15 fighter planes—\$1.4 billion—is more than the projected New York City budget deficit for the next two years.

You may have thought the B-1 bomber was gone, but its appropriation lingers on. Carter wants \$105.5 million to continue B-1 research projects.

The pricetag on just two AWACS Radar planes, at \$101.4 million each, would cover the amount Carter



plans to cut from federal grants to medical schools.

Carter press secretary Jody Powell complains that expectations are too high, that the American people have been "living in a dream world for a

long time." The message of the budget, he says, is that "we can't do everything that everybody wants done and keep everybody happy. The money just ain't there."

The hell it ain't. —Andy Rose

## ...Carter's cutback budget

Continued from back page

be fully utilized. Nearly half a billion dollars in the 1977 budget slated for minority job-training centers was never spent.

The fact is that Carter hasn't the slightest intention of fulfilling his campaign promise that he would take effective steps to ensure that every citizen wanting to work would be able to find a job. The 1979 budget assumes an official unemployment rate of 5.9 percent, down only slightly from the present high level. Moreover, it defines "full employment" as 4.9 percent.

Thus, millions will remain unemployed in 1979, even if the economy continues to expand, as Carter optimistically assumes. Despite this, he proposes lopping off \$100 million from the food-stamp program. His budget presumably also reflects the recent ruling of the administration that poor children will no longer be allowed to take a second container of milk with their school lunches.

The capitalist profit drive has resulted in the devastation of the "inner cities" of the large metropolitan centers as industry has moved out and landlords have stopped maintaining buildings or have burned them down for the insurance. Carter has promised a new urban program, to be unveiled in March, that will supposedly address these problems.

But the maximum funding available in his new budget is \$1.7 billion, a mere drop in the bucket compared to

the resources needed for reconstruction and aid to the victims, mostly Blacks and other minorities.

Another group that doesn't have much to look forward to in Carter's new budget is the working farmers. They have been demonstrating by the tens of thousands demanding prices for their crops that will enable them to make a decent living and avoid bankruptcy. Yet Carter's new budget projects a 33 percent reduction in government price supports.

One social-welfare category that shows a sizable increase in Carter's budget is "health." However, as in the past, little of this extra spending will result in an actual increase of medical services. Instead it will be siphoned off in the form of extravagant payments to hospitals and the medical-supply and drug companies. The profiteering has so gotten out of hand that the administration last year proposed legislation that would supposedly limit the growth of hospital costs. It has yet to be enacted, however.

One addition to the "health" section of the budget that should be noted is the \$142 million included for programs aimed at preventing teen-age pregnancies or "helping" young women if they become pregnant. Carter no doubt hopes that this allocation will defuse the angry protest of women in response to the government's cutoff of funds that had enabled poor women to have safe, legal abortions.

By far the biggest single category in

Carter's budget, as with those of his predecessors, is military spending. If veterans' benefits and interest payments on debt from past wars are included, this portion of federal spending accounts for 37 percent of the entire budget. (The next biggest category, social security, takes up 23 percent.)

Carter, who promised in his election campaign to "reduce present defense expenditures" by \$5 billion to \$7 billion, instead increased them by more than \$10 billion in his 1979 budget. Not only that, he projects such large relative increases in subsequent years that military spending as a percentage of total government outlays will also rise, reversing a more than twenty-year declining trend. (This trend was not even reversed during the Vietnam War, although it did level off from 1964 to 1969.)

The lion's share of next year's increase is allocated to beefing up U.S. "conventional forces" in support of NATO. No doubt this is in response to increasing political instability and sharpening class struggle in West Europe.

It is clear what Jimmy Carter's "priorities, policies and proposals" are. They aim at further belt-tightening by the American people, bigger profits for the corporations, and arming U.S. imperialism to the teeth to beat back future challenges to capitalism anywhere in the world.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

# Social Security rate hike = big cut in pay

By Jon Britton

On December 20 Jimmy Carter signed into law a Social Security tax bill that almost guarantees that American workers' paychecks will buy less as time goes on.

Tom Wicker, the *New York Times* columnist, called it "perhaps the most onerous tax bill ever passed in this country."

The new legislation will supposedly save the Social Security "insurance" system, which Democratic and Republican politicians have been warning is about to go broke.

The financial magazine *Business Week* says the capitalist politicians have only themselves to blame for the problem:

Ironically, Congress itself is at least partly to blame for Social Security's present predicament. Only five years ago, on the eve of the 1972 Presidential election, Democrats and Republicans enthusiastically handed voters a handsome gift package in the form of vastly expanded benefits. Not only were Social Security benefits boosted by 20% across the board, but an automatic mechanism was adopted to raise benefits (and taxes) in perpetuity in line with future inflation and wage gains. Ignored in the rush to passage were warnings from business groups and outside experts that the huge jump in benefits—and particularly the provisions of the automatic benefits escalator—entailed large financial risks.

Those warnings were borne out even faster than the critics had anticipated. Within a few short years, the combined effects of a faulty benefits formula, double-digit inflation, and the deepest postwar recession had pushed the system close to the edge of insolvency. [*Business Week*, January 9, 1978.]

## 'Excessive generosity'?

Actually, the increased benefits legislated in 1972 were anything but huge and were long overdue:

According to a Brookings Institution study of the Social Security system, published in 1968, 30% of all persons over the age of sixty-five could be classed as poor.

Old-age benefits as a percentage of average weekly manufacturing wages had fallen from 17% in 1960 to 15.3% in 1967.

In 1967, the median annual income, from all sources, of Social Security beneficiaries over age sixty-five was a miserable \$3,199 for a married couple and only \$1,279 for a single woman.

The accelerating inflation of the late 1960s, owing to the Vietnam War, further eroded the woefully inadequate payouts.

To add insult to injury, in the years prior to 1972 a growing surplus in Social Security revenues had been used to finance the U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Back in 1965, at President Johnson's urging Congress passed a whopping increase in Social Security taxes, ostensibly to finance increased old-age benefits (remember the Great Society?) but large enough to produce a big surplus in revenues. The surplus was then "invested" in U.S. government securities.

As a result of this underhanded maneuver, the "assets" of the Social Security trust funds nearly doubled, from \$18.2 billion in 1965 to \$35.3 billion in 1972, and the government had an extra \$17.1 billion to pour down the rathole of its Vietnam adventure.

Now the "excessive generosity" of Congress has been corrected. As Carter put it at a December 15 news conference, "The American people will pay more taxes into the Social Security system, but in return they will know that it will be there, permanently and in a sound condition."

## Not like insurance

In fact, the claim that Social Security is a system of insurance and has to be financed accordingly is a myth. Social Security revenues and outlays are part and parcel of the federal budget, and are treated as such by all economists and statisticians, and by the president himself in budget messages.

The real goals of the new legislation are quite different.

One aim is to shore up the overall national budget, which has been sinking deeper into the red because of a faltering economy and stepped-up massive expenditures on armaments. (The projected surplus of Social Security revenues over the next ten years is \$13 billion.)

Another key aim is to shift more of the tax burden onto the shoulders of working people by increasing the proportion of total federal revenue coming from the regressive payroll tax.

For a clearer idea of how regressive this tax is, consider: The tax is levied at a flat rate without



Washington used \$17.2 billion in Social Security funds to help finance Vietnam War. Now Carter says payroll taxes must go up to ensure there are funds left for retirees.

regard to the number of dependents, exempts wages over the maximum amount, and doesn't touch dividends, interest, and other forms of non-wage income. Thus, the heaviest burden falls on those least able to pay.

## Who pays hike

Even before Carter signed the new bill, Democratic and Republican politicians had succeeded in raising the proportion of federal revenue coming from payroll taxes from under 10% in 1957 to nearly 20% in 1967 and to over 25% in 1977.

They had also succeeded in reducing the ratio of corporate to payroll taxes from 1.5 to 1 in 1960 to 0.5 to 1 in 1973.

The new Social Security tax hikes will deal a double blow to workers' wages, professionals' salaries, and incomes of the self-employed in coming years. Not only is the basic tax rate going up—from 5.85% in 1977 to 7.15% in 1987, but the amount of wages on which the tax is levied will be greatly enlarged. The wage base will jump from \$17,700 in the current year (up from \$16,500 last year) to \$29,700 in 1981. Thereafter it will automatically increase with inflation.

This government "escalator clause" provides the ruling class with a powerful means of driving down the real "take-home" pay of higher-paid workers even as nominal wages go up. On the conservative assumption of an inflation rate of 4.75%, the wage base will leap to \$42,600 in 1987.

In reality, the payroll tax hikes will be even more of a burden for workers than these figures indicate. The employer's "contribution" is equal to that of the worker under the new law, as it has been in the past. But since the employer is indifferent as to whether this amount is paid as a payroll tax or a wage (either way it is a "labor cost"), this portion of the Social Security tax ultimately comes out of wages, just as the worker's "share" does.

## Even tax will be taxed

As an added twist of the knife, the employer's payment is tax deductible. The wage earner not only cannot take a deduction, but has to pay income tax on that part of his or her income that goes for Social Security.

Lower-paid workers will continue to be hit hard



by payroll taxes. (The July 15, 1972, issue of *Business Week* pointed out that in 1971 20 million workers deemed too poor to pay income tax paid \$1.5 billion in Social Security taxes.) But more well-off working-class and even middle-class families will also feel the squeeze.

## More promises

The same day Carter signed the new Social Security bill, he tried to soften the blow by leaking to the press the latest version of a "tax cut and reform" package that he is planning to submit to Congress later this month. [Although this article was written prior to Carter's January 21 tax message, the essential elements of that plan had been "leaked" in December.] Although the projected \$25 billion cut is somewhat larger than figures leaked earlier, the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* accurately referred to the package as "proposals which purport to 'cut' taxes even though the tax burden on the American citizen is going up" (January 4).

The part of the package the *Journal* editors like best, of course, is the \$6 billion to \$7 billion in new tax breaks for big business.

Carter is also said to be considering a \$17 billion cut in personal income taxes (to be achieved by lowering the present 14%-70% range of tax rates to 12%-68%) and a \$2 billion reduction of federal excise and unemployment fund taxes.

The relief for individual wage earners is paltry in view of the fact that taxpayers year after year have been surreptitiously bumped into higher tax brackets by inflation, even while their real wages stagnated.

## Like last year's rebate?

However, it is quite possible that heavy international pressures on the U.S. dollar and growing signs of a renewed upsurge in inflation will torpedo this scheme. Major portions of Carter's "tax cuts," not to speak of the window-dressing "reforms," may well go the way of last year's \$50 rebate—in other words be quietly dropped.

However Carter and Congress respond to the dollar crisis, American workers are going to be shouldering a bigger tax burden in coming years and the capitalists less. The new Social Security bill just passed and signed into law assures that.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



# Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



## The ERDA connection

In 1976 California voters rejected a measure called Proposition 15, or the Nuclear Safety Initiative. It would have forced nuclear plants to cut back their output unless they met certain safety requirements.

The campaign to defeat Proposition 15 was financed by a vast array of major corporations. They put up \$3.8 million to defeat it, while proponents were able to raise less than \$1 million.

Now, it turns out, not only were the giant utilities and other corporate monoliths lined up against Proposition 15, but the federal government was too.

The General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, has concluded that the now-defunct Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) actively campaigned against Proposition 15.

ERDA's campaign was organized out of its San Francisco office, which was headed by John Thorne. Thorne is now Carter's nominee for the

post of chief of the nation's energy research program.

The GAO report, according to the *New York Times*, charges that ERDA "operated an intensive information program 'in an attempt to influence Californians to vote against the referendum.'"

In doing so, the GAO says, ERDA's San Francisco office was following a line set in Washington.

The GAO reports that top officials in ERDA's San Francisco office solicited speaking engagements in order to make strongly pronuclear speeches. In addition, it aggressively distributed pronuclear pamphlets and displays.

The GAO also uncovered a March 1976 memorandum from Robert Fri, then deputy director of ERDA, to a top Ford White House aide, James Cannon. Fri told Cannon he had recently given several pronuclear speeches in California without "negative reaction."

Fri wrote that he thought other Federal officials could follow suit without running into the charge

that they were interfering in state politics.

Ford's pronuclear position, Fri declared "can get across quite clearly without saying the words," if the president preferred not to make his views explicit.

ERDA was one of the offshoots of the old Atomic Energy Commission. The AEC had the dual—and contradictory—function of both promoting atomic power and supposedly regulating atomic safety.

To defuse undesirable public distrust of the AEC, the agency in 1974 was divided into ERDA and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. ERDA, now the federal Energy Department, had the task of promoting nuclear power, while safety enforcement fell to the NRC.

However, while ERDA and its successors have done their jobs well, the NRC has performed abysmally.

This is no real surprise, given the fact that 67 percent of top NRC staff members in 1976 were former employees in the energy industry.

## The American Way of Life

### A capitalist Christmas story

LARK, Utah—Dear residents of Lark: Kennecott Copper has decided to abolish your town and evict you from your homes. Merry Christmas.

Lark is a community of 650 people, twenty-two miles southwest of Salt Lake City. It sits in the shadow of the mountainous waste dumps surrounding Kennecott Copper's Bingham Mine, a huge tiered pit that has produced more wealth than just about any other hole in the ground anywhere.

Lark used to be the company town of U.S. Smelting, Refining, and Mining Company. But its lead and zinc mines shut down in 1971, causing heavy economic hardship for the town.

Now Kennecott has bought up the land and U.S. Mining's old company housing. It doesn't want the houses or the people in them. Just the land—so it can dump more mountains of waste.

Many of the residents are Kennecott's own employees. Others are retired from Kennecott or U.S. Mining. And since the closing of the lead and zinc mines and the recent wave of layoffs at the copper mine, many are unemployed.

I talked with a Lark family shortly after they heard the death sentence pronounced on their town

by the lords of copper. They are Chicanos, like most residents. The father works for Kennecott, and so do a couple of sons.

"Lark was a place for poor people to live, because downtown you can't afford the rent," the mother said, putting Lark in the past tense already.

"We used to live in Bingham," the man told me, "and the same thing happened there. They bought the land and made us move out." That neighboring town literally vanished into the pit.

Is Kennecott offering to find new housing, or help with moving expenses? Not that anyone has heard. The family couldn't remember getting any help last time.

"Rich people don't care about poor people," the woman said.

Her husband, like many Kennecott employees, belongs to the United Steelworkers of America. But even union wages don't go far in a large family.

"They say people down here working for Kennecott are getting rich," he said. "But I'd like to see one of them."

Kennecott has been firing workers every time the price of copper dips. "Now you just work day by day, and you don't know when you'll get laid off."

The situation is much worse for the workers in the town who are already jobless. I talked with one of them, also a Chicano, a former USWA member.

"They retired me—threw me out," he said. "And now they're making me move. I'm getting Social Security and a Kennecott pension. It doesn't amount to much. I can't afford to buy a house or rent a place in the city."

"Besides, when you're retired, your credit's no good."

I asked if Kennecott has offered to help. It was the same story. "They haven't even talked to me. All I know is we've got til August 31, 1978, to move out."

Like his neighbors, he had been through it before in another company town.

"I used to live in Copperfield. They tore that whole thing down. If you go up there and look at it you'd never know where the town was."

"Now we've got to move out of here. I don't know what I'm going to do."

There is copper to be mined, money to be made, waste to be dumped. And so the mineowners wish Lark a happy New Year—it's last, if the bosses get their way.

—Jesse Smith

## Their Government

### Philadelphia politicians

PHILADELPHIA—David Marston is an ex-United States Attorney. Marston's no radical. In Philadelphia, where he's plied his trade, you don't have to flame with righteous anger to appear cleaner than the crowd of sewer dwellers that go by the name of "Philadelphia politicians."

It just so happens that Marston has a pretty good track record in catching Democratic Party bigwigs with their hands in the till. And among those he's caught are two former Democratic power brokers in the state legislature. One of his catches pleaded guilty to 106 counts.

Marston, who was appointed by former President Ford, is a Republican. Now there aren't too many Republicans in Philadelphia, but Marston still managed to nail a couple of Republican higher-ups too.

Besides busting pals of Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo, Marston also prosecuted several cops in a police brutality suit—which offended hizzoner, an ex-top cop, no end.

According to the local papers, Marston was getting the goods on two U.S. Democratic represen-

tatives for abusing the public trust to line their own pockets. One of them, seeing the handwriting on the wall, apparently called Jimmy Carter.

And Jimmy Carter gave the order to dump David Marston.

This happens all the time, of course. But Carter and his hatchet man, Attorney General Griffin Bell, didn't seem to realize that Marston had become something of a local hero for his anticorruption successes.

So the mundane habits of Democratic and Republican politicians are suddenly front-page news here. The White House has been flooded with protests. Carter was bombarded with questions about the Marston affair at his January 12 news conference.

Candidate Carter had said "politics" would never influence his appointments. President Carter—after the Bert Lance burlesque show—you'd think would have been a little shrewder. But on January 12 he said it again, asserting "merit, not politics, will decide [Marston's] replacement," never mentioning why Marston was fired in the first place.

Seems Carter doesn't read the papers. Two days

before, Griffin Bell made headlines here when he admitted that "politics" was what got Marston booted.

Candidate Carter, of course, told us, "I will never lie to you." But everybody in Philadelphia knows Carter lied.

Rizzo says he doesn't fear Marston because "there are no corrupt politicians" in City Hall. Just an alumni association in the state pen.

David Marston really isn't the story in this town anymore. Nor are the crooks he caught. They, after all, were just the tip of the iceberg.

The real story now is that Jimmy Carter tried to keep the lid on the garbage can. That the born-again president cheats for nickles and dimes.

You know already he speaks up for the oil companies, but when the commander-in-chief snaps to attention to protect the elected lowlifes of this town, that's saying a lot about what Carter & Co. mean by "politics."

You could say the Plains peanut baron has just become the nation's number one Philadelphia politician.

—Jon Hillson

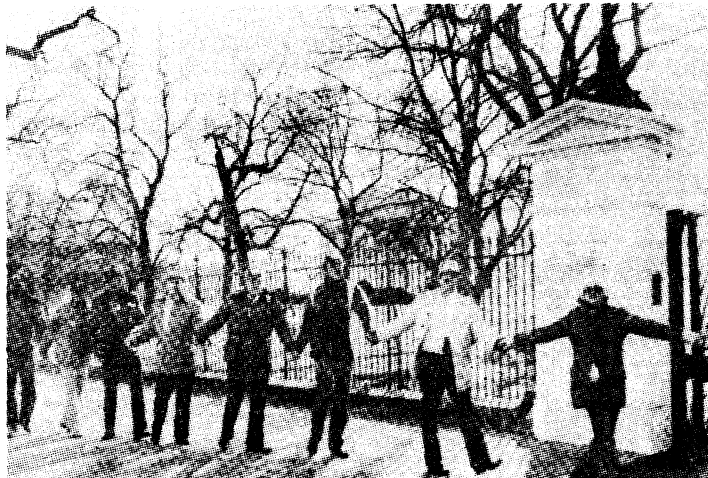
## Carter says 'no' to farmers

Farmers are continuing their protests in Washington, D.C., this month demanding financial aid to compensate for rising costs and sagging crop prices.

But President Carter has turned a deaf ear, rejecting striking farmers' demands as "too costly" at his January 30 news conference.

Meanwhile, leaders of the American Agriculture Movement asked Carter to declare a moratorium on farm loan foreclosures by banks and other private lenders.

Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland was hissed by farmers attending a Senate hearing January 24 when he said that current administration policy will give the farmers what they want if they cooperate and "give it a chance."



Farmers demonstrating at White House

### N.J. ABORTION SPEAKOUT

The Newark *Star Ledger* described a successful speakout on abortion rights held at Newark's Rutgers University January 29:

"Leaders of several New Jersey chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW) yesterday assailed federal and state restrictions on the use of Medicaid funds for abortions. . . .

"We demand an end to all restrictions on abortion funding and an end to the discrimination which sends poor women to their deaths," said Helen Schiff and Karen Trainor, coordinators of the Essex County NOW 'Right to Choose' Task Force. . . .

"The mostly female audience of over 300 persons heard poor women describe, in cracking

voices, the difficulties and anguish they experienced in obtaining abortions. . . .

"The government has no right to tell me what I can do with my body," said one woman. . . .

The speakout was also reported on the evening CBS-TV news, the New York *Daily News*, and three radio stations.

### TRANSIT STRIKE ENDS

Transit workers in California's Alameda and Contra Costa counties voted narrowly on January 27 to end their ten-week strike.

According to *Militant* correspondent Jeff Mackler, the contract accepted by a vote of 986 to 811 was essentially the same as that rejected by the members earlier in January.

## John T. Williams retires

Concluding six successive elected terms spanning seventeen years, John T. Williams has retired as business agent of Teamsters Local 208 in Los Angeles.

Four hundred friends and co-workers gathered at a retirement dinner for Williams January 7 to salute his record. Among the speakers was veteran peace activist Ruth Gage-Colby. During the Vietnam War, she and Williams were national coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition.

"No single person helped more to get the tens and hundreds of thousands of peo-

ple into the streets in San Francisco and New York and Washington in visible opposition to that horrible war in Vietnam which the greatest military nation in the world waged against a peasant people," Gage-Colby said.

Williams' active role in building antiwar protests made him unique among U.S. trade-union officials.

"The labor movement is a radical movement," Williams told the audience, "with a mission which is not fulfilled as long as there is hunger, unemployment, and injustice—anywhere in this land."



Militant/Walter Lippmann  
JOHN T. WILLIAMS

Despite strong sentiment against the settlement, most workers felt the union officials had shown themselves to be incapable of leading a fight for a better contract.

The strike did lead to one important gain, though. A group of rank-and-file activists began to work together to press for union democracy and a more effective strike. They led a successful fight for the right of the membership to see and discuss the full terms—not just a "summary"—of any proposed settlement.

cent of the average of their final five years' pay. Under the new law they will get only 46.7 percent.

A thirty-five-year-old worker now making \$30,000 who retires in thirty years would have gotten 31.4 percent of his or her final average pay. Now the benefits will drop to 24.7 percent.

An economist who helped engineer the cuts says the old benefits were "crazy" and that retired workers only need 75 percent of their preretirement earnings because they don't have to pay for work clothes or transportation.

### JUST GO GET A JOB

The federal government cut off unemployment benefits for more than 340,000 jobless workers at the end of January.

The reason? Washington says unemployment is so low that "extended" benefits (beyond the basic twenty-six weeks of state unemployment compensation) are no longer needed.

Meanwhile, Carter has asked Congress *not* to spend \$1.38 billion earmarked earlier for unemployment compensation. He says it's not necessary.

### DEATH PENALTY PROTEST

The January 17 anniversary of the execution of Gary Gilmore was marked by a Salt Lake City protest demanding abolition of the death penalty, according to *Militant* correspondent Kay Sedam.

Fifty people participated in a protest vigil and meeting sponsored by the Utah Coalition Against the Death Penalty, NAACP, and ACLU.

Speakers included Ruth Ross of the NAACP, Nancy Mottet Elbert of Amnesty International, Leon Brown of the Student Coalition Against Racism, and Bill Hoyle of the Socialist Workers Party.

### ACLU VS. CARTER

The American Civil Liberties Union January 28 attacked President Carter's first year in office for its "erratic" and "disappointing" record on civil liberties.

"In the face of opposition from the intelligence agencies, the president has not fulfilled his campaign promises to curb abuses of civil liberties in the name of national security. Indeed, the administration has advocated more secrecy," the report said.

### SOCIAL SECURITY CUTS

The new Social Security law recently signed by President Carter will drastically raise payroll taxes (see article on page 26). What's less well known is that it will also drastically cut benefits for the elderly from what was set under the earlier law.

For example, persons now twenty-five years old and earning \$10,000 a year who retire in 2018 will get about half the benefits they would have received under the old law. Before, they could expect to get benefits equal to about 83 per-

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA

### EAST LOS ANGELES

**THE RIGHT TO POLITICAL ASYLUM: THE CASE OF HECTOR MARROQUIN.** Speakers: Pedro Vázquez, Hector Marroquin Defense Committee; Alberto Baldivia, Socialist Workers Party; Monin Mendez, Solidarity Committee with the Chilean People. Fri., Feb. 10, 8 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 265-1375.

**THE 'BAKKE' DECISION—A DEBATE.** Speakers: Roland Coleman, member of National Conference of Black Lawyers; Raul González, Student Coalition Against Racism; others. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 265-1375.

**SOUTHEAST LOST ANGELES TROTSKYISM IN THE 1930s—A PERSONAL RECOLLECTION.** An educational by Harry Ring, *Militant* Southwest Bureau. Sun., Feb. 12, 1 p.m. & 3 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

**'BALLOT OR THE BULLET.'** Tape by Malcolm X. Speaker: Frank Greenwood, writer and producer of *Brother Malcolm*. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn

Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

**'THE UNWANTED'** Film story of undocumented workers. Commentary to follow. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

**SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT WHAT'S WRONG WITH ALIOTO'S SCHOOL REDESIGN PROGRAM?** Speaker: Jeff Mackler, SWP candidate for state superintendent of public instruction; local parents and teachers. Fri., Feb. 10, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

**SAN JOSE WILL THE EGYPT-ISRAEL TALKS BRING PEACE TO THE MIDEAST?** Speakers: Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis*; Nabil Gzaleh, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Feb. 10, 8 p.m. San Jose State University student union. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

**ILLINOIS CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE WILL EGYPT-ISRAELI TALKS BRING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE**

**EAST?** Speakers: Saad Maaley, Palestinian student studying in Chicago; Dennis Brasky, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago. Fri., Feb. 10, 7:30 p.m. 2251 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

## MICHIGAN

### DETROIT: EAST SIDE

**THE 'BAKKE' DECISION: A DISCUSSION OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.** Speakers: Representatives of Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism; Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision; others. Sun., Feb. 12, 7 p.m. 12920 Mack (at Dickerson). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5675.

**THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE/THE SADAT-BEGIN PEACE TALKS.** Speaker: Abdeen Jabara, Detroit attorney, member of National Lawyers Guild fact-finding commission on the Middle East. Sun., Feb. 26, 7 p.m. 12920 Mack (at Dickerson). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5675.

## MINNESOTA

**ST. PAUL WHAT A SOCIALIST MAYOR**

**COULD DO IN ST. PAUL.** Speaker: Libby Moser, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Sat., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. Social to follow. Basement of Weyerhaeuser Chapel, Macalester College, Grand and Snelling. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

## NEW JERSEY

### NEWARK

**EYEWITNESS REPORT ON THE COAL MINERS' STRIKE.** Speaker: Nancy Cole, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., Feb. 10, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW MEXICO

### ALBUQUERQUE

**PANAMA FOR THE PANAMANIANS! WHY THE UNITED STATES SHOULD UNCONDITIONALLY GIVE UP THE CANAL.** Speaker: Prof. Miguel Antonio Bernal, Panamanian socialist in exile. Thurs., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. UNM SUB 250. Donation: \$1, students free. Ausp: UNM Speakers Committee, YSA, SWP. For more information call (505) 255-6869.

## TEXAS

### HOUSTON: EAST END

**THE GAY LIBERATION MOVEMENT TODAY.** Speakers: Warren Caldwell, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri.,

Feb. 10, 8 p.m. 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

## SAN ANTONIO

**DO WE WANT NUCLEAR POWER IN TEXAS?** A panel discussion by environmentalists. Fri., Feb. 10, 8 p.m. 1317 Castroville Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

## UTAH

### SALT LAKE CITY

**PANAMA FOR THE PANAMANIANS: WHY THE UNITED STATES SHOULD UNCONDITIONALLY GIVE UP THE CANAL.** Speaker: Prof. Miguel Antonio Bernal, Panamanian socialist in exile. Fri., Feb. 10, 7:30 p.m. 677 S. 7th St. E. 2nd Fl. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

### D.C.: GEORGIA AVE.

**CLASS SERIES ON RACISM, REVOLUTION, AND REACTION: A MARXIST VIEW OF BLACK HISTORY.** Black Liberation today, 1968-1977. Wed., Feb. 8, 6:30 p.m. Howard University, Locke Hall, Room 236. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (202) 797-7699.



## McDONALD & KOCH

When the empress of Iran was the guest of honor at a New York dinner January 12, demonstrators outside the plush affair denounced the barbaric lack of elementary democratic rights in her country.

Congressional FBI mouthpiece Larry McDonald, a Georgia Democrat and national board member of the John Birch Society, had already "warned" fellow Democrat Mayor Ed Koch by letter that the demonstrators might be "violent."

Koch, who still maintains the vestiges of a liberal reputation, wrote back: "I . . . have asked Police Commissioner Robert McGuire to give the matter raised in your letter his immediate personal attention. You need have no fear. . . ."

"I am attending one of the functions for the Shahbanou and look forward to greeting her in behalf of the people of the City of New York."

## ISRAELI TORTURE

Sami Esmail, a New York-born U.S. citizen of Palestinian descent, was arrested and tortured when he arrived in Israel December 21 to visit his dying father in the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

## Quote unquote

"I honestly believe that I am as colorblind as any man in this room."

—Federal Judge William Webster, Carter's nominee for FBI director; testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee—which includes senators Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, James Eastland of Mississippi, and John McClellan of Arkansas—about his membership in four St. Louis clubs that have no Black members.

He was visited in prison a week later by his brother Basim and attorney Felicia Langer. Esmail told them he had been beaten, spat upon while forced to carry a heavy chair, and denied sleep.

Israeli authorities accused Esmail of being on a mission for an "illegal organization."

Both the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Consul in Tel Aviv have refused to take any action.

"What government doesn't torture its prisoners?" consul James Kerr asked Basim Esmail.

## Another nuke accident

Militant correspondent Harold Sudmeyer reports that a January 23 leak in the cooling system at the Fort St. Vrain, Colorado, nuclear power plant—thirty-five miles from Denver—released an undetermined amount of radioactive helium gas into the atmosphere.

The plant is owned by the Public Service Company. PSC spent more than \$300,000 to defeat a 1976 ballot measure that would have required legislative approval to build nuclear plants.

Although 275 workers were evacuated, the company dismissed the leak as "a minor incident." State health authorities said that the fifteen workers who were contaminated had been only "negligibly" affected. Also downplaying the accident was Clyde Wisner, public affairs officer for the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission. He termed the leak "insignificant."

Not everyone shared this optimistic outlook, however. One woman, hearing an early report of the accident, picked up her eight-year-old daughter at school and headed for the mountains. "I don't believe anything they are saying—not with my daughter's life at stake," she told reporters.

## P.R. strike leader shot at

The Bayamón, Puerto Rico, home of Luis Lausell, president of the Union of Workers of the Electrical and Irrigation Industry (UTIER), was shot at three times around 2:00 a.m. January 30, according to the New York daily *El Diario-La Prensa*.

Several hours earlier, the home of Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), was attacked with a dynamite bomb.

Shortly before the attack on Lausell's home, an anonymous phone caller took responsibility for the attack and said other groups and individuals would be targets, because they were "communist."

The union Lausell heads has been waging a bitter four-week strike against the government-run electric company. Lausell is also a member of the PSP, which

has backed the workers in the conflict.

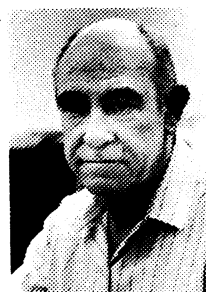
*El Diario* said no one had been injured in the Lausell attack. The New York office of the PSP says no one was seriously injured in the bombing attack on Mari Brás's home.



Militant/Lou Howort  
JUAN MARI BRAS

# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## Wisc. news strike

Last September Madison Newspapers Inc., publisher of two dailies, *The Capital Times* and the *Wisconsin State Journal*, handed an ultimatum to the unions representing newspaper workers. They were told to give up previously won benefits and future bargaining rights.

On October 1 union workers at both newspapers walked out, as expected.

In recent years this has become standard practice for many publishers. They provoke strikes to eliminate unions, impose company work rules, and dictate new wage scales.

The strikers in Madison knew that something more than routine picketing was necessary. They began publishing a weekly newspaper, the *Madison Press Connection*.

Their paper, a lively sixteen pager, had a growing circulation of 67,500 at the beginning of December. The strikers had won broad popular support, attested by advertisements and letters from readers.

Supporters of the strike were joining the picket lines and offering advice on how to win more support. A letter from six women complained of sexist language in a strike leaflet that urged the public to cancel subscriptions to the scab papers. The leaflet had used "paperboy" to describe newspaper carriers.

The editors said, "our new flyer corrects the oversight."

Another strike supporter who was on the picket line called attention to the fact that Blacks who were being used as scabs were subjected to racist epithets by some strikers.

"This will do nothing more than create many more black scabs in the future," he said, "... because in their eyes it becomes a question of racism, racism keeping them from a job."

The editors responded that they and the strike leadership "are in complete accord with your sentiments."

"Racist, sexist, and anti-Semitic language and conduct have no place in our strike or any labor struggle," they said. "Picketers who pose a continuing problem will be removed from the line."

The editors then went on to explain what in their opinion is the cause and the cure of "the problem." The employers had hired very few Black workers. That, they submitted, was the cause of it.

"Only The Capital Times has actively recruited blacks for its staff," they said. Of the three Blacks working there before the strike, "one has left for another job and two are scabbing."

Of course, the vast majority of scabs are white. At the *State Journal's* all-white newsroom only half the work force responded to the strike call. The other half scabbed.

What is the cure?

"One obvious antidote to the problem," said the strike leaders, "would be the presence of more black strikers." But this begs the question, because few Blacks were hired before the strike was called. It would also help if there were more white strikers.

Newspaper publishers excluded Blacks from their newsrooms for the same reason that they systematically ignored news about Black people in the pages of their papers, and not only in Madison. This discriminatory policy was accepted for many years by the unions. Now white workers as well as Blacks are suffering the consequences.

The strikers in Madison cannot correct past injustices, nor are they mainly responsible for the ramifications of the Jim Crow system. But they can help Blacks win their rights to newspaper jobs. And they can defend them in the future.

A good way to begin this now would be to bring some Black members of the Newspaper Guild onto the staff of the *Madison Press Connection*. This would add credence to special appeals to the small Black community in Madison and to Blacks and other students at the University of Wisconsin.

The strike needs and deserves the support of the union movement, the Black community, and students. It shows in miniature the pattern of attack that larger unions in basic industry will probably face in coming struggles.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Foolproof**—A worker's protective overshoe fell into the Brown's Ferry nuclear reactor in Alabama. Fearful that the shoe could plug up the reactor's cooling system, causing an explosion, officials shut it down for seventeen days to be sure the shoe was dissolved. Estimated cost of the shutdown was \$2.8 million.

**Didn't know he existed**—Back in 1964, J. Edgar Hoover read a news report that a French author, Jean Paul Sartre, had joined the "Who Killed Kennedy Committee." The nation's top intelligence official issued a memo: "Find out who Sartre is."

**Not to worry**—Radioactivity from nuclear waste is seeping from a burial trench at a rate of twenty-five feet a year at a Sheffield, Illinois, site operated by the Nuclear Engineering Company. The anticipated rate of spread was one foot a year. However, a company official assures, the radioactive level is "innocuous and no threat to health or safety."

**Travel tip**—New Yorkers tired of the inclement weather might consider Amtrak's offer of a private car to party in en route to Miami. Includes a lounge and five bedrooms accommodating ten comfortably. Round trip, \$6,311.75.

**Bright forecast**—A study of the American economy by McGraw-Hill concluded that if unemployment can be held to a reasonable level, and there is no nuclear war, the future is rosy.

**Businesslike**—We've been brooding over the indictment of the Very Rev. Guido Corcich, ex-fund raiser for the Pallotine Fathers. The order raised millions for charity in other lands and did send 3 percent of the take abroad. The rest was judiciously invested in motels, real estate, and loans to politicians. Except, it's alleged, \$288,000 that the good father used for personal needs—trips to Las Vegas, and so on. To us it sounds like a splendid American success story.

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

## US concentration camps

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066—the order that led to the imprisonment in concentration camps of more than 110,000 persons of Japanese descent.

This monstrous violation of civil liberties, backed up by racism and wartime chauvinism, drew no protest from the leaders of the labor movement. Nor was any objection heard from the “left wing” parties that supported the imperialist war—first and foremost the American Communist Party.

The Stalinists ardently supported internment. In fact, the CP had suspended all its Japanese-American members immediately after Pearl Harbor. It urged these former members to go quietly into the concentration camps as their contribution to the war effort. This shameful capitulation to racism went along with the Stalinists’ wartime opposition to strikes and struggles of Blacks for equality.

The Socialist Workers Party was virtually alone in the American labor movement in speaking out against internment. Here is what the ‘Militant’ said in its March 7, 1942, issue, right after Roosevelt’s order:

The indiscriminate and brutal witch-hunt being conducted against non-citizens born in countries at war with the United States is now being directed at naturalized citizens and native-born Americans whose ancestry is Japanese, German and Italian.

The move, having the character of a racial pogrom, was initiated . . . by and executive order from President Roosevelt, giving the War Department and the Army the power to arbitrarily remove any person, citizen as well as alien, from his home and exclude him from any area which the Army may designate as a military area.

The immediate purpose of this order is to permit the Army and the FBI to remove West Coast residents of Japanese descent—including 60,000 citizens and native-born persons—into as yet undesignated camps and interior sections of the country. . . .

For the time being, as Attorney General Biddle hastened to assure the country, the intention is to “concentrate” on the Americans of Japanese descent. But this means that by a mere decree, a large group of citizens have been given a “second-class citizenship” status and are deprived of civil rights and liberties solely on a racial basis. . . .

Attorney-General Biddle attempted to justify the order on the grounds that it was necessary for the “safety” of all



persons of Japanese descent on the West Coast. It is true that there has been some vigilante violence against American-Japanese, their homes have been invaded and they have been robbed by small groups of terrorists.

But instead of enforcing the law protecting the rights of these citizens, the government is driving them from their homes, terrorizing them, and in actuality encouraging the racial discrimination that is being fanned on the West Coast. . . .

Roosevelt’s order—issued as a military precaution and ostensibly directed at but one special group of the population—establishes one of the most dangerous precedents for the usurpation of civil liberties the American people have ever faced.

A feature in the May 30, 1942, ‘Militant’ described the forced evacuations and the miserable conditions in Manzanar and other concentration camps. It also highlighted the economic motivations for internment:

Considerable pressure for the ousting of Japanese-Americans came . . . from California Chambers of Commerce, the Bank of America, and the reactionary Associated Farmers. These groups see in the Japanese-American farmer not a military menace, but an obstacle to their complete domination of California agriculture. Taking advantage of the situation to demand their ousting in the name of “national defense,” California bankers hope to seize control of the truck gardening fields vacated by the Japanese Americans. . . .

And so the story of the Japanese-American evacuations stands today—a repressive measure, based purely on racial discrimination and motivated chiefly by the desire of Big Business for additional profits, which is presented as a necessary part of the “war for democracy.”

## Letters

### Full documentation

I recently heard Hugo Blanco speak on human rights in Latin America. I was extremely impressed by the detailed documentation he furnished for each opinion he expressed. The thoroughness of his reporting is also evidenced in his book *Land or Death* published by Pathfinder Press. Although full documentation of sources can at times be tedious for writers, it is highly appreciated by skeptical readers or listeners.

The *Militant* does a much better job of documentation on its news articles than other left publications, but there is still need for improvement. For example, your article “What’s at stake in national coal strike” (see January 20 *Militant*) does not give very complete documentation on the study that indicates that rising medical costs were primarily responsible for the depletion of the miners’ insurance fund.

A.S.  
Salt Lake City, Utah

[In reply—For an in-depth article on the medical benefits issue in the miners’ strike, see the January 27 *Militant* story by Frank Lovell (“Health care: key issue in coal strike”).]

### Delighted, determined

After trying your ten-week trial offer I am delighted. Every day I grow more excited and determined to forge a socialist future. Please extend my subscription another six months.

Deborah Kaplan  
Rohnert Park, California

### Humanistic Humphrey?

I wish to express my disappointment concerning your article published on the death of Hubert Humphrey. I too deplore the fact that Humphrey supported the Vietnam War. However, I feel that the *Militant* failed to mention his humanistic qualities and his inspiring philosophy toward life. Hubert Humphrey was responsible for the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964.

In my opinion he always showed a deep concern for the working class. I feel that the article was misleading and failed to do justice to a man who has made so many valuable contributions to our society.

Alan Carver  
Newton, Massachusetts

[In reply—The true role of Humphrey and the Democratic Party around the 1964 Civil Rights Act has been deliberately distorted in the capitalist media accounts following Humphrey’s death.

[What are the facts? First of all, the 1964 Civil Rights Act originated under the Kennedy administration, which desperately needed a concession to meet the rising anger of Blacks against discrimination. It was the power of the civil rights

movement—not Humphrey—that was responsible for the gains won in the final bill.

[Humphrey did play a very important role, however—one that the big-business media has not reported on. His function was to pose as the “liberal” face of the Democratic Party so as to better strip the bill of its stronger provisions in areas such as voting rights, employment, and public accommodations. Humphrey worked in close alliance with then Attorney General Robert Kennedy and the open racist Everett Dirksen to engineer a congressional “compromise” on the bill—including the acceptance of dozens of amendments demanded by the Dixiecrats.

[In addition, Humphrey and other northern Democrats scrupulously kept out of the act measures that would have upset de facto segregation in the North.

[The capitalists greatly appreciated this “contribution” by Humphrey to the civil rights struggle. And that’s why they have covered up his real record.]

### State of the Union

During the telecast of the State of the Union address by the president, I couldn’t help but notice the happiness on the faces of both senators John Stennis of Mississippi and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Their enthusiastic support for the meaning of the speech leads me to believe we’ll be getting it in the end.

John Rabbets  
Cullman, Alabama

### ‘Bakke’ & bilingualism

Recently, in a graduate course at State University of New York-Albany on the disadvantaged, some statistics came to light on the state of bilingual education in New York State.

Carmen Pérez, a professor and a member of the New York State Association for Bilingual Education, found that there are more than 500,000 children in need of bilingual education. To meet this need, more than 17,000 teachers with a class of thirty each would have to be hired. *Presently, there are only 1,964 practicing bilingual teachers in the state of New York!*

The implications for the futures of non-English-speaking children is frightening. It is going to take more than the Aspira Consent Decree (which is to implement a plan for bilingual education) to make up for past discrimination and neglect. It will require a total revamping and a fight against the priorities of the lackies of the ruling rich, the Democrats and Republicans. These politicians attempt to defend New York State’s annual contribution of \$6 billion to the U.S. \$120 billion “defense” budget, while foreign-speaking children are deprived of a decent chance in life.

Working people and students

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## JOIN THE SWP



# Learning About Socialism

can join in that fight by supporting the present struggle to overturn the *Bakke* decision, which if upheld will set a precedent for further attacks on bilingual education. I urge people to get involved in building the April 15 demonstration in Washington, D.C., to put pressure on the Supreme Court to overturn the *Bakke* decision.

Sam Cheita  
Catskill, New York

## Farmers movement

On a recent trip to west Texas, I found quite a changed mood.

On December 21 the farmers of communities around Lubbock, Texas, closed more than forty stores and distributorships in order to underline their demands for government representation and price supports. But the strongest protest was directed against the conservative paper, the *Avalanche-Journal*. The *Journal* has for years attacked unions, welfare, Chicano rights, and Social Security, in addition to promoting segregation. Last week, it carried its attack to the farmers' strike, calling the tactics of the farmers those of "northern union goons."

Throughout the chilly evening and night of December 20, tractors massed around the *Journal* building. Wishing to show that they knew how to handle these "goons," *Journal* bosses quickly called the police. Farmers were roughly pulled from tractors, frisked, and shoved around. Thirty-one were hauled to jail.

The farmers stood their ground. They would not leave until the thirty-one were released and they had an apology from the editor of the paper.

The next day, the paper got an injunction against further protests, and it published additional false attacks on the farmers.

R.L.  
Austin, Texas

## High school reader

A new friend of mine introduced me to the *Militant* in an effort to awaken my political and social conscience; now I would like to subscribe to your paper so that I may be better informed on vital issues.

As a high school student, I have a meager income. I have enclosed enough for a ten-week subscription. If the quality of the *Militant* is consistent with the issues I have already read, I will renew my subscription.  
Clara Schwan  
Columbia, Maryland

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.

# Renewal drive tied to class series

Are you a new subscriber to the *Militant*? Have you been thinking about what you've been reading?

Are you one of the many people today who are worried about jobs, education, a secure retirement, a clean and safe environment, adequate medical care, racial and sexual equality, and an end to the threat of war and nuclear destruction?

Have you been asking yourself: How come a tiny minority—the capitalist class—is trampling on the rights of the vast majority of American working people?

What can be done about this? Does socialism offer solutions? What exactly is socialism?

This month, supporters of the *Militant* will be contacting you to ask you to renew your subscription. They will also be inviting you to come to classes on socialism.

These classes will be organized around issues raised in the *Militant* and in the *Bill of Rights for Working People*, the platform of Socialist Workers Party candidates. This brochure contains in clear and succinct language an examination of today's problems, what working people want and need, and how they can go about achieving these goals. You can get a free copy by contacting the bookstore or headquarters listed in the directory below.

The Democratic and Republican parties—the parties of big business—are not sponsoring discussions like these. In fact, if you ask these capitalist politicians what *they* think you should think about and do, they will say, "Don't fight to defend your living standards. Don't even think about it. just depend on us."

They will tell you to pay more taxes for the military budget, eat less, turn down your heat, and forget about your right to health and safety, social services, and jobs. They don't sponsor classes because they don't want us to know that *they* are to blame for today's social crisis or what we can collectively do to change things. Our ignorance is their bliss.

Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance want working people and students to understand how they can begin to fight back to defend and extend their rights.

The socialist classes will be informal sessions with short talks by SWP and YSA members and plenty of time for questions, answers, and free-wheeling discussion.

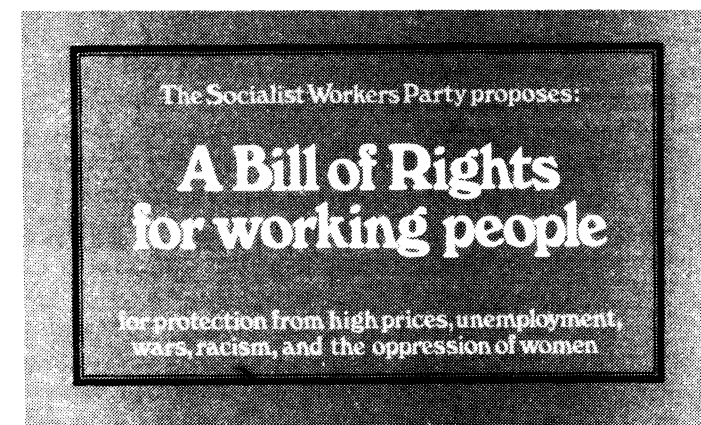
The capitalist class spends a great deal of time and money in their press and in the schools miseducating people about what socialists stand for. The U.S. camp-followers of the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies do the same. Because of this, many people still think that socialism means doing away with democracy or that there is "socialism" in Sweden or even possibly in England. Many people think that socialists advocate violence and support individual terrorism.

These are some of the lies the capitalists want you to believe and that the classes this month will discuss and dispel.

If you are interested in participating, keep your eye on the "What's Going On" column in the *Militant* to find out when and where a class will be offered in your area. And get hold of the *Bill of Rights for Working People*, read it, and bring it along with a copy of the *Militant*.

Come around and participate in these discussions on questions that concern us all. Learn about socialism.

—Paul Montauk



Order from: Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 973 Page St. Zip: 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 916 Broadway. Zip: 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, Box 431096, South Miami. Zip: 33143. Tel: (305) 266-4381. Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Linda Thalman, 1303 Ocala Rd. #140. Zip: 32304. Tel: (904) 576-5737.

**GEORGIA:** East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 17821. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 688-6739. West Atlanta: SWP, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040. Zip: 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, North Side: SWP, 1870 N. Halsted. Zip: 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811. Chicago, South Side: SWP, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 10 N. Cicero. Zip: 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 233-1270. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Karrollton Ave. Zip: 70115. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: City-

wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621. Boston, Fenway-South End: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620. Cambridge: SWP, 2 Central Square. Zip: 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395. Roxbury: SWP, 612 Blue Hill Ave. Zip: 02121. Tel: (617) 288-0753.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Tel: (313) 663-8306. Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave. Zip: 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160. Detroit, West Side: SWP, 18415 Wyoming. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436. Detroit: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Grand Rapids: YSA, P.O. Box 6301. Zip: 49506. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 176 Western Ave. North. Zip: 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEBRASKA:** Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 4088. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 256-1796.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 220-222 Utica Ave. Zip: 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200½ W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731. New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

**OHIO:** Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman

Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 861-4166. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43612. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 3928 N. Williams. Zip: 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, Germantown: SWP, 5950 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 844-2874. Philadelphia, West Philadelphia: SWP, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Philadelphia: City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Bob Hill, 733 W. College Ave. #2. Zip: 16801.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

**TENNESSEE:** Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station. Zip: 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston, Northeast: SWP, YSA, 2835 Laura Koppe. Zip: 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543. Houston, East End: SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza). Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082. San Antonio: SWP, 1317 Castroville Rd. Zip: 78237. Tel: (512) 432-7625 or (512) 432-3022. YSA, P.O. Box 12110, Laurel Heights Sta. Zip: 78212.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** Adams-Morgan: SWP, 2416 18th St. NW. Zip: 20009. Tel: (202) 797-7706. Washington, D.C., Georgia Avenue: SWP, 700½ Barry Pl. NW. Zip: 20001. Tel: (202) 265-7708. Washington, D.C.: City-wide SWP, YSA, 2326 Georgia Ave. #4. Zip: 20001. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

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**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

# THE MILITANT

## Oil trust no friend of Blacks

### In reply to NAACP

By John Hawkins

"Three weeks ago nobody in the country knew there was a Black position on energy," said Margaret Bush Wilson, chairperson of the NAACP National Board of Directors, in a recent interview with the *New York Times*. "Now everybody does."

Wilson may be jumping the gun in pinning the label "Black position on energy" to her organization's report on the Carter administration's energy program.

But it is certainly true that the NAACP's report endorsing the demands of the energy profiteers has provoked a wide-ranging debate among Black organizations, environmentalists, the media, and within the NAACP itself. What are the issues?

Noting that Black unemployment is still at record levels and that the cities need to be rebuilt, the NAACP report argues that the solution to these problems lies primarily in expanded industrial production. Carter's energy plan, the report argues, would block such expansion because of its alleged emphasis on conservation.

To spur industrial expansion and provide jobs for Blacks through the "private sector," the report proposes instead deregulation of natural gas

and oil prices and expanded development of nuclear power, including the breeder reactor.

#### Approval from Wall St.

The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* greeted the report with jubilation. The NAACP report was significant, they wrote, because it added "... another cloud of doom for [Carter's] energy approach, which is hanging by its fingernails on Capitol Hill.

"But far more significant," they continued, "is that for the first time in memory the NAACP has sided emphatically with the free-marketters..."

Such enthusiasm from this openly right-wing, antiunion mouthpiece for big business ought to be a flashing "caution" signal.

Since when did the giant corporations become such allies of the Black community?

Aren't these the same companies that profit from keeping Blacks the lowest paid, last hired, and first fired?

Haven't they fought affirmative-action quotas tooth and nail?

Don't they invest billions in the exploitation of South African Blacks under apartheid?

Many NAACP members and others



Nuclear power and higher oil prices—will they provide jobs for unemployed Black workers?

who support the organization's fights for desegregation in education, housing, and employment will have a hard time stomaching the notion of an alliance between Blacks and big oil.

Some other Black leaders—including Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League—have spoken out against the NAACP report, tending instead to support the Carter energy plan.

In fact, neither of these positions advances the interests of Blacks. Because the "debate" between Carter and the oil companies is not over *whether* to rip off working people to raise energy profits—it's only over *how* to do so most effectively.

#### Deregulation

The Carter administration asserts that the world is running out of oil. To avert this disaster, Carter appeals to the American people to conserve energy and support oil industry "incentives" in the form of higher prices and profits to spur development of more oil and other energy resources.

Despite a well-heeled campaign to convince the American public of this

hokum, recent polls all indicate that the Carter administration has failed.

The report issued by the NAACP reflects in a distorted fashion this skepticism with the "energy crisis." "We cannot accept the notion," the report states, "that our people are best served by a policy based upon the inevitability of energy shortage and the need for government to allocate an ever-diminishing supply among competing interests."

However, the report echoes the oil industry argument that the only way to avoid "the inevitability of energy shortage" is through financial "incentives" to the oil industry *even greater* than those already offered by Carter.

Far from being a plan to tighten the reins on the oil monopolies, Carter's proposed plan would funnel billions into their pockets through raising the price of natural gas and eliminating price controls on much oil production.

These increases in energy prices will hit Blacks and others at the bottom of the economic heap hardest. Yet what the oil trust demands—and the NAACP report endorses—is a com-

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## Carter's cutback budget

By Jon Britton

"The first ... budget of any new Administration is its most important. It is the Administration's first full statement of its priorities, policies and proposals for meeting our national needs."

That is how Jimmy Carter's January 23 message to Congress on his proposed budget for fiscal year 1979 begins. (The current budget was basically shaped by the Republican administration of Gerald Ford.)

So what does Carter's first budget reveal about the "priorities, policies and proposals" of his administration for meeting the needs of the American people?

It shows that Democrat Carter's program is the same, with slight variations of detail, as Ford's was.

"If Carter's economic and budget messages did not have his name on them, I would not know which Administration had issued them," Alan Greenspan, archconservative former

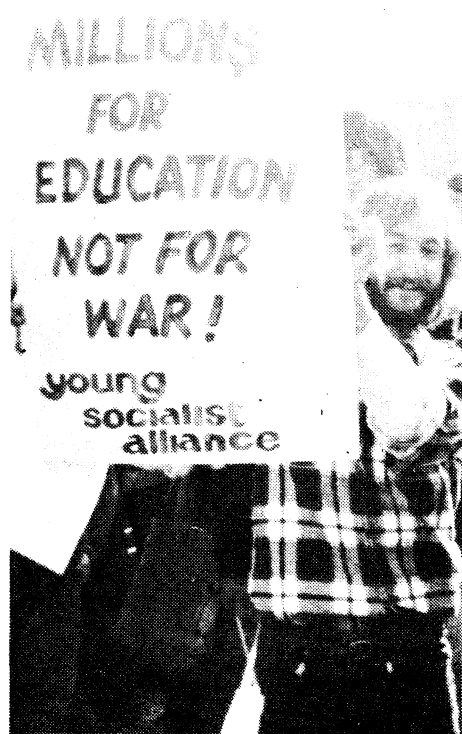
chief economic advisor to Gerald Ford, says.

Carter himself describes his \$500 billion budget as "lean and tight." He points out that the projected increase in spending over this year is only 2 percent in real terms and that the budget's share of the country's gross national product will actually drop, from 22.6 percent to 22 percent.

The logic behind these figures was spelled out by Carter in his State of the Union message to Congress on January 19: "Government cannot solve our problems. It can't set our goals. ... Government cannot eliminate poverty or provide a bountiful economy or reduce inflation, or save our cities, or cure illiteracy, or provide energy. And government cannot mandate goodness."

One would almost think that Herbert Hoover had come back from the grave and spoken these words.

Indeed, a theme running through Carter's budget message was that it is



the profit drive of the corporations that must be relied upon to solve America's social ills—that is, the very cause of those ills.

Thus, in the face of 10 million unemployed, Carter proposes no increase whatsoever in the 725,000 public-service jobs provided in this year's budget, and plans to "phase down" the number in subsequent years.

In the face of an official unemployment rate for Black teenagers of nearly 40 percent, a token 50,000 jobs "for the unemployed youth who most need help" are to be created next year through legislation passed by Congress in 1977.

Carter's "major new initiative" on jobs is his request for \$400 million to encourage private businesses, presumably through special tax breaks, to hire "the disadvantaged."

But even the relatively meager sums Carter has budgeted for dealing with massive U.S. unemployment may not

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