

THE MILITANT

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

Stop Carter's drive to bust coal strike!

All-out solidarity with miners needed

The following statement was released February 15 by Pat Wright and John Gaige, Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor of Ohio.

In recent days the energy corporations and their political servants—from Ohio Governor Rhodes up to President Carter—have sharply escalated their strikebreaking offensive against the United Mine Workers of America.

Yesterday Carter openly threatened to order the miners back to work without a contract, and hinted at the use of federal troops against the strikers.

The call-up of the National Guard to move nonunion coal in Indiana—where a union activist was shot to death by a scab less than two weeks ago—signals the readiness of the capitalists to use violence to crush the miners.

For the first time in decades, the bosses and their government have set out to destroy the power of an established industrial union. The mine strike has become a national test of strength between the working class and the giant corporations that rule this country.

A massive, united show of solidarity with our brothers and sisters in the UMW is needed to defeat this union-busting assault!



Kentucky state cops harass strikers

Carter poses as "impartial" and pretends to stand above the conflict. "The welfare of this country must be my overriding concern," he says. This is a cynical lie.

It is the profit-hungry energy companies, not the miners, who are trampling on the public welfare.

Corporate executives, backed by a chorus of Democratic and Republican politicians, are trying to blame the coal strikers for layoffs, threatened blackouts, and energy price increases. We are supposed to hold the coal miners responsible for everything from cold weather to street crime.

Yet there is evidence that Ohio utilities have access to low-cost electricity, which they are refusing to tap! [See story on page 4.] Just as the utilities let us freeze last winter in their

drive for higher natural gas prices, this winter they have contrived another "energy crisis" as a weapon against the coal strikers.

The power companies don't care if hundreds of thousands of workers are laid off.

They don't care if poor and elderly people freeze to death, unable to pay exorbitant heating bills.

They don't care if millions are poisoned by cancer-causing pollution from their plants.

They care for only one thing—profit.

And they have declared war on the United Mine Workers because the union stands in the way of their corporate greed.

The utilities themselves are among the biggest owners of coal mines. Along with the steel companies, oil companies, and other coal

Continued on page 4



PAT WRIGHT

Militant/Lou Howort

The 'Militant' tells miners' side of story Help us get out the truth

Big-business newspapers are churning out lies to poison American working people against the coal miners' strike.

The miners' side of the story must be told—why theirs is a life-and-death struggle for basic human rights, a struggle in the vital interests of all working people.

To help get out the truth, this week's 'Militant' reprints and explains the contract the bosses tried to impose on the miners. We carry reports from the coalfields, as well as an analysis of the government's moves to break the strike.

We are launching a special effort to sell as many copies of the 'Militant' as possible. We urge our readers to join us in taking the 'Militant' to the coalfields . . . to the steel and auto plants . . . to the campuses . . . to the Black, Chicano,

and Puerto Rican communities. . . .

You can help in this solidarity effort by ordering a bundle of 'Militants' today, and by sending a contribution to help finance this campaign.

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INSIDE: FULL COAL CONTRACT SUMMARY

—PAGES 15-18

Why the miners turned it down

—PAGES 4-7

Who needs a Bill of Rights for spies?

On February 9 the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence issued its "solution" for legitimizing the crimes of Washington's political police. It proposed a bill that will allegedly regulate the CIA, FBI, National Security Agency, and Defense Department intelligence.

Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), head of the intelligence committee, bragged that the proposal is "the most significant protection of American liberty since the Bill of Rights itself." Actually, under the pretext of preventing government crimes that have enraged the American people, the legislation would legalize them.

For example, the bill does not forbid Cointelpro-style disruption plans targeting unions, Black groups, antiwar activists, the women's liberation movement, and socialists. Instead, it sets up an apparatus for the attorney general to give agents the go-ahead to break laws.

The bill provides new ways for the CIA and FBI to get search warrants to cover their break-ins. Those warrants can be issued for "multiple searches." And the break-ins no longer even have to be justified as "extraordinary" tactics for emergency situations.

The CIA will still be able to use journalists and missionaries as agents, says the new bill, as long as they are unpaid.

Supposedly the bill forbids spy activity that might result in assassination, terrorism, torture, epidemics, food and water shortages, or "the overthrow of democratic governments."

However, said a committee spokesperson, the bill does not prohibit the overthrow of any government Washington labels undemocratic.

But who is to know whether even these "restrictions" are enforced?

The legislation even includes a grotesque new attack on the American people's right to know the truth. It prescribes penalties of \$50,000 and five years imprisonment for people such as ex-CIA employee Philip Agee who decide to blow the whistle on government crimes.

A Bill of Rights? Only for spies.

The proposed bill is simply meant to legalize the crimes, reinforce the secrecy, and close the book on revelations that flowed from Watergate.

But one of the key lessons from those revelations was that working people cannot allow this government to keep any secrets.

Whether it's run by the Democrats or Republicans, this government exists only to preserve the monopoly of wealth for a small minority of capitalists against the working-class majority who produce that wealth. And to do that, it must use political police tactics against those who challenge its wealth and power.

That is why the phony restrictions in the proposed legislation offer no safeguard for working people. Demanding that *all* the government's files be opened is the only real protection for our hard-won rights.

Big brother Carter

In the course of Washington's attempt to smear the government of Vietnam with charges of espionage, President Carter authorized television surveillance of Ronald Humphrey without a court warrant. The government charges that Humphrey, an American citizen, was involved in the alleged spy ring.

Carter deliberately put himself above the Bill of Rights' protection from unwarranted search. Administration officials considered the Vietnam case "an ideal vehicle for reasserting executive power on several counts," according to the *New York Times*.

The Democrat who campaigned on a platform of open government resorted to the same methods that his predecessors used against anti-Vietnam War protesters and other political dissenters.

The Justice Department explained, "Every President since Franklin Delano Roosevelt has asserted the power. . . ." And just like every president since Roosevelt, Carter defended the illegal electronic surveillance in the name of "national security."

A bitter irony is that administration officials also sought to justify this assault on the Bill of Rights by referring to Carter's oath to "protect and defend the Constitution."

Be in Nashville

Opponents of U.S. complicity with apartheid are organizing to demand cancellation of the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup tennis competition scheduled for March 17-19 in Nashville. (See facing page.)

The decision by the United States Tennis Association to go ahead with the match, and by Vanderbilt University to host it, is consistent with official U.S. government policy. The Carter White House has torpedoed any effective international sanctions against its South African ally.

Vanderbilt officials have turned all logic on its head in their determination to defend their complicity with South Africa. University President Emmett Fields claims that by not canceling the match, he is maintaining Vanderbilt as an "open forum." Fields even compares the anti-apartheid protesters to racists who opposed a campus appearance by Black leader Stokeley Carmichael in the 1960s.

But the issue here is not free speech. Opponents of the racist South African regime welcome the opportunity to debate and expose its supporters—at Vanderbilt or anywhere else.

The real issue is Vanderbilt's complicity with the denial of any rights whatsoever to Black South Africans.

The issue is complicity with a regime that arrests, tortures, and murders Blacks who attempt to exert their rights.

The brutal racist attack on U.S. anti-apartheid leader Richard Lapchick—who had just visited Nashville to urge Vanderbilt to cancel the match—shows where the real threat to an "open forum" exists in this country.

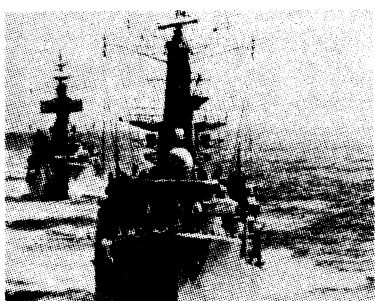
South Africa is now trying to forestall protests against its policies by placing the first nonwhite ever on the junior string of its Davis Cup team.

The *Militant* agrees with NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks, who called this move, "tokenism, too little, too late." Hooks said the NAACP still plans to be in Nashville March 18-19 to protest the Davis Cup match.

We urge our readers to be there too.

Militant Highlights This Week

- 4 Ohio's energy scare
- 8 Héctor Marroquín case
- 9 Cutbacks in New York City
- 10 Coalitions plan anti-'Bakke' actions
- 12 Jack Wirth: Teamster organizer
- 13 Steel Notes
- 14 An Injury To One
- 24 In Review
- 27 Women in Revolt
Capitalism Fouls Things Up
National Picket Line
- 28 In Brief
What's Going On
- 29 The Great Society
By Any Means Necessary
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage
Letters
- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 19 Australian Trotskyists unite
- 20 Japanese trade concessions
- 22 Upsurge in Tunisia



Mass action & political action

A new book correctly explains that mass strikes and demonstrations, not reliance on Democrats and Republicans, are the winning road for the oppressed. But what about independent labor and Black political action? **Page 24.**



Do they really? No

Despite claims by labor misleaders, recent trade concessions wrung from Japan by Washington will not benefit U.S. workers. In fact, the anti-import drive threatens to send all workers' living standards tumbling down. **Page 20.**

U.S. gunboats off Africa's Horn

Washington is using the pretext of Cuban and Soviet aid to the Ethiopian regime to strengthen its military presence off the Horn of Africa. **Page 7.**



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Cancel the Davis Cup!

Protests score upcoming US-South Africa tennis match at Vanderbilt U. in Nashville

By Jerry Hornsby

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Supporters of the South African freedom struggle are planning protests here March 17-19 against the Davis Cup tennis matches between the United States and South Africa and against the refusal of Vanderbilt University to cancel its offer to host the event.

NAACP National Executive Director Benjamin Hooks recently announced that he is urging the group's 1,700 branches to send representatives to Nashville March 18.

ACCESS [American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society] is also throwing its weight behind the protests. ACCESS National

Chairperson Dr. Richard Lapchick, in town February 10-13 to help mobilize opposition to the matches, reported that the Organization of African Unity's sports arm has decided to boycott team sports with the United States if the matches are held. This could include a boycott of the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles.

In addition, Leslie Harriman, chairperson of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, has called on the United States Tennis Association (USTA) to cancel the matches.

And Dennis Brutus, an exiled South African poet and president of the South Africa Non-Racial Olympic Committee, has announced that if the matches are not canceled, his group will also demonstrate in Nashville.

Locally two delegations of Black leaders have met with Vanderbilt University officials to press for cancellation of the matches. One was led by the NAACP and Urban League chapters here; the other consisted of Lapchick and nine Black community representatives.

Fisk University President Walter Leonard, in a statement to a student convocation February 9, deplored the USTA's "sanction, aid, and comfort" to South Africa and blasted Vanderbilt officials for hosting the matches.

Other figures who have spoken out against the matches here are Rabbi Randall Falk; Fred Cloud, director of Metro Nashville Human Relations Commission; and *Roots* author Alex Haley, who said at a news conference here that Vanderbilt's sponsorship of the matches could make "not just the university, but the entire city of Nashville, the lightning rod for a great deal of bitterness about South Africa in this country."

Under pressure of the mounting outcry against the matches, Nashville's NLT corporation, a major holding company, announced February 13 that it is withdrawing as financial underwriter of the Davis Cup event. The cost of the event will reportedly be \$88,000.

Despite this mushrooming opposition, Vanderbilt officials have stood pat. According to University Chancellor Alexander Heard and President Emmett Fields, cancellation of the matches would violate VU's "long established" policy of open forum.

But apartheid foes here are not buying VU's moral posturing. Lapchick called the open forum argument a bogus issue.

South Africa is unique among the community of nations, he said. It is the only country where domination of non-whites by whites is "constitutionally enshrined" as official government policy.



Vanderbilt divinity students are spearheading campus protests against S. African tennis match.

On February 14, Vanderbilt students, organized by activists in the Divinity School, began what is planned as a daily picket line outside administration offices. Students are also planning a demonstration March 7 when the VU Board of Trustees next meets.

On the city's predominantly Black campuses of Tennessee State University, Fisk University, and Meharry Medical College, protests are also being organized. Students at Tennessee State and Fisk are tentatively planning a march from their campuses to Vanderbilt to protest the matches. In addition, student activists are discussing a city-wide boycott of classes March 17.

The Tennessee Coalition Against Apartheid (TCAA)—a new organization here with active support from local campus and community groups—is helping organize protests against the matches and leading a campaign to force VU to divest itself of stocks in companies with dealings in South Africa.

Student supporters of TCAA at Vanderbilt have compiled a list of VU investments that shows that VU had

investments of \$26 million in thirty-one corporations doing business in South Africa, with a rate of return of 5.4 percent. VU's other investments brought a rate of 2.9 percent.

"It is perfectly clear," the VU student newspaper recently reported, "that Vanderbilt has made an extremely lucrative investment in racism."

In a move clearly aimed at pacifying opposition to the matches, the South African team named Vanderbilt sophomore Peter Lamb—a South African of mixed race, who is a standout performer on VU's tennis team—to its Davis Cup squad. Lamb is the first nonwhite ever to be on the team. As a junior team member, Lamb will almost certainly not get to play in competition.

Benjamin Hooks called the South African move "tokenism, too little, and too late. . . . The fact that [Lamb] is a Vanderbilt student makes the move all the more suspect.

"As far as the NAACP is concerned," Hooks said, "the demonstrations in Nashville will still be held until and unless we obtain a satisfactory resolution of the problems."

Racist thugs brutalize antiapartheid leader

By Omari Musa

February 15—U.S. antiapartheid leader Richard Lapchick was brutally assaulted yesterday in his office at Virginia Wesleyan College.

Shouting "nigger lover," the two masked attackers clubbed Lapchick with a piece of wood and a file cabinet drawer. After beating him unconscious, they used a sharp instrument to carve the word "nigger" across his stomach.

"You have no business being involved in South Africa's business," Lapchick's assailants told him.

Lapchick had just returned from Nashville, where he urged the Vanderbilt University administration to refuse campus facilities for the Davis Cup tennis match.

As the *Militant* goes to press, Lapchick was undergoing observation for internal injuries at Bayside Hospital in Virginia Beach.

National Student Coalition Against Racism Coordinator James Harris told the *Militant*, "The support Washington gives the South African regime creates the atmosphere for racists here to assault opponents of apartheid. We demand that Virginia authorities immediately arrest and prosecute those responsible for this heinous crime.

"And we urge antiapartheid activists to respond to this attack by working to make the Nashville Davis Cup protests a big success."

Special offer to new readers

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The *Militant* provides weekly news and analysis of important developments in the national liberation struggles in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia, as well as timely coverage of the fight here to end U.S. government and business support to southern Africa's racist regimes. Don't miss an issue.



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...socialists urge solidarity with miners

Continued from front page

operators, they are determined to run the mines at the lowest cost and the highest productivity—with no regard for the health and safety of the miners.

The companies provoked the strike last December in hopes of crippling the UMWA.

The companies prolonged the strike by refusing to negotiate the just demands of the miners.

Now the companies hope—by creating a panic atmosphere—to enlist public support for their efforts to force miners back to work. The auto, steel, and other corporations are doing their part by threatening to lock out their employees if the coal strike continues.

Especially cynical are the media efforts to turn Black people against the coal strikers by exploiting the plight of Blacks affected by power cutbacks. Since when did these giant corporations shed a tear for the lack of jobs or heat in the Black community?

No, the interests of Blacks—like all other working people—lie in defending the miners and building a strong, democratic labor movement that can protect our rights and living standards.

Right to strike

The anti-UMWA propaganda has reached fever pitch ever since the union bargaining council voted down a settlement dictated by the coal industry and accepted by UMWA President Arnold Miller.

The ranks of the union rebelled against this proposal not because they are greedy, or strike-happy, or violent, as the media falsely portray them.

They rejected the contract because they know that 125 miners were killed on the job last year alone, while another 4,000 died of black lung disease.

They rejected it because they know that the coal operators violate mine safety laws with impunity and stall miners' grievances in a rigged arbitration procedure.

They rejected it because they know that only with the *right to strike* can they enforce safe working conditions.

The proposed contract would have slashed medical benefits, eliminated cost-of-living protection, stripped union safety committees of their power, and

allowed the companies to institute speedup "incentive pay" plans and seven-day workweeks.

But above all, the ranks of the UMWA could not accept the contract's vindictive penalties—including fines and discharge—for miners who strike to uphold their rights.

The role of the Labor Department mediators in shaping this contract—and the Carter administration's latest moves to impose it on the miners—are a threat to the entire labor movement. This is the program Washington is eager to force on all workers: no strikes, no safety, no health care, no democracy, and no mercy for union militants.

Labor solidarity

The bosses, news media, and capitalist party politicians are united *against* the miners. The labor movement must be united *for* them.

Fighting virtually alone, the miners have shown inspiring strength. But to win against this antiunion conspiracy, their strength must be backed up by labor's organized power.

There should be an outpouring of resolutions and messages from local and international unions, financial contributions, public meetings to expose the "energy crisis," rallies, marches, and other demonstrations of mass labor support. Students can play a valuable role by inviting miners to speak on campus, providing a forum to get out the truth about the strike.

Earlier the mine owners publicly fretted that the strike might become a social cause. It is a cause—the cause of workers everywhere.

A victory for the miners will inspire working people throughout the country, setting an example of how to fight and win.

Labor party

Workers will also remember that not one Democratic or Republican politician, not a single voice in Congress, not a mayor or governor, has stood up for the miners. The politicians elected with union support—including the support of the UMWA officialdom—have shown where their true allegiance lies. The Democrats and Republicans alike are in the pockets of the energy profiteers.



Bosses don't care how many miners are killed on the job. They care for only one thing—profit.

Working people need our own party, a labor party based on a militant and democratic union movement.

In this crucial strike battle, a labor party would expose and fight all moves to use injunctions, cops, or the National Guard against the miners.

It would unite workers in mass actions to back the courageous coal strikers.

It would lead a fight to open the books and records of the energy companies, bring to light their real profits, and reveal the conspiracy of the coal, oil, steel, and electric companies to extort price increases and bust the unions.

That's what the Socialist Workers Party stands for. We and other SWP candidates across the country will be campaigning in defense of the miners.

Our campaign newspaper, the *Militant*, tells the truth about what the miners are fighting for.

Socialist activists in the unions and on the campuses are helping to organize the broadest possible solidarity with their cause.

We urge all unionists, students, Black and women activists—everyone who supports the right of the coal miners to a safe job and a decent livelihood—to join in this battle.

Ohio energy scare: strikebreaking hoax

By Kathleen Fitzgerald

CLEVELAND—On February 12, Ohio was declared to be in an "energy emergency" by President Carter, in the latest step of a carefully thought-out scare campaign by the coal operators, utility companies, and their friends in government.

The aim of this campaign is simple—to break the strike of the United Mine Workers of America through an "energy crisis" orchestrated to turn public opinion against the miners.

Every day the headlines of newspapers across Ohio shout dire predictions of what will happen if the coal strike continues.

"Coal crisis goes crunch—power cuts, layoffs soon," warns the February 12 *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. "Coal crisis worsens—rotating blackouts possible," screams the February 13 *Cleveland Press*.

Gov. James Rhodes said on February 13 that upwards of 750,000 workers in Ohio alone could be laid off immediately due to dwindling coal supplies. He demanded that Carter use the Taft-Hartley Act to force miners back to work and asked for federal force to move scab coal.

To make the "crisis" sound real to Ohio residents, several steps to supposedly conserve energy have already been taken. These range from closing

the state liquor stores in Cleveland at dusk to forcing workers in state offices in Cincinnati to work in the dark, without use of electricity to make coffee or play radios.

While these gestures won't save much energy, they help deliver the message of the coal operators and utility companies to Ohio's workers: any inconvenience suffered, heat and light cut, or jobs lost should be blamed on the striking mine workers.

A closer look at the situation reveals a real conspiracy, but it is not the mine workers who are guilty. Rather, it is a gigantic hoax by the coal and utility owners to protect their profits.

One of the perpetrators of this hoax is the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company (CEI). CEI predicts that within forty-five days it will be forced to curtail industrial consumption, causing massive layoffs. "Rolling blackouts" in which power will be eliminated in alternating areas of the city for several hours at a time will take place.

CEI further claims the strike has forced it to use more expensive oil rather than coal, so it is raising consumer prices by 10 percent.

CEI hailed President Carter's order to lift the pollution controls on high-sulfur coal, which burns longer and so

is an "energy saver." But when questioned by reporters, CEI spokesperson Pam Hollister admitted that CEI's major source of power is *already* high-sulfur coal, since an agreement with the city government allows the use of high-sulfur coal until 1979 or 1980. When pressed by the reporters, Hollister conceded that prices probably would have been raised anyway.

According to CEI and the other utilities, their only choices are dwindling coal supplies or expensive oil. But this is an outright lie.

Located in adjacent New York State is the Niagara Power Hydroelectric Plant, which is operating at only 70 percent capacity and is required by federal law to provide a "reasonable amount of cheap power to neighboring states."

CEI is hardly unaware of this alternative power source. In fact, CEI has refused to honor an agreement to transport Niagara power to Muny Light, a city-owned company.

Nor is CEI the "public service" outfit it pretends to be, a helpless neutral in the coal strike.

C.E. Spahr, who is on the CEI board of directors, is also the chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Standard Oil of Ohio. Standard just happens to own the Old Ben Mine, one

of the largest coal producers in the country.

Spahr is also on the board of directors of the Republic Steel Corporation, along with H.J. Bolwell, another CEI director. Republic Steel owns coal mines in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky.

There are growing indications that the response of Ohio working people is not what the coal bosses hoped for. A small article on the back of the February 14 *Plain Dealer*, titled "Ohioans unsure of energy crisis severity," quoted a Mrs. Charles Simmons as saying, "I think it's just a big farce for people to make money by raising rates."

Unionists across the state are organizing support for their brothers and sisters in the UMWA. For example, the United Auto Workers local in Lorain voted at its last meeting to raise as much money as possible to aid the strike.

Militant correspondents across the state report that the scare campaign and the situation of the miners has become a major topic of discussion in the plants and mills.

This growing sentiment was summed up by a member of UAW Local 451 in Cleveland, who said, "The real problem is with the coal operators; the miners are fighting for all of us."

Carter vs. miners: strike at turning point

By Andy Rose

Feb. 15—The events of the past week mark a turning point in what has become the longest national coal strike in U.S. history:

- The ranks of the United Mine Workers refused to have a company-dictated contract rammed down their throats. The power of the membership upsurge quickly prompted the UMW Bargaining Council to vote down the proposed settlement.

- The energy corporations and state government officials stepped up their campaign to incite public opinion against the miners by threatening blackouts, mass layoffs, and price increases.

- Now, behind a smokescreen of concern over "hardships" caused by the strike, the Carter administration is moving to help the coal operators break the strike.

Carter's direct intervention poses the gravest danger yet to the miners' long struggle for justice.

The strike "cannot be allowed to continue," Carter declared February 14. He threatened to order the miners back to work with a Taft-Hartley injunction and warned he was readying federal force for "protection of life and property."



CARTER: Strike 'cannot be allowed to continue.'

The same day, Indiana Gov. Otis Bowen called out the National Guard to "protect" scab coal shipments. He warned strikers they would interfere "at their peril."

But the real violence in the strike has come from cops and scabs, who have killed two striking miners already. The government's belligerent declarations that it will move non-union coal, coupled with "predictions" of violence, are clearly a provocation—an excuse for a show of force.

So far the administration has held back from issuing a Taft-Hartley injunction only out of fear that the miners would not bow to federal orders. "The major problem with Taft Hartley is that nobody will obey it," a Labor Department official told the *Wall Street Journal*.

The thought cannot be far from Carter's mind that if coal miners successfully defy a back-to-work order, millions of other workers will be inspired to struggle against the web of injunctions, court orders, and no-strike deals that is strangling the labor movement.

By calling for renewed bargaining at the White House, Carter evidently plans to exert maximum pressure on the UMW Bargaining Council to accept some version of the contract already rejected. Meanwhile the anti-strike propaganda blitz is intended to isolate the miners and pave the way for whatever action government officials think they can get away with.

Another option reportedly under consideration by the coal operators is to try to push through their settlement on a district-by-district or company-by-company basis. The bosses' aim would be to bust up the miners' solidarity, force a few weaker locals to settle for their miserable proposal, and then beat the drums for a "back to work" movement.

At every point in this fight, however, the coal operators have consistently underestimated the determination of the miners to defend their living standards and union rights.

The bosses figured that after a few weeks on the picket lines with no strike benefits and no medical coverage, and with pensions cut off for retirees, coal miners would bow to their demands for "discipline" and "stability." Thus the heart of their contract proposal, which was accepted by UMW President Arnold Miller on February 6, was harsh penalties for unauthorized strikes. (See contract summary and analysis, pages 15-18.)

But as word of the contract terms leaked out, miners across the country



Miners demonstrate at UMW headquarters against bosses' contract proposal.

were outraged. Meetings of local union officials in district after district repudiated the settlement.

Hundreds of miners boarded buses to Washington to demonstrate February 10 at the national UMW headquarters, where the union bargaining council was to vote on the agreement.

One council member said they had received a stack of telegrams "twelve feet high" opposing the deal.

The council got the message. On February 12 it officially voted to reject the settlement. The only votes in favor came from Miller, Vice-president Sam Church, Secretary-treasurer Bill Esseltine, and three negotiators—William Killion, Walter Suba, and Louis Antal.

Miller claims that 90 percent of the union membership would accept the contract and that the only opposition comes from factionalists "who have never accepted the verdict" of last year's union election.

These assertions show just how far out of touch Miller has become with the sentiment of the UMW ranks.

Meetings of rank-and-file miners throughout the coalfields have discussed and overwhelmingly repudiated the contract. They are searching for ways to make the strike more effective and win their demands.

Thousands of miners have signed petitions to recall Miller and hold a new election for UMW president, because they believe he is unable or unwilling to fight for their demands.

The rank-and-file upsurge shows the real strength of the union. But Miller has allowed himself to become cut off from that strength.

Thus, negotiations have been conducted in secret, without the members being involved or even informed. An aroused membership—up to date on and continually discussing the progress of the talks—could greatly strengthen the hand of their negotiating team.

There is widespread sympathy for the miners' cause among other working people. This support, if rallied in a campaign to expose the union-busting plans of the coal companies and the Carter administration, could be a powerful weapon in defense of the union.

So far, top officials of other unions have done next to nothing to support the UMW. The solidarity actions that have taken place on local initiative give but a hint of the immense potential strength of united labor support for the miners.

Now the big-business press is complaining about "mob rule" and "anarchy" in the UMW. The real meaning of the rank-and-file upsurge in the coalfields was more accurately explained by a former UMW staffer.

"What they want is more control over their lives," he said. "It is as though no one is even listening to them."

These men and women who are standing up to Carter and the coal bosses are the strength of the union.

Mobilized and organized, they can make themselves heard.

And they—together with their potential allies—can defend their union and turn back the coal operators' offensive.

Union democracy: Miners' powerful weapon

By Cindy Jacquith

"Democracy will destroy unionism. . . . None of the major unions that are well run have any democracy."

No coal miner would have to think twice to know these words must have come out of the mouth of a coal boss. In this case, they came from the mouth of Charles Jones, vice-president of the Amherst Coal Company in West Virginia.

Out to ram through a contract that would "teach a lesson" to the miners and all workers, the coal operators and the government have run straight into a big obstacle—the right of the United Mine Workers members to vote on their contract and their determination to exercise that right to protect their own lives and standard of living.

The first time miners ever voted on their contract was in 1974. They won

the right to do so through the upsurge in the coalfields in the late 1960s, when thousands of miners mobilized to take their union back from the bureaucratic dictatorship of Tony Boyle. Membership ratification of contracts—along with a host of other demands aimed at restoring rank-and-file control of the UMW—were central to the Miners for Democracy movement whose candidates took office in 1972.

Today, despite the default of the Miller leadership, the gains of the MFD movement are proving to be powerful weapons in the hands of the membership.

The coal operators want to force through a contract that would put the union in a straightjacket—no right to strike, no cost-of-living clause, slashed health benefits. They have been able to pressure UMW President Arnold Miller into accept-

ing these terms and even campaigning for them.

In other industries, such as steel or rail, such a contract could be far more easily imposed. The membership of the unions in these industries have no right to vote.

But in the UMW, once a contract is accepted by the union bargaining council, it must be printed and distributed to every union member. Each local meets and discusses the terms, and then—after forty-eight hours for miners to think it over—the vote takes place.

In the case of the settlement proposed this time, rank-and-file opposition was so powerful that the bargaining council rejected the contract almost immediately. "People in my district would hang me if I ever ratified something like that," one council member told the *Wall Street Journal*.

Miners' anger at the proposed settlement reflects their confidence that the union is strong enough to do far better, that it should be on the offensive not the defensive, and that the rank and file should have the final say in determining the outcome of this battle.

Fear of that militancy has thus far prevented Jimmy Carter from overriding the miners' democratic right to vote with a Taft-Hartley injunction to force them back to work.

The dilemma of Carter and the coal bosses points to why they are so desperate to destroy this example of democracy set by the UMW. Yes, democracy "destroys unionism"—the kind of procompany, keep-the-workers-in-line unionism they prefer.

But democracy is a prerequisite for building an effective, powerful union—the kind the miners are fighting for.

Miners united, determined to win

West Virginia: 'Taft-Hartley won't mine coal'

By Tom O'Hara

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Well before the United Mine Workers Bargaining Council voted to reject the first contract offer from the coal companies, striking miners in West Virginia and Pennsylvania were blasting the hard line taken by the coal operators.

When asked about the overall proposal, Adam Novak of Local 6159 quipped, "What contract?"

Miners interviewed by the *Militant* in West Virginia and Pennsylvania were especially angry at provisions to penalize wildcat strikers twenty dollars a day, to take away their health benefits after ten days of any "unauthorized work stoppage," and to force miners to cross picket lines.

The following are some of their responses:

"The companies are just trying to bring violence. You never know what will happen to someone who crosses a picket line. It will never go. The miners will never stand for it," said Rick Parson, Local 4285.

"That's the worst part of the contract—penalizing strikers," said Dan Kelley, Local 6290.

"Even if it had restored health benefits, more sick leave, a better vacation, and the pay increase they're talking about, I'd vote against it if there's no right to strike in it," said Terry Weir, Local 8871. "If they don't give us the right to strike, they aren't giving us anything."

Not a single miner interviewed by the *Militant* swallowed the provision thrown in that companies found to have caused the strike would be penalized.

"In the past, arbitration has been a joke," said Ben Harris, Local 4346.

"Ninety-nine percent of the time, the decision goes to the company," added Weir.

"To begin with, no arbitrator has been down there—underground I mean. What do they know? As for that business about companies being at fault—they'll just pay off the arbitrator, and that's it," said Bob Morris, Local 2874.

Full restoration of health benefits is high on the list of miners' needs.

"They'll have to restore our health benefits with full coverage—like they were before. God damn it, we earn it!" said John Kingan, Local 688.

"They're trying to take away our sick days. They didn't restore our health card back the way it was. But that's OK. We'll get it back in a month or so," predicted Novak.

What do miners think of Jimmy Carter's threat to move scab coal under National Guard or state police escort?

"Try it, and it'll be like civil war," warned Jim Sweeney, Local 6199.

"Some of those National Guardsmen are us," said Bob Morris.

Why has Carter been reluctant to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act to force the UMWA back to work?

The reaction of some miners to this question provides part of the answer.

"They can't arrest all of us," said Sweeney.

"I don't plan to leave my trailer, but even if they do pull a Taft-Hartley on us, they ain't going to get any coal out of those mines," vowed Weir.

All of the miners interviewed felt confident in their strength to win their demands.

"A couple of months back these companies were bragging about their stockpiles of coal, how long they would last. Well, they aren't bragging any

more. We've got 'em now," said Sweeney.

"We'd have to be crazy to go back now. We can wait," said Novak.

"If we settled now, we wouldn't get anything. If you ask me, it's the companies that are on strike. I can stay out another two months," said Weir.

"The companies and the media are out to break this strike. There were two things in that proposal: production and more production. Nothing about safety. Nothing for the miners," said Mike Giovanelli, Local 688.

"The companies took more off us than they gave us," Sweeney pointed out.

"I'd vote for the old contract before I'd vote for this thing. If we sign this, it would set us back thirty years," John Kingan added.

In an effort to strengthen the union's position, Terry Weir offered a closing suggestion:

"We should get more unions to come out for us, support us, like the rally here in Morgantown the other night. Then the government and state police would know that they have to look them in the eye too, not only the miners. All this other union backing is helping us a lot."

Penn.: 'We're not as stupid as some think'

By Nancy Cole

PITTSBURGH—It's hard to settle on what disturbs them most, but seemingly without exception, western Pennsylvania coal miners agree the now-rejected contract proposal "stinks."

"I can't understand how they [union negotiators] came up with it," puzzled Fred Uzelac, a miner in Apollo, Pennsylvania. "It sounds like they're trying to help the coal companies."

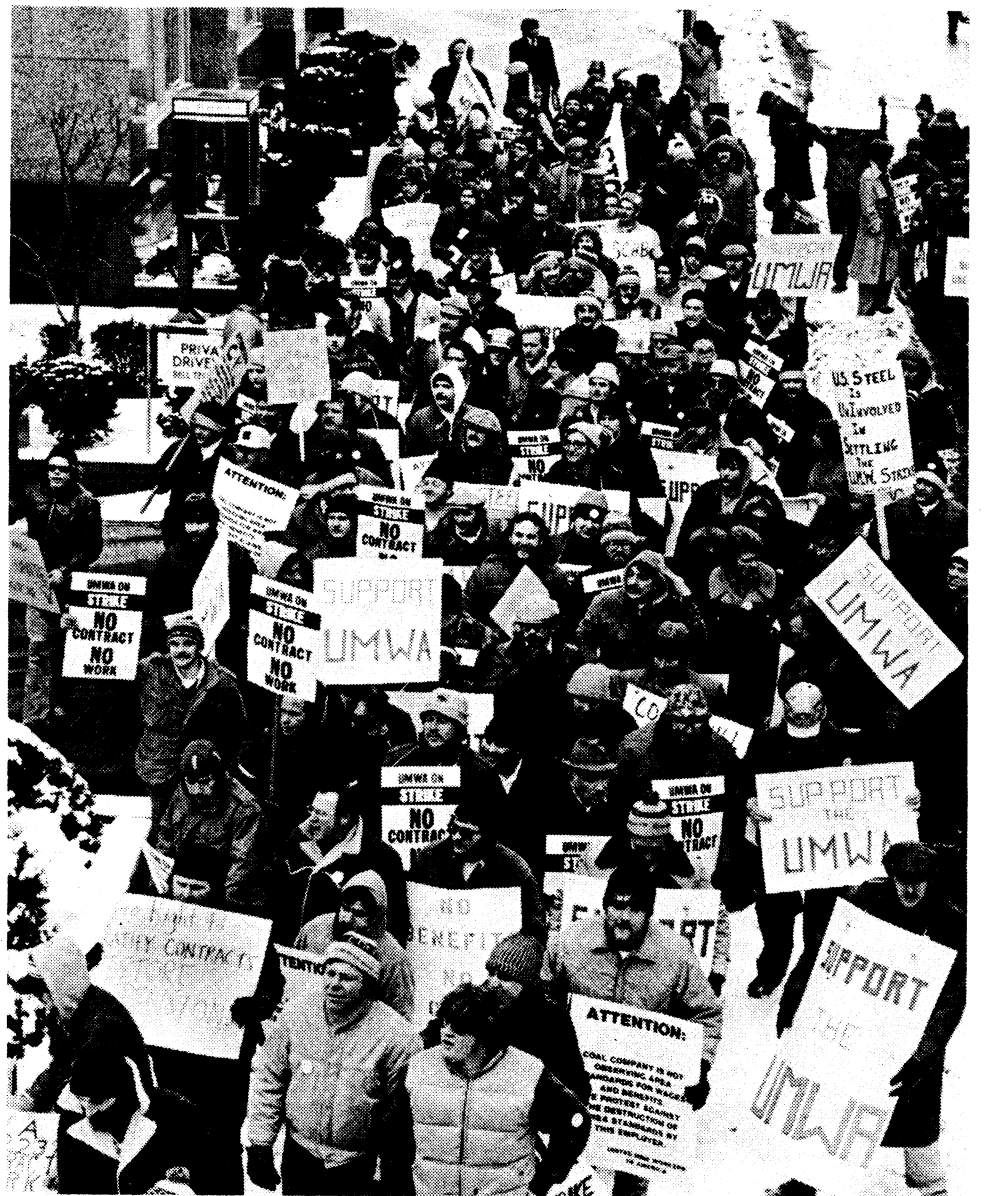
Nearly 200 local union officials in United Mine Workers District 5 met February 11 to discuss and reject the contract summary and to send two telegrams. One called on UMWA President Arnold Miller to resign. The other called on the union's international executive board to step in and negotiate a better contract.

Provisions on health benefits, safety, strike penalties, pensions, seven-day workweek, vacations—all were cited by miners in interviews with the *Militant* as reasons for opposition to the proposed agreement.

"I couldn't vote for that contract," Rosa Pitts told the *Militant*. Pitts got a job in the mines three years ago after the youngest of her nine children started school. "It's not fair for the pensioners who fought for this union and died for this union not to all get the same thing."



Militant/Nancy Cole
ROSA PITTS: 'Not fair for pensioners who fought and died for this union.'



Militant/Nancy Cole
Miners' solidarity and militancy was evident at February 6 strike rally in Pittsburgh

She continued, "In the last contract everything looked so nice. But arbitration doesn't work. You know who wins in arbitration? Not us. They have people making these decisions who've never been in a coal mine. He [the arbitrator] doesn't even know what a rib is—probably thinks it's something in his side."

Mike McKeta, Sr., a miner for forty-four years with two sons also in the mines, remarked, "Coal miners aren't as stupid as people think we are. We've got them over a barrel. We're willing to stay out for a decent contract."

The "barrel" is the power crunch caused by two and a half months of a coal strike. Here in western Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, the energy companies are trying to whip up a scare campaign to turn other working people against the miners.

Gov. Milton Shapp has—for the moment—refused to allow Duquesne Light Company to order mandatory electric curtailments. The Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission found that Duquesne's claims were lies and that only one of its plants is nearing a critical shortage of coal supplies.

"The public is not convinced that an energy emergency exists or that coal supplies are at the low levels the utilities say they are," explains PUC head Louis Carter.

Part of the public that isn't buying the scare story is Local 2321 of the International Association of Machinists in Pittsburgh. Threatened with "strike caused" layoffs, the local recently sent a \$200 contribution to the UMWA. A Committee to Support the Mine Workers set up by the local has printed a leaflet and plans to distribute it at plant gates. It is headlined, "Don't blame the miners. Why the UMW needs your support."

"If the miners are forced to accept cuts in health and safety, it will be the first step to cutting all workers' wages, benefits, and working conditions," the leaflet warns.

Illinois: 'We won't vote on this contract'

By Diane Groth

ST. LOUIS—Response to the proposed mine contract was swift and negative among Illinois miners, according to John Samuels, research director for United Mine Workers District 12, which represents sixty-four Illinois locals and 14,500 striking miners.

"The reaction we have received from miners and elected union officials is one of almost total dismay. It would appear that Illinois miners would vote against the contract if it came to a vote," Samuels told St. Louis reporters.

Fred Miller, president of Local 1148 in Freeburg, Illinois, said, "There is no way the contract will be acceptable here unless we receive the same or better wages as the western miners. I won't encourage my members to vote for it."

"I'm not going to vote for it unless we get 100 percent medical back," said Ralph Sonthard, president of Local 2295 at Monterey Coal Company in Clinton County. "My grandfather died of black lung before he could draw his pension, and my dad worked for nine years and eight months and was killed in the mine. I think the pensions should be equal."

"The mine companies have had increased profits over the last three years, and that should be reflected in the miners' pay," added striker Bruce Garazalia.

In a telegram to UMWA President Arnold Miller, Illinois union officials said, "This is to inform you that the rank-and-file miners in District 12 of UMWA who we represent as local union officials feel after reading the proposed agreement that you should resign immediately. We will not vote on this contract."

Calif. labor backs UMWA tour

As big business and government step up their attack on coal miners, several events are planned to mobilize labor support for the strike. The biggest upcoming event is a United Mine Workers tour of California. UMWA representatives Denny Estep, deputy director of organizing, and Paul Fortney, press secretary, will be speaking in cities along with two striking miners from Stearns, Kentucky.

- In **San Francisco** they will address a rally titled "From Harlan County to the national coal strike: We're still fighting for a contract." The rally is on February 24, 8 p.m., at Plumbers Hall, 1621 Market Street.

Joining the miners on the platform will be John Henning, president of the California AFL-CIO.

The Miners Strike Labor-Community Support Coalition is sponsoring the meeting, which has been endorsed by dozens of California labor officials. Donation is one dollar.

- In **Los Angeles** the miners will be joined by strike supporters in raising collections at plant gates and publicizing the issues in the strike on radio and television.

On February 22 an L.A. strike support rally will take place at United Auto Workers Local 216 headquarters, 2809 Tweedy Avenue, General Motors Southgate, at 7:30 p.m. Rally sponsors include Andy Anderson, president of United Steelworkers Local 1845; UAW Local 216; Bob Johnson, president of USWA Local 5504; Service Employees International Union Local 535; and Virgil Collins, UAW legislative representative.

- On February 25 the UMWA team will speak in **Pittsburgh, California**, site of the largest basic steel mill in northern California.

- The miners will appear in **Oakland** on February 26 for a 1 p.m. benefit showing of *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, to be held at the international Association of Machinists Hall, 8130 Baldwin. Donation is \$1.50.

Ky. miners protest



Miners demanded Kentucky governor halt use of cops against strikers.

By Ilene Carver

FRANKFORT, Ky.—"We are tired of oppressive conditions. Take the state police off our backs and let the laboring people take care of themselves." This was the message brought to Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll by seventy miners and their wives from Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, and Ohio on February 8.

Organized by the Cumberland, Kentucky, UMWA Women's Club, the group picketed the state capitol here and then met with Carroll to demand he stop the use of state police against the striking miners.

"We aren't satisfied with our meeting with the governor," stated one miner. "We were given the runaround. We had a talk, that's all. We United Mine Workers aren't going to take this lying down."

Alarmed by Somali struggle

U.S. threats in Horn of Africa

By Peter Seidman

Washington is stirring up a scare campaign around Cuban and Soviet support to the Ethiopian government as a pretext for strengthening U.S. military pressure off the Horn of Africa.

On February 8 the *Christian Science Monitor* reported that "two U.S. warships, the destroyer USS Davis and the frigate USS Truett, were dispatched to the Red Sea as a possible show of American force in the region."

Washington is trying to divert attention from its gunboat diplomacy by sounding the alarm over Cuban and Soviet forces.

By February 14 the *Christian Science Monitor* was reporting "estimates" that 1,200-1,500 Soviet and 3,500-4,000 Cuban troops are in Ethiopia. This was an increase in government-leaked troop estimates of more than 50 percent in less than one week.

And *Newsweek* correspondent Lloyd Norman in the February 13 issue quoted "intelligence sources" that insisted "two Soviet passenger ships were steaming for Havana, where they were expected to pick up 3,000 to 5,000 Cuban troops bound for the battleground on the Horn of Africa."

The national liberation struggle of the Somali people in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia is at the heart of the mounting tension in the area.

When the European powers carved out boundaries for their African colonies, the Somali peoples were divided up between areas that became parts of today's Kenya, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Somalia.

These boundaries were drawn without regard for the national rights of the native population. This was done purposely to create artificial divisions aimed at weakening national liberation struggles throughout Africa.

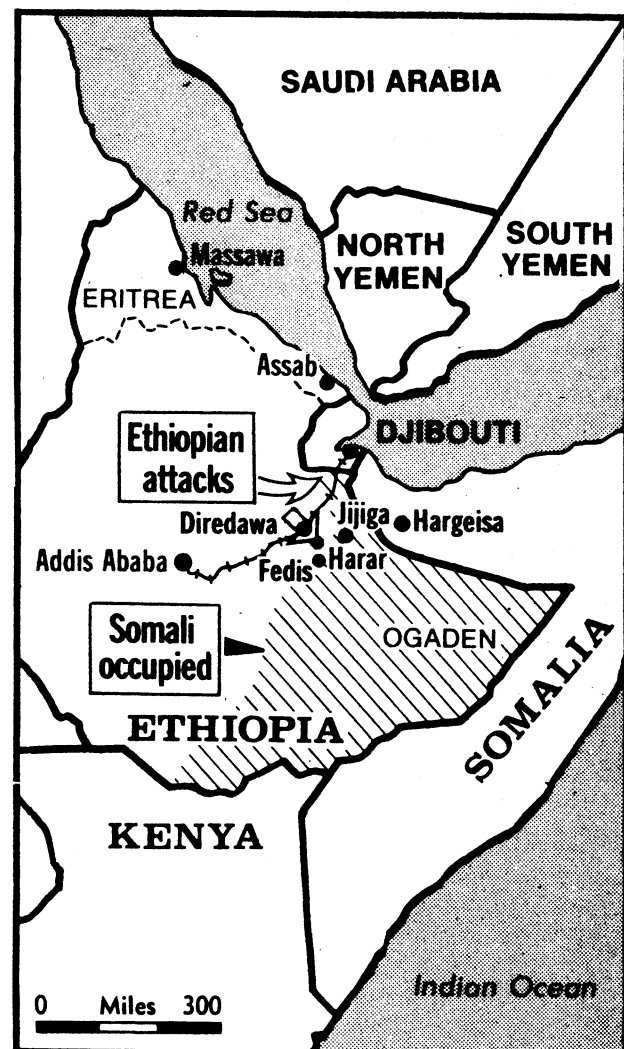
Last fall Somali liberation fighters in Ethiopia, aided by the Somalian government, pushed the Ethiopian army out of all the Ogaden region except the areas surrounding its two biggest cities, Harar and Direedawa.

With Soviet and Cuban help, however, Ethiopia's military regime has been able to launch a counteroffensive this year.

"The Ethiopian advance," according to a February 13 *New York Times* dispatch, "accomplished with superior air power and a heavy infusion of Soviet arms, is the most significant turn in the seven-month war since the Somalis moved into the Ethiopian highlands in September."

Ethiopian commanders concede that they have advisers, technicians, and medical personnel from the Soviet Union and Cuba but insist that these advisers "are not fighting in the war effort."

The support by the Soviet and Cuban governments to the Ethiopian dictatorship has strengthened



Christian Science Monitor

ened the capitalist regime's repressive hand against the oppressed Somali and Eritrean peoples, as well as against the people of Ethiopia itself.

But Washington's bluster against Soviet and Cuban intervention has nothing to do with any concern about the rights of the oppressed. As its financial and military backing to the racist regimes in southern African show, its sole purpose in meddling in African affairs is to weaken the freedom struggle against imperialist economic pillage.

Washington has no business using military blackmail to tell the sovereign governments of Ethiopia, the Soviet Union, and Cuba which agreements they may or may not make. U.S. intervention would in no way benefit the Somali or Eritrean liberation fighters.

Washington fears that a successful national liberation struggle in these areas could inspire other oppressed peoples in Africa to renew or intensify their struggles for national reunification and self-determination. This would threaten to shatter the whole framework of artificial boundaries that the imperialists use to weaken the African freedom struggle and keep the continent open to lucrative economic exploitation.

For this reason, Washington has so far taken a somewhat neutral stance toward the fighting in the Ogaden. This is true despite the fact that it fears what it considers a dangerous new Soviet foothold in Ethiopia; despite its distaste for the radical verbiage that the Ethiopian regime has been forced to adopt to contain mass student, working-class, and peasant struggles; and despite its desire to turn to its own advantage the recent falling out between the Somalian and Soviet governments.

Washington fears an Ethiopian defeat in the Ogaden, a possible byproduct of any increased backing for Somalia. As one U.S. "Africa expert" explained to *Time* February 6, such a defeat might "open a Pandora's box."

So, for the time being, Carter seems to be relying heavily on Moscow's willingness to betray the Somali liberation struggle, while not allowing the Ethiopian offensive to carry over into Somalia itself.

Such an "understanding between Moscow and Washington," diplomats in the Somalian capital of Mogadishu told the *New York Times* February 7, is the only explanation for U.S. agreement to restrain Iran, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Egypt from providing arms to the Moslem rulers in Somalia.

But Washington isn't fully confident of its ability to keep the African freedom struggle in check through deals with Moscow. Nor is it willing to offer the Kremlin very much in exchange for its services.

The dispatch of U.S. warships to the waters off the Horn should make that clear.

Terror campaign in Addis Ababa

The Ethiopian regime has assassinated about 700 people and imprisoned some 5,000 others since November, diplomatic sources in Addis Ababa told the Associated Press February 8. Ethiopian government officials acknowledged the current purge, claiming it was "justifiable terror" needed to suppress what the regime calls the "counterrevolutionary" Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP).

"The Government executions, which range from 5 to 20 a night, are still going on," *New York Times* correspondent John Darnton reported February 10. "Bodies of the victims are frequently displayed in public squares, sometimes with signs around their necks reading: 'The red terror must crush the white terror.'"

Such slogans are part of a murderous frame-up against the EPRP—a Maoist-influenced organization. The Ethiopian government hopes such terror will intimidate all opponents of its repressive policies.

By backing these revolutionary pretensions, the Kremlin provides valuable assistance to the butchers of Addis Ababa. This is not only a betrayal of the Ethiopian masses, it is also a big favor to Washington, which uses these Stalinist betrayals to discourage working people around the world from joining the struggle for socialism.

—P.S.

Will INS consider facts in Marroquin case?

By José G. Perez

Joe F. Staley, the government official who will rule on Héctor Marroquín's petition for political asylum, has told one of Marroquín's attorneys that he will decide the case without even considering voluminous documentary evidence.

Staley is district director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in San Antonio. According to attorney Margaret Winter, Staley told her over the phone February 10: "I'm going to be coming to a decision any day now, and I think you're going to be in a deportation hearing in a matter of weeks."

Winter explained that this meant Staley would deny the petition, since a deportation hearing would be scheduled only if Staley refuses asylum.

Winter said she told Staley she didn't understand how he could come to a decision so soon, since critical evidence had just been submitted and more was on the way.

According to Winter, Staley replied, "I don't need to look at it. I'm going to base my decision on the transcript of the preliminary examination," a brief interview held November 15, while Marroquín was in jail for "illegally" reentering this country after a brief visit to Mexico.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant* February 13, Staley denied making the statement. He said all evidence submitted prior to making a decision would be taken into account. He added that a decision could take up to two more months.

When asked about Staley's denial, Winter said, "It doesn't surprise me. I'm sure he wishes he'd never made such an astonishing admission to me."

"Even without Staley's latest slip about ignoring the evidence, Staley's shown he's made up his mind."

To prove her point, Winter pointed to a December 6, 1977, letter from Staley to the State Department. Apparently the letter was sent out under a section of immigration law that allows the INS to seek State Department "advice" in some circumstances.

According to Winter, Marroquín's supporters had repeatedly requested Staley to withhold any action pending submission of further evidence, which would take at least sixty days.



Students jailed in Mexico during government crackdown on protests in 1968. Despite evidence, Immigration and Naturalization Service summary of Héctor Marroquín's case for political asylum doesn't even mention repression in Mexico.

"We told Staley. We told his assistants. And we told his boss, INS Director Leonel Castillo. Nobody objected," Winter said.

"Yet as soon as the transcript of the preliminary hearing was drawn up, Staley sent off this letter to the State Department. He did so without telling us beforehand, and our requests for a copy of the letter were ignored until we received Marroquín's INS file February 3 through the Freedom of Information Act."

'The alien claims. . .'

Throughout the letter Staley treats the Mexican government's frame-up charges against Marroquín as facts.

On the other hand, Marroquín's statements are treated with undisguised disbelief. The phrase "the alien claims" appears repeatedly whenever Staley deals with a point in Marroquín's favor.

Sometimes Staley does change tone: "The alien admits membership . . . in an organization called 'Comite Estudiantel [sic] Revolucionario' (Student Revolutionary Committee) [emphasis added]."

And, "He admittedly has been a member of the Socialist Workers Party from August of 1976 to the present [emphasis added]."

Marroquín belonged to the CER for a few months in 1973 when it was being formed and was primarily a discussion circle.

Nevertheless, Staley writes that "should the alien have attempted entry [into the United States] under his true identity, he would have been temporarily excluded . . . due to his affiliation with the Student Revolutionary Committee."

Staley doesn't specify whether he would have then delivered Marroquín directly to the Mexican cops, or let these torturers catch him on their own. But Staley is clearly admitting that a person fleeing persecution for their political views would be turned back at the U.S. border due to those beliefs.

Staley's letter incorrectly reports that the "only contact" Marroquín knows about between his family and the Mexican cops is that his mother was questioned once "to ascertain the SUBJECT'S whereabouts."

But Marroquín testified at his preliminary hearing that his family had been questioned not once, but "several times." His house was put under surveillance "for a long time." and "a police informant in Mexico let my family know that if they saw me in Mexico I would be dead."

This is not the only factual misrepresentation in Staley's letter. Describing two of the crimes Marroquín is accused of, Staley emphasizes that they aren't "political offenses."

This implies that Marroquín claimed all charges against him are explicitly political crimes, such as violating a law that forbids criticism of the government.

But this isn't Marroquín's contention. He says the charges against him for murder, assault, armed robbery, etc., are all politically motivated frame-ups.

Staley even tries to discredit one set of facts that give incontrovertible proof the charges against Marroquín are false.

'Not substantiated'

The Mexican government has accused Marroquín of taking part in an August 30, 1974, armed robbery in Monterrey.

But at the time Marroquín had just been in a terrible car accident near Houston and was immobilized. He was

in a cast from hip to foot. Marroquín described to the INS many details, including the alias he was using at the time, Robert Zamora.

INS checked with the hospital that treated Marroquín, and the hospital confirmed Marroquín's account.

Here's how Staley tried to twist this confirmation: "The three hospitals in that locale have been able to establish that the *SUBJECT*, under his true name, was not treated. . . . One of the hospitals did acknowledge that an individual named Robert Zamora was admitted. . . . The alien claims to have used that alias at the time, but establishment as to the alien and Robert Zamora being one and the same person has not been substantiated [emphasis added]."

Staley's letter totally ignores central aspects of Marroquín's petition—his testimony about the persecution of dissidents in Mexico and his own political activities that made him a target of government repression.

Nor is there any indication that Staley consulted such authoritative sources as Amnesty International's reports on human rights violations in Mexico.

Staley does not even obliquely refer to the Mexican regime's use of torture against alleged guerrillas, the "disappearance" of political prisoners once they have been arrested, the astonishingly high number of activists murdered by cops in alleged gun battles, or the massacres of unarmed students.

When the *Militant* asked Staley about his letter to the State Department, he replied, "I won't critique the letter over the phone."

Barry Fatland, coordinator of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, said, "Staley's letter shows that what we have been saying all along is true—Marroquín isn't getting a fair shake from the INS, and the only way he will win political asylum is if protests by the American people force the government to grant it."

Key to this effort, Fatland said, is the four-month tour of the United States by Marroquín now being organized by the committee.

"Bringing the truth about this case to thousands of people and mobilizing them in support of Marroquín's right to political asylum is our answer to the maneuvers of Staley and the INS," Fatland said.

MY STORY

By Héctor Marroquín



The Struggle for Political Asylum in the U.S.

The story of a twenty-four-year-old student rebel, union activist, undocumented worker, and socialist forced to flee his homeland to escape political repression. 16 pp., 50¢. 35¢ each on orders of ten or more.

Available from: **Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.**

You can help save his life

Who is Héctor Marroquín? Why does he need your help in fighting for political asylum in the United States?

Héctor Marroquín was a leader of student protests in Mexico. In 1974 Mexican cops falsely accused him of guerrilla actions. Fearing for his life, he fled to the United States. Even after he had left Mexico, cops there regularly attributed guerrilla and terrorist actions to him. He faces certain imprisonment and torture, and possible death, if sent back to Mexico.

Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Last September, returning from a visit to his attorney, Marroquín was stopped at the U.S. border by *la migra*, the immigration cops, and thrown in jail for three months as an "illegal alien." He is now fighting to remain in this country as a political refugee.

Marroquín's case underlines the hypocritical double standard of the U.S. government on human rights. Refugees from governments Washington opposes—such as Cuba—are welcomed with open arms.

But people such as Marroquín—left-wing exiles fleeing repression from governments Washington supports—are turned away or thrown in jail.

If Marroquín is to win political asylum, he will need the help of thousands of U.S. residents. The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee is organizing fund raising and publicity in support of Marroquín's right to asylum. You can help by:

- Making a contribution to the defense effort.
- Sending a letter demanding that Marroquín be granted asylum to Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. (Send a copy to the defense committee.)
- Circulating petitions demanding that Marroquín be given asylum.
- Becoming an endorser of the defense committee.
- Helping to organize and publicize a meeting where Marroquín can explain his case in your area.

Write: **Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003.**

Would throw treaties out the window

Congress seeks massacre of Indian rights

By Anne Chase

BERKELEY—American Indian activists are sounding the alarm about several moves now before Congress that threaten the rights of all Indian peoples in this country.

One bill, deceptively called the "Native Americans Equal Opportunity Act," was introduced last September by U.S. Rep. John Cunningham (R-Wash.) The bill instructs the president to unilaterally abrogate all treaties between Indian peoples and the U.S. government. It terminates all special programs for Indians and puts areas that now are reservations (theoretically self-governing entities directly

under the federal government) under state jurisdiction.

This is only one of eleven measures in Congress calling for a massacre of Indian treaty rights. Another bill calls for abrogation of Indian fishing and hunting rights. A third calls for ending water rights.

They represent Congress's response to the growing number of lawsuits filed by Indians all over the country. In the eastern states, the tribes want reparations and at least part of the land illegally taken away from them. In the western states, they focus more on enforcing clauses in treaties that have long been trampled by state and federal governments.

In a speech at an "un-Thanksgiving" event here last fall, AIM leader Dennis Banks explained the issues involved.

He called Cunningham's bill, "the most dangerous and vicious piece of legislation ever introduced into the House of Representatives since the beginning of the U.S. government's dealing with Native Americans."

According to Banks "this new bill pretends to give equal rights to Native Americans by getting rid of all 'special treatment.' What it really means is the end of Indian people as Indian people."

"Each of the treaties and agreements that our people signed in good faith with representatives of the U.S. will have been for nothing," Banks said.

"These were treaties which were signed through terrible efforts and struggle at a terrible price. And they dare to call it [the bill] the Native Americans Equal Opportunity Act."

Instead of equal opportunity, Banks explained, the new bill would mean "the end of federal provisions for Indian housing, which is deplorable enough. Hope for more adequate homes would vanish. Hope for new hospitals would be gone, and the abuse of women through forced sterilization would continue."

"It would mean the end of recognition of Native American religions, and no more efforts would be made at preserving the ways of our people."

"To place any hope in this bill would be like placing our future in the hands of Gen. George Armstrong Custer. This bill is dangerous and must be defeated at all costs."

Banks reviewed the history of treaties in this country. He explained that when the U.S. government stopped signing treaties in 1871, 389 had already been signed. "In exchange for one billion acres of land, Native Americans reserved certain rights because

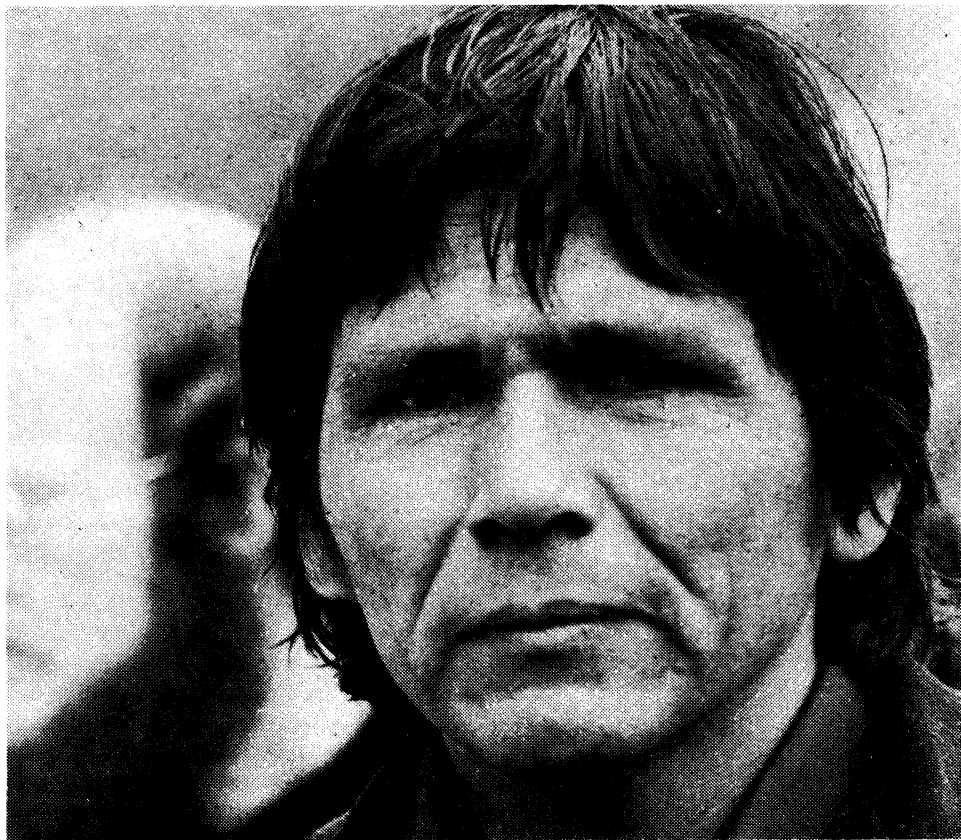
they understood the needs of future generations," Banks said.

"The treaties reserved certain rights to hunt, to preserve ancestral grounds, to fish in old ways, and the right to gather wild rice."

Banks explained that "Native Americans are not asking for 'special' treatment but are insisting on treaty rights."

"We never asked for missionary schools, or the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs], rather we simply ask for the right to control our own destiny," Banks said.

"We will never accept the abrogation of our people to live as Indian people. If you kill Native Americans you kill the real heritage in this country. And if you begin with Native Americans today it will be Chicanos, Blacks, and poor whites tomorrow."



DENNIS BANKS

Militant/Howard Petrick

'Longest Walk' protest called

By Jon Olmsted

OAKLAND, Calif.—At a press conference in Sacramento February 10, Dennis Banks announced that Native Americans would begin a 3,000-mile, five-month walk across the United States to oppose proposed federal legislation that would nullify Indian treaties. The "Longest Walk" stepped off the following day.

Banks was joined at the press conference by singer Buffy Sainte-Marie and by National Indian Coalition leader Elmer Servia. Banks said the hikers would be joined by Native Americans and their supporters throughout the walk. They hope to arrive in Washington, D.C., by July 4 to confront President Carter and other federal officials.

NYC cutbacks: the real culprit in snow crisis

By Matilde Zimmermann

"There's no special crisis today," Mayor Ed Koch told reporters February 6, as New York City lay paralyzed under a foot and a half of snow. "It's New York's regular crisis day."

It was more than a regular crisis, however, for the tens of thousands of New Yorkers trapped in snow-bound cars or unheated apartments, or the hundreds of thousands who could not make it to work. Even food supplies ran short.

Fifty deaths were attributed to the storm in New York City and neighboring areas. On February 8 the city's Central Complaint Bureau was receiving 600 calls an hour from people with no heat in their buildings.

In the best of weather, most residents of New York City feel that their quality of life is deteriorating. The biggest snow storm in thirty years brought home in dramatic fashion just how much the cutbacks of the last three years have hurt.

After three days of round-the-clock plowing, only a quarter of the side streets in the city had been touched. One reason: nearly half of the snow removal equipment had broken down. One Sanitation Department official defended this as the "average normal" of inoperability. Even the machinery that worked was sometimes forty years old. In addition, the Sanitation Department work force has been cut by 2,500 in the last two years, according to the Uniformed Sanitation Workers union.

Sanitation crews were forced to take up the slack by putting in twelve-hour shifts in their antiquated trucks.

Their job wasn't made any easier by the fact that the city's streets and

bridges are in a state of acute decay. The streets are scheduled for repaving every 200 years—down from a 120-year cycle before the cutbacks. Experts say they should be repaved every twenty-five years. About 2,000 miles of city streets have only temporary surfaces and were never meant to be permanent. More than 1 million potholes—some of them sizable craters—shake up motorists and cause serious damage to automobiles. Several major expressways have decayed into layers of fine dust. Where cars have broken through the powdery residue, the roadway has been covered by a patchwork of steel plates. One is so near collapse that engineers have called it a "time bomb."

Trees damaged by the heavy snowfall are not likely to get prompt attention. There is a twelve-year waiting list for pruning trees, because each climber and pruner has 17,000 trees to take care of.

Drainage is another problem, since the city pleads poverty when it comes to repairing and replacing sewers. A thousand miles of sewers are so badly decayed that they should be replaced immediately. The sewers are on a 300-year replacement cycle, however—despite the fact that their useful life is only fifty to seventy-five years.

New York saves a certain amount of money by not repairing crumbling bridges and sewers. But the favorite way of saving money is still taking it directly out of the workers' paychecks. The storm provided an opportunity to do that too. For three days commuter trains did not run regularly, buses were few and far between, and streets were clogged and blocked. Neverthe-

less, city workers lost a day's pay every time they could not make it to work. At least 80,000 people could not get to their city jobs the first day of the storm. That was the day Koch defended his show-up or pay-up policy by saying, "If I'm here, they have to be here."

Overworked sanitation crews have been blamed for the slowness of the cleanup effort. A *New York Times* editorial February 8 said, "Surely more

maintenance could be done more quickly if city workers were better motivated. . . ."

The same editorial rapped motorists for the "self-indulgence" in taking cars out despite all warnings. The *Times* said the selfish car owners tried to drive because "they missed the vital connection between self and public." More likely they were just trying to get to work.

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ROY A. MEDVEDEV



JOSEPH STALIN

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Ohio teachers union: Reverse 'Bakke' ruling

By Rick Mitts

COLUMBUS, Ohio—The state convention of the Ohio Federation of Teachers (OFT), meeting here February 2-4, reaffirmed its support of affirmative-action programs by adopting a strong stand against the *Bakke* decision.

Ninety-nine delegates from thirteen locals, including representatives of the 6,000-member Cleveland Federation of Teachers, supported an anti-*Bakke* resolution by a margin of two to one.

The *Bakke* decision, handed down in 1976 by the California State Supreme Court, declared the affirmative-action program at the University of California Davis Medical School unconstitutional. The program, which set aside 16 out of 100 medical school openings for students of oppressed minorities, practiced "reverse discrimination," the court said.

The case is now before the U.S. Supreme Court. If upheld, it could lay the basis for wiping out affirmative-action programs in employment and college admissions across the country.

The three-part resolution demanded that the American Federation of Teachers "withdraw its [friend of the court] brief in support of Allan Bakke at the U.S. Supreme Court." The resolution also recorded OFT opposition to the "reverse discrimination" argument put forward in the *Bakke* decision. In addition the resolution endorsed the "call by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision for a national march on Washington April 15."

Debate on the resolution was brief. Two delegates rose to oppose it and support the official AFT stand; two delegates from the Cincinnati delegation, which proposed the resolution, spoke in favor of it.

Tom Mooney of the CFT delegation said, "The issue is basically whether specific goals and timetables are needed for affirmative action or whether we are going to accept vague promises."

"If, in collective bargaining, our employer said he would try hard to improve salaries and reduce class size, we would walk out of negotiations. If we accept vague promises in regard to affirmative action, we're really saying we're not serious about it."

Wayne Robey, CFT first vice-president, pointed out that by adopting the resolution the convention would be

taking a forceful stand against racial discrimination. Taking such a stand is a must for the union, he said, because it would help win the confidence of Black members and thereby strengthen and unify the OFT.

The resolution survived a voice vote, a division count, and an attempted roll-call vote. The motion to adopt it carried because the Cleveland delegation could not enforce the unit voting rule, which would have committed all its members to vote in a bloc.

The OFT's reaffirmation of its pro-affirmative-action stance is part of



Militant/Jeff Kincaid

WAYNE ROBEY: first vice-president, Cincinnati Federation of Teachers.

growing opposition within the AFT to union President Albert Shanker's pro-*Bakke* stance. At the AFT's convention last August, 27 percent of the 2,500 delegates voted to oppose Shanker's support for the *Bakke* decision.

Before the convention, the California Federation of Teachers adopted a resolution repudiating Shanker's stance on *Bakke* and filed a friend-of-the-court brief against *Bakke*.

Since the convention, in addition to the Cincinnati and Ohio federations, the Washington, D.C., Teachers Union, Colorado Federation of Teachers, and Wisconsin Federation of Teachers have also adopted resolutions supporting affirmative-action programs and opposing the *Bakke* decision.

Coalitions set plans to back affirmative action

Albany

By Diane Shur

ALBANY, N.Y.—On the evening of January 26, 125 people attended a panel discussion here on the *Bakke* case. The meeting, held at the Albany Public Library, was the first in a series of activities projected by the Capitol District Coalition to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision.

The meeting was moderated by Susan Kaplow, an activist in the coalition. The panelists were Dr. Frank Pough, chairman of the Afro-American Studies Department at the State University of New York at Albany (SUNYA) and vice-president of the Albany NAACP; Audrey Harvey, a state affirmative-action officer; and Leon Van Dyke, a longtime Black community activist.

Attacking the argument of "reverse discrimination" that *Bakke* is using against the University of California Davis Medical School, Pough explained that the real issue is the continued discrimination faced by minorities today. Van Dyke explained that the *Bakke* case is also a challenge to the rights of women and Spanish-speaking people. All these groups, he said, should work together to protect affirmative-action gains.

At a coalition news conference the morning of the meeting, Lawrence Burwell, head of the Albany Urban League, pointed out the need to defend the use of quotas to enforce affirmative-action programs.

In the two months since the coalition was formed many groups and individuals have endorsed its statement of purpose, including Lawrence Burwell; Harry Hamilton, president of the Albany NAACP; Doris Marchant, Third World Students Caucus, SASU; Socialist Workers Party; and *In These Times* associates.

At the meeting, the coalition announced plans for a debate in late February to be held on the SUNYA campus. The coalition is also organizing Albany-area participation in the April 15 March on Washington.

Cincinnati

By John Stiller

CINCINNATI—Meeting at the headquarters of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers February 8, thirty individuals and representatives of organizations formed the Cincinnati Committee for Affirmative Action. The meeting was called by Rev. John Compton, president of the NAACP; Wayne Robey, vice-president of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers (CFT); Julia Hermes, president of the University of Cincinnati Women's Affairs Council; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference National Board; and other community and campus activists.

The committee decided to begin to organize and publicize several educational forums scheduled for the end of February and early March. In addition subcommittees were set up to work on outreach to community, campus, women's, and Black organizations, and trade unions. Other committees will work on fund raising, publicity, and transportation for the April 15 March on Washington.

Representatives of various organizations explained what their groups had already done to build the national demonstration. Wayne Robey reported that the Cincinnati delegation to the convention of the Ohio Federation of Teachers succeeded in winning the convention to endorse the march and

go on record in opposition to the *Bakke* decision.

Elmer Carroll, state representative of the Ohio Civil Service Employees Association (OCSEA) announced plans to reach his union's membership in order to "get as many members as possible to Washington on April 15."

Melissa Singler of the University of Cincinnati Urban Affairs Department reported on a panel entitled "The Community Looks at the Bakke Case" which is being sponsored in conjunction with Black History Month at the university.

Among the people attending the meeting were leaders and activists from the CFT, National Organization for Women, Student Coalition Against Racism, NAACP youth council, United Steelworkers of America, University of Cincinnati Women's Affairs Council, U.C. United Black Association, OCSEA, City of Cincinnati Equal Employment Opportunity Division, Cincinnati Human Rights Commission, Walnut Hills Area Council, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

Phila.

By Seth Galinsky

PHILADELPHIA—More than thirty students voted to form the University of Pennsylvania Coalition to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision at a meeting here February 8.

Representatives of the Black Student League, Black Pre-Law Society, Black Pre-Health Society, Black American Law Students Association, MEChA, Chinese Students Association, Young Socialist Alliance, and Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade attended the meeting.

Lauren Joichin of the Student Coalition Against Racism initiated the meeting with a report on the anti-*Bakke* protests called by the National Coalition to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision. She stressed the need to organize massive support for the April 15 March on Washington.

The coalition decided to hold a forum on the Penn campus March 23 with speakers from the labor movement, women's groups, and minority organizations to explain the broad implications of the *Bakke* decision.

The group also decided to organize a meeting February 23 to form a city-wide anti-*Bakke* coalition.



Militant/David Nudel

For 'Militant' readers

What is Socialism?

During February the Socialist Workers Party is visiting new readers of THE MILITANT to talk to them about renewing their subscriptions. In conjunction with this drive, many SWP branches are organizing discussions for new readers on socialism and the issues covered in THE MILITANT. Below are the time and place of some of these discussions and a number to call for more information.

Atlanta: Wednesday, February 22, 7:30 p.m., and Sunday, March 5, 3:00 p.m. 137 Ashby, Atlanta. **Baltimore:** Saturday, February 18, February 25, March 4, 1:00 p.m. 2117 No. Charles St., Baltimore. **Boston:** Thursday, March 7, 7 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. 4th floor. 262-4620. **Brooklyn:** Saturday, February 18 and 25. 2-4 p.m. 220 Utica Ave. 773-0250. **Chicago:** Saturday, February 18, 25, and March 4. 2 p.m. 2251 East 71st St. 643-5520. **Dallas:** Sunday, February 12, 26, and Wednesday, February 22. 7:30 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. 943-6684. **Houston:** Sunday, February 19. 4 p.m. 4987 Martin Luther King Drive (formerly South Park). 643-0005. **Louisville:** Saturday, February 18 and 25. 1-2:30 p.m. Wednesday, February 22 and March 1. 6:30-8 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. 587-8418. **Milwaukee:** Thursday, February 19, February 26, March 2, 7:30 p.m. 3901 N. 27th Street, Milwaukee. **Philadelphia:** Saturday, February 18, February 25, 2:00 p.m. 5950 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia. **San Francisco:** Wednesday, February 22. 8 p.m. 3284 23rd Street. 824-1992. **Portland, Oregon:** Wednesday, March 1. 4 p.m. Room 225, Smith Memorial Center. Portland State University. 288-7860.

CAIFI Six case

Iranian poet demands: 'Drop the charges!'

The following letter was written by Reza Baraheni, honorary chairperson of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Baraheni, one of Iran's leading poets and literary critics, was kidnapped, tortured, and jailed for more than three months in 1973 by the shah of Iran's hated secret police, the SAVAK. An international defense campaign won his freedom and his right to emigrate to the United States, where he now teaches at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County campus.

Baraheni's letter is addressed to William Maxwell, president of the Jersey City State College. It demands that charges brought by the administration against six Iranian activists be dropped.

The 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.

In January the six visited the Jersey City campus to obtain a permit to set up a literature table. They were arrested on phony charges of disrupting the college, which carry a maximum sentence of three years imprisonment and \$1,000 fine.

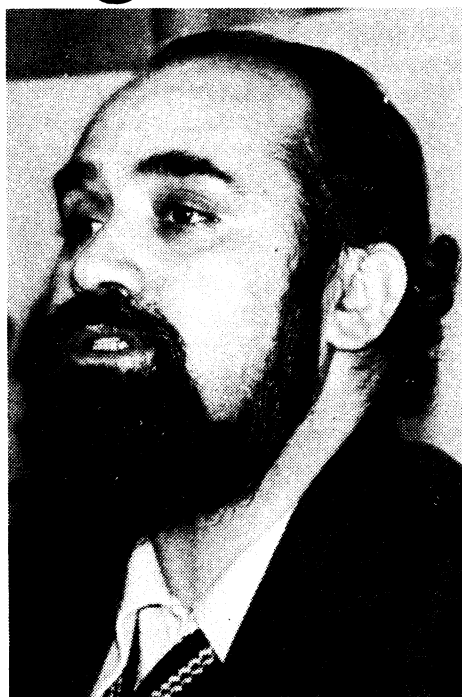
CAIFI is asking that messages demanding that charges be dropped and that CAIFI's rights be respected be sent to: William Maxwell, President, Jersey City State College, 2039 Kennedy Boulevard, Jersey City, New Jersey 07305.

Copies should be sent to: CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 673-6390. More information on the case is available from the same address.

As Honorary Chairperson of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), I protest to the charges which you have brought against six of our committee's activists.

CAIFI is a civil libertarian committee located in N.Y. with several active chapters in other states around the U.S. It is the most prestigious Iranian organization outside Iran, and it enjoys worldwide reputation. It has publicized the cause of incarcerated and tortured Iranian artists and writers, and in many cases, has been able to save the lives of many such prominent people. I owe my own life to the energetic activities of its members and sponsors, because it was thanks to such exhaustive efforts that the Shah of Iran was forced to release me from prison in 1973 and, later, let me get out of the country. I joined CAIFI soon after I arrived in the U.S.

Since then we have been able to testify on human rights in Iran in the U.S. Congress. We have appeared on almost all the major national T.V. channels, and our press conferences, meetings and educational picket lines have been covered by the *New York Times*, the UPI and AP. We have held panel discussions at Harvard, MIT, Columbia and many other distinguished cultural institutions. These panel discussions have been shared by such prominent personalities as Ramsey Clark, Daniel Ellsberg, Allen Ginsberg, Eric Bentley, Kate Millett and Muriel Rukeyser. We have worked in close collaboration with PEN, Amnesty International, the International League for Human Rights and many



REZA BARAHENI Militant/Dave Warren

similar civil and human rights organizations. Many U.S. Congressmen and Congresswomen, British Parliament members, Soviet dissidents, French philosophers and writers and several Nobel Laureates have been among our staunch supporters and sponsors.

Although CAIFI has been subjected to the harassment of suspicious elements on some of the U.S. campuses in the past, and although the lives of some of its leaders have been threatened both by the SAVAK and persons unknown to us, there has not been even one single instance of irregularity or illegality in which CAIFI or any of its activists were involved. Our aims have been very clear right from the beginning: we are involved in the sacred task of educating Americans on the problem of human rights in Iran. This education cannot be found on the curriculum of any university. I am sure your college is not an exception. By depriving your students from the literature provided by CAIFI activists, you are in fact, depriving them of acquaintance with bitter facts dealing with torture, execution and mass murder in Iran. Iran is considered to be an ally of the U.S. Your students are entitled to know the nature of this ally. CAIFI is an authority on the atrocities of this ally. Why do you deprive your students from being educated about these atrocities? Whose interests are served when you keep your students ignorant about the Shah's violation of human rights?

All CAIFI activists have brought prestige to the very activities we have organized. Nobody could possibly imagine Arthur Miller, Kurt Vonnegut, Eric Bentley and Richard Howard to be on a picket line in 1978. Well, CAIFI organized and brought such a picket line to fruition. Because CAIFI is an organization enjoying the good will of all those in America who are genuinely devoted to the cause of human rights everywhere. By bringing charges against CAIFI activists, you set yourself up against the united effort of Iranian and American civil libertarians involved in the humane activity of the cause of democracy in Iran. The moral consequences of such an undertaking by a college president should not escape the attention of university professors and students interested in democratic educational processes in this country.

In view of the above-mentioned realities, I urge you to immediately drop all charges against CAIFI SIX, and allow CAIFI to freely distribute its literature on your campus.

Your immediate response will be appreciated.

Campaigning for socialism

DESEGREGATION IN KANSAS CITY: "Perspectives for the School Board Elections" was the topic of a January 27 Militant Forum in Kansas City, Missouri. Speaking were Jim Levitt, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board; Imam Murad Karriem of the World Community of Islam in the West; Linda Sinclair, education committee chairperson for the 49-63 Community Coalition; and Jeremiah Cameron, a leader of the Kansas City NAACP.

"Opposition to busing is a smokescreen put up mainly by whites to prevent desegregation and to perpetuate discrimination and all that that word and practice has meant in American life," said Cameron. He blasted the board of education for failing to implement an adequate desegregation plan.

Levitt responded to a hypocritical *Kansas City Times* editorial that had reprimanded candidates for conducting partisan races in the "nonpartisan" election.

"The present board is composed of supporters of the Democratic and Republican parties," Levitt said. "We think they should tell us, instead of hiding behind the figleaf of nonpartisanship and refusing to take responsibility for their parties' programs."

'LE MONDE' INTERVIEWS A LOUISVILLE SOCIALIST: Following are excerpts from an interview conducted by Dominique Dhombres, a reporter for the Paris mass-circulation daily *Le Monde*, with Debby Tarnopol, who was SWP candidate for mayor of Louisville last November. The interview appeared in the January 22-23 *Le Monde*.

She was the head of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. On April 24, 1971, she addressed half a million demonstrators in Washington, D.C. She was prominently mentioned in the "enemies list" secretly drawn up by the White House.

Now she is thirty years old, but nothing appears to have cut into her convictions, her militancy, or her optimism.

Debby Tarnopol is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). . . . she calmly describes her activities: "Our task is above all an educational one. It is to make our party known. For some people in the United States, this is the only time they ever hear anyone talk about socialism in something besides a joking or hostile way."

She sometimes gets involved in election campaigns. She herself was a candidate for mayor of Atlanta, Georgia, and very recently for mayor of Louisville, Kentucky. She was unsuccessful both times, but then she never had any illusions about winning. She understands that the struggle is elsewhere: "You don't elect socialism; you build it."

The SWP was founded in 1928 (it took its present name in 1938) from a split in the young American Communist Party. Several party leaders, on their return from a trip to Moscow, declared their support for Trotsky's ideas on the bureaucratism of the new socialist state and were promptly expelled. Despised by the "Stalinists," who were much larger, the Trotskyists managed to keep themselves together somehow during the period between the wars and to put out their weekly, *The Militant*, more or less regularly.

The "witch-hunt" and McCarthyism of the 1950s paradoxically worked to the SWP's advantage, by weakening the more "orthodox" Communist Party. The CP, whose members were committed but relatively old and obsessed with fear of FBI "infiltration," was not able to attract the new left that developed around radical opposition to the war in Vietnam. The SWP, on the other hand, was able to win a section of this young generation, especially on the campuses. The American Trotskyists today seem to be in better shape than the old Communist Party, in spite of the fact that the CP has attracted celebrities like Angela Davis.

Debby Tarnopol believes in "Marxism-Leninism" and says that her organization is governed by "democratic centralism." When she speaks, however, new concepts and new terms crop up alongside "class struggle" and the "falling profit rate of capitalism": in particular, the environment, the women's liberation movement, and defense of sexual minorities. She herself is a member of the National Organization for Women (NOW), one of the most important American feminist organizations. Debby Tarnopol denies any contradiction between Marxism and these "innovations."

"Women begin to rebel," she explains, "when they as workers suffer the most from the crisis capitalism is in." Similarly, she says that the demands of the environmental movement—and particularly those of the antinuclear campaign—have gotten a national response because the "system," always in search of higher profits, cannot avoid upsetting the environment in an increasingly dangerous way.

Debby Tarnopol is not a mystic. She does not think revolution is around the corner, but she calmly insists that the future of the United States lies in socialism. Her belief is based above all on the recent emergence of more combative attitudes among certain industrial workers, especially the steelworkers and the coal miners. . . .



Jack Wirth, 1930s Teamster organizer

By Jack Maloney

Jack (John Henry) Wirth died in his sleep on December 25, 1977. He was seventy-four years old. He is survived by his wife Genevieve, two daughters, a son, and several grandchildren.

Wirth was a leader of the Teamster organizing drives of the 1930s. Influenced by the success of Local 574 in

Jack Maloney was a leader of Teamster local 574 and a close associate of Farrell Dobbs in the 1934 Minneapolis strikes.

Minneapolis, he helped organize General Drivers Local 173 in Fargo, North Dakota.

Fargo's wealthy business community, following the example of the Minneapolis Citizen's Alliance, tried to bust Local 173's strike with armed force. Farrell Dobbs, Miles Dunne, and I—all leaders of Local 574—came to town to help Wirth and the other local leaders defend their union. Support from workers, students, and farmers brought the strike near to victory—until Teamster President Dan Tobin, fearing the spread of the militant methods used in the 1934 Minneapolis strike, revoked Local 173's charter.

"As things now stood the workers in Local 173 could only strive to keep their union afloat and wait for a

chance to renew the fight against the trucking bosses," Farrell Dobbs recounted in *Teamster Power*.

And that's exactly what Wirth did. He was largely responsible for reorganizing Fargo's drivers into Local 116—a job that took courage and personal sacrifice, since he served the union without pay.

In 1936 Wirth, a driver himself, took up the fight to bring over-the-road drivers under a single area contract. He represented North Dakota on the

North Central District Drivers Council which soon embraced eleven midwestern states. He was on the negotiating committee that won the first area contract, covering more than 125,000 workers and establishing the council-conference structure upon which the IBT was to become the world's largest union. Later he helped lead a twenty-two-week strike to make the contract stick.

In 1941, when Tobin teamed up with the government to frame up leaders of

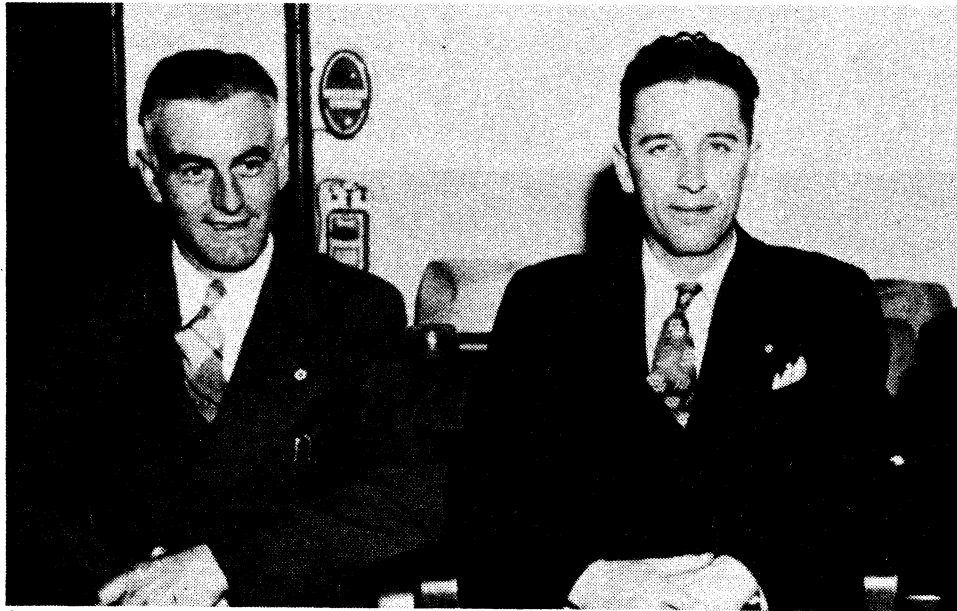
Minneapolis Local 544, Wirth rallied to their support. This, of course, meant the end of his job in the Teamsters. He was offered many advantages but refused every bribe.

In 1942 he withdrew from Local 116 and moved to Seattle, where he worked as a shipyard rigger and field worker. As a shipyard worker he was active in Local 104 of the Boilermakers. He also worked a farm for several years, and finally returned to the Teamsters as a driver in Local 524 in Yakima, Washington.

Wirth was not a member of the Socialist Workers Party, but he supported the SWP's program. The privations he endured in later life because of his courageous defiance of Tobin testified to his loyalty to the persecuted and imprisoned leaders of Local 544, especially to Farrell Dobbs, with whom he worked closely.

Wirth would not compromise his principles for personal gain or fortune. He was opposed to war and all that went with it. He was opposed to the exploitation of all toilers and had no time for those elected to political office by the people who then turned around to serve big business.

Although in later years Wirth was somewhat isolated, his contributions and efforts will not be forgotten. Because all who enjoy a better way of life today owe something to battlers like Jack Wirth.



Jack Wirth (left) and Farrell Dobbs in 1930s, when both were leaders of militant organizing drives and strikes.

Teamster dissidents gain in local voting

By Shelley Kramer

The problems of Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, have been making front-page news lately. Fitzsimmons and other trustees of the Teamster pension funds are being sued by the Labor Department for making "imprudent loans."

A less publicized challenge to the corrupt Teamster officialdom is coming from inside the ranks of the IBT. Opposition currents are beginning to make their voices heard and their votes count. Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), a national dissident grouping, fielded slates in several local elections this winter. Particularly significant were two contests in Detroit.

In Local 337 TDU leader Bob Janadia ran for the presidency against incumbent Robert Holmes. Holmes is high up the bureaucratic ladder—an

international vice-president, president of Joint Council 43, and head of the Michigan IBT conference. He is one of Fitzsimmons's codefendants in the government's suit.

Holmes relied on the usual undemocratic methods to deny Janadia a fair chance:

- The election date was changed without notifying the membership for two months.
- The TDU's Rank and File Slate was denied a representative on the election committee.
- TDU candidates were refused access to lists of the companies organized by the local.
- The bosses helped distribute Holmes literature and bused his supporters to the polls.
- TDU candidates were denied the right to observe the vote count.

Even with all this help, Holmes managed to defeat Janadia by only 700 votes out of nearly 5,000. And the

Rank and File Slate, citing election irregularities, is challenging the outcome in a district hearing.

In Local 299, Fitzsimmons's home local, the bureaucracy experienced another close call. Although incumbent President Robert Lins and his vice-president candidate Ray Banks were elected, opposition candidates tallied high vote totals.

Two groupings, Concerned Members and TDU, ran slates. Harassment in this race included bombings of cars belonging to Concerned Members candidates and red-baiting directed against the TDU especially its vice-presidential candidate Pete Camarata. Otto Wendel, an early presidential candidate withdrew from the race and was later mysteriously shot to death.

TDU's election platform called for open elections for business agents and stewards (now appointed by the local leadership); rank-and-file control of

pension fund trustees; elimination of "multiple salaries" by which union leaders collect pay from more than one office.

Pete Karagozian of Concerned Members lost the presidency to Lins by only a few hundred votes—3,751 to 3,507. Right after the election he was fired as business agent.

The opposition vote for vice-presidency was evenly divided between Camarata and Pat Foley of Concerned Members, with 1,824 and 1,825 votes respectively. Their vote combined topped that of Banks, who won with 2,710 votes.

Despite all the dirty tricks they could pull, Fitzsimmons's henchmen barely repelled rank-and-file challenges right in their own backyard. The real threat to their rule comes not from Washington but from the increasingly angry and dissatisfied membership of the Teamsters union.

Black exile hits U.S. business role in S. Africa

By Randi Lawrence

CHICAGO—On January 25 an exiled freedom fighter from South Africa and a representative of the racist South African government sat on the same University of Chicago platform.

Dennis Brutus, the Black poet and apartheid foe, told the audience it would not be hearing a debate, however. "Apartheid is not a debatable issue," he said.

"Rather I see this as another opportunity for exposing a racist and genocidal regime."

After recalling the series of arrests, brutal treatment, and near-murder he received at the hands of the South African government, Brutus went on to expose its history and present practices:

"The Vorster regime has a pure and open commitment to racism. They have stated that their ultimate goal for land distribution is 20 percent for nonwhites and 80 percent for the tiny white minority.

"They will systematically exterminate those whom they see as their

enemy and who serve no purpose to the white minority. The suppression of the student demonstrations in Soweto and the murder of leaders like Steven Biko are simply means to their end."

Brutus explained the total absence of democratic rights for Black people in South Africa. He described the murderous purpose of the Bantustans, where Black people who are too young, old, or sick are forced to go. "Dumped into barren, arid areas without water, food, or medical care, they are sent there to die."

Mr. Grobler, the representative of the South African consulate, responded with a carefully prepared string of lies. For example:

"South Africa is the most misunderstood country in the world . . . an abused pawn in the chess game of world politics. . . . I can tell you with confidence that Black people are not degraded there . . . and they enjoy a higher standard of living and democratic rights than in a large part of the world. . . . The Black states [Bantustans] are a natural phenomenon,

which allow different cultures to develop and maintain themselves. . . ."

But Grobler's main effort was to convince the audience that it is "crucial for the interests of Black people in South Africa that foreign corporations maintain their investments in that country in order to create jobs."

Brutus, in the question period, exposed this lie. He explained that the

massive investments from U.S. corporations are crucial for the maintenance of the apartheid system. Without these investments the system would fall, he said.

Brutus urged opponents of racism to "organize and demonstrate like we did to turn around the situation in Vietnam, to get this country's money out of South Africa."



Are you MOVING?

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District 31 conference

Women steelworkers meet in Chicago

By Carolyn Jasin

CHICAGO—Some 200 women workers from steel mills, clerical jobs, and factories turned out February 2-3 for the first District 31 Women's Conference of the United Steelworkers of America.

They adopted resolutions opposing the *Bakke* decision (see box), demanding an end to pregnancy-related discrimination, and calling on the union

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to "redouble its efforts" for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Local unions sent delegates to the conference, which was also open to all union members. The large majority of women present were officers, grievance committee members, stewards, or on committees in their locals.

Ed Sadlowski, subdistrict 3 director, opened the conference by saying its purpose was to get the thoughts and ideas of women. He said such a meeting was long overdue.

The film *Union Maids*—about the role of women in the CIO organizing drives of the 1930s—was introduced by Ola Kennedy from Local 11273. She said the conference was "a historic event and the outcome of dedication to the struggle by the District 31 Women's Caucus to fill a need. The International [union] should move on the need."

Stella Nowicki, one of the women organizers featured in the film, gave the conference some insights into its creation. The district office has purchased the film for use by local unions.

Attorney Barbara Hillman spoke on the "Legal Status of Women in Unions." She gave statistics revealing that even though women are entering the work force in increasing numbers, their position is worsening.

The gap in income between men and women is growing wider. Laws such as the Equal Pay Act and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act "have not solved the basic problem of inequality," Hillman said.

"I am afraid women's place in the workplace is not going to be viewed differently until women are organized," she maintained. "Women must force labor unions to change. Run for office if necessary."

Addie Wyatt, a vice-president of the Meat Cutters union and of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, gave greetings from her organizations in a luncheon address.

Diane Koczocha, chairperson of the Local 6787 Women's Committee, spoke about the \$30 million maternity suit filed by her local against Bethlehem Steel. The suit challenges the exclusion of pregnancy from the medical insurance plan. It also challenges the right of the company to demand that women go on leave when they become pregnant and then return to work ninety days after giving birth.

Workshops on union structure, apprenticeships, legislation and legal action, and health and safety submitted resolutions to a plenary session of the conference.

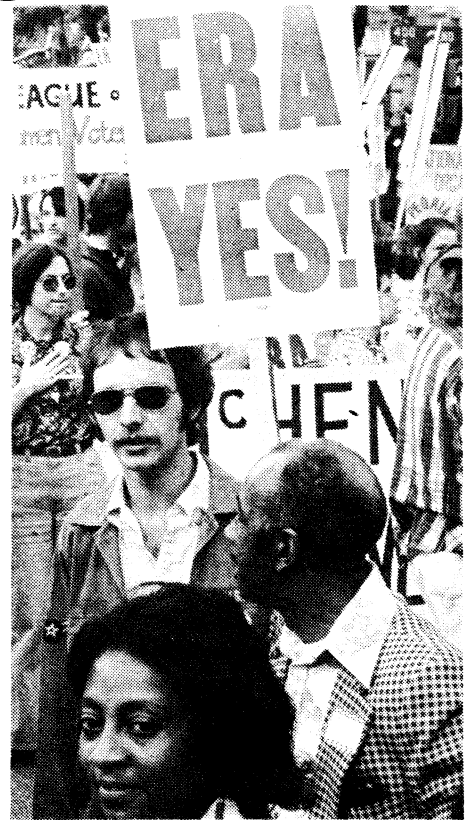
The resolution on the Equal Rights Amendment noted that "ratification by Illinois is critical if ERA is to become a part of the Constitution of the United States."

Koczocha recalled that she had spoken against the ERA at the Steelworkers international convention in 1976. She now urged women to support the ERA "to insure women's equality under the Constitution."

Larry Keller, District 31 civil rights director, encouraged the conference to put some heat on the Illinois AFL-CIO to move into action for the ERA.

Among the other resolutions passed were the following:

- To eliminate the 520-hour probationary period in basic steel, which is used by companies to discriminate against women.
- To call for an annual District 31 Women's Conference, a District 31 Women's Commission, a Women's Affairs Department of the international union, and a national USWA women's convention.



Militant/Pat Hayes

Conference urged stepped-up labor action to win the ERA in Illinois.

Oppose 'Bakke' decision

The following resolution was adopted by the District 31 Women's Conference:

Whereas: Affirmative action programs are a step toward achieving equality in employment practices for women and national minorities; affirmative action is necessary to begin to compensate for the effects of discrimination and to move toward real equality; and

Whereas: The civil rights gains through affirmative action plans are being threatened by the Bakke case which claims that affirmative action is "reverse discrimination" and

Whereas: If the US Supreme Court, now reviewing the Bakke case, upholds the Bakke decision, it will mean that the government and private industry cannot be forced legally to rectify

discriminatory practices in hiring and job upgrading; and

Whereas: It is of vital interest to all steel workers to defend the benefits of current affirmative action programs and those of the Consent Decree as one positive way of fighting inequality; without affirmative action, women and national minorities are systematically denied their rights to an equal share of economic benefits; therefore

Be it resolved:

The District 31 Women's Conference goes on record in support of the principle of affirmative action and in opposition to the Bakke decision; and be it further Resolved: We strongly urge that our International Union go on record in support of affirmative action programs and in opposition to the Bakke decision.

Steel notes...

U.S. STEAL: The average steelworker paid more federal income tax in 1976 than six of the country's biggest steel corporations. In fact, *anybody* who paid federal income tax paid more than they did. Here's the picture:

Company	1976 profits	1976 federal income tax
U.S. Steel	\$410 million	\$0
Bethlehem Steel	168 million	0
Armco Steel	124 million	0
National Steel	86 million	0
Republic Steel	66 million	0
LTV (owner of Jones & Laughlin Steel)	31 million	0

Each year U.S. Rep. Charles Vanik (D-Ohio) releases a survey of corporate taxes, including those that found enough loopholes to avoid taxes altogether. Along with the steel giants, the freeloader list for 1976 included General Dynamics (the big war contractor), Phelps Dodge, Texas Gulf, Pacific Gas & Electric, and the Chase Manhattan Corporation.

Vanik reports that the average effective tax rate for major American corporations in 1976 was a little over 13 percent—about the same rate paid by a family of four with an income of \$20,500.

President Carter proposes to cut business taxes even further and claims this will spur investment and create jobs. But Vanik's figures show that the corporate tax rate has already been falling sharply. As recently as 1972 the average rate was 28 percent, more than double the 1976 figure. And there are millions more unemployed today than in 1972.

CARTER'S FREE TRADE . . . WITH SOUTH AFRICA: When the steel industry demanded protection from "unfair" foreign competition, the Carter administration was quick to comply. It established a system of rigged minimum prices, which according to the Federal Trade Commission, will cost consumers an extra \$1 billion a year.

Last month, however, Carter rejected curbs on chrome alloy imports from South Africa. Some congressional critics had pointed out that the chrome trade was bad public relations, making Carter's verbal condemnation of the racist South African regime appear unserious. Parren Mitchell, head of the Congressional Black Caucus, warned Carter that if he vetoed the chrome import restrictions, "the South Africans will undoubtedly interpret your decision as a signal. A signal that, despite our Government's noble rhetoric, we will do nothing that cuts against their grain."

Carter must have had tongue in cheek when he responded that limiting South African chrome would "weaken U.S. leadership in international efforts to reduce trade barriers" and "add substantially" to consumer costs.

CERRO COPPER STRIKE ENDS: Six hundred and fifty members of United Steelworkers Local 4294 recently ended a ten-week strike against Cerro Copper Products in Sauget, Illinois. Dave Welters, a member of Local 4294, writes that the strike "set an important precedent in the financing of our pension plan."

The local struck last November 6, Welters reports, "over the company's proposal to raise pension benefits for future years of service only."

"Forty percent of the workers at the plant have been there for twenty-five years or more. These men, who are closest to retirement, would have benefited least from the company's offer. Union members voted January 16 to accept an offer that raises benefits from \$7.50 to \$9.00 per month for all years of service."

"The three-year agreement also includes raises totaling \$1.35 and some benefit improvements," Welters concludes. "Wages under the old contract averaged about \$5.20. There is no cost-of-living clause." —Andy Rose

Another broken promise

Carter pushes for bigger arms budget

By Fred Murphy

Jimmy ("I will never lie to you") Carter has broken another campaign promise. This time it was to reduce military spending. His fiscal 1979 budget includes \$126 billion for the Pentagon—up \$10 billion over fiscal 1978.

Carter cited "continued Soviet military efforts" to justify the move. He has been getting assistance from the capitalist press in citing this alleged "Russian threat."

The favorite topics in this year's crop of scare stories (an annual ritual at budget time) have been Soviet advances in "hunter-killer satellites" and a supposed danger that Western Europe could be overrun by an invasion from the east.

Defense Secretary Harold Brown warned a Congressional committee February 2: "We might have to take steps to deter attacks on our satellites, to deal with attacks should they occur, and to have the capability to destroy Soviet satellites if necessary."

Brown's rhetoric was drawn up in the Pentagon's standard defensive formulations. What is really involved was put more bluntly by a Pentagon scientist in a recent issue of *Aeronautics and Astronautics* magazine: "Space is a dandy arena, actually, but you've got to attract strategic war off the planet. The notion of abhorring war in space is just plain wrong" (quoted in *The Nation*, January 14).

As for alleged Soviet superiority in space weaponry, *Christian Science Monitor* reporter John Dillin wrote February 2 that "the U.S., though five to seven years away from producing an antisatellite weapon at the current pace, could easily speed up work to perfect a weapon within a year if it became necessary."

One Pentagon contractor is already working on such a weapon, described in the *Washington Post* February 3:

Unlike the comparatively slow Soviet satellite killer . . . , which would have to fly on an intercept route and then blow itself up to destroy the target satellite with flying shrapnel, the U.S. satellite killer would zoom into space aboard a rocket.

The *Post* went on to say that Brown had indicated that this is "only one of many satellite killer devices to be developed."

Beyond these U.S. plans to accelerate the arms race in space, "the Air Force has planned missions that envision space stations manned by sixteen to twenty soldiers in as many as five different orbital planes," John Markoff reported in *The Nation* January 14.

"In the public mind war in space is still a movie-screen fantasy, whereas the reality is that space has already become a key part of American military planning."

Shortly before Carter unveiled his budget, the results of a five-month Pentagon study were conveniently leaked to the *New York Times*. The "Military Strategy and Force Posture Review" concluded that "the chance of NATO stopping an attack [on Western Europe] with minimal loss of territory . . . appears remote at the present



Carter with Defense Secretary Harold Brown.

time." NATO's ammunition and spare parts inventories are "critically low," the report added.

This ominous news laid the basis for Carter's hiking spending for "general purpose forces" by almost 10 percent, including an 18 percent rise in army equipment procurement; scheduling the purchase of 5,000 new tanks and 18,000 additional fighter planes by 1983; and taking steps to sharply increase the numbers of troops and planes the Pentagon can deploy in Europe in a week's time.

Washington's real concern is not the alleged threat of a "Soviet blitzkrieg" in Western Europe, but the rising class struggles that threaten to topple capitalist rule there. Pentagon chief Brown has ordered a "quick-strike force" of army and marine units to be organized, "equipped for contingencies that could precede a major war in Europe."

While Europe and war in outer space have been the principal themes in the Pentagon's 1978 propaganda hand-outs, Carter's continued drive to enhance the U.S. nuclear arsenal should not be overlooked.

"Here our technological advantage over the Soviet Union is most apparent," Carter admitted in a supplement to his State of the Union message. And he intends to make sure things stay that way: \$90 million more is to be spent on the MX mobile missile in fiscal 1979. Nuclear-armed Trident submarines will continue to be built at a rate of three every two years (at a cost of almost \$1 billion each). Development of the sophisticated cruise missile will be accelerated. And the powerful Mark-12A warhead—capable of destroying Soviet missiles in their silos—will be deployed.

Any lingering hopes that Carter might eventually cut the arms budget should have been dispelled by Brown's February 2 announcement: Pentagon spending will continue to rise by about 3 percent a year (after adjustment for inflation). It will reach \$172.7 billion in fiscal 1983.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Army's new XM-1 tank. Carter is calling for 5,000 more by 1983

...an injury to all

The fight against political repression and police brutality

Houston killer cops convicted

Three Houston cops have been found guilty of violating the civil rights of a Chicano they beat and drowned last May 6. According to witnesses, the cops had pushed their prisoner, Joe Campos Torres, into the Buffalo Bayou with the remark, "Let's see if the wetback can swim."

A state court previously found the cops guilty of only a misdemeanor, "negligent homicide." An all-white jury imposed a one-dollar fine and one-year probation on two of the cops.

But loud public protests forced the U.S. Justice Department to bring charges. The federal conviction for a violation of civil rights that resulted in death could mean life imprisonment for the cops.



Protests forced federal indictment of cops

Militant/Stu Singer

Demand justice for Danny Vásquez

When there were reports of a fight at a dance near El Paso on January 22, two police cars and two border patrol cars showed up. Deputy Sheriff Sergio Guzman grabbed a young Chicano, José Zaragosa, and put him under arrest.

"Why are you taking José?" pleaded a friend, Danny Vásquez. "He wasn't involved in the fight."

Guzman put a shotgun to Vásquez's stomach and told him, "Get out of here." Vásquez pushed aside the shotgun and told the cop not to point it at him.

Then, according to witnesses, Guzman stepped back, aimed, and shot Vásquez. The blast from the twelve-gauge shotgun killed the Chicano.

A committee demanding justice for Vásquez has collected affidavits from ten witnesses to the murder.

Meanwhile, Guzman has been suspended from duty—with pay. The police version of what happened is that Vásquez "grabbed the shotgun, jerked it toward himself, and the gun went off."

Stanton Story wins new trial

The Pennsylvania State Supreme Court has ordered a new trial for Stanton Story, a Black man framed for shooting a cop in 1974. The court said that the trial judge had allowed the prosecution to use "irrelevant and prejudicial evidence" against Story.

In fact, Story was convicted and given the death penalty in an atmosphere of racist hysteria. Cops wearing black mourning bands rampaged through the Black community. Pittsburgh newspapers and television painted Story as a dangerous murderer.

Story now writes, "I assure you that I'm going to do my best to prevent another miscarriage of justice from happening."

Meanwhile, Story and four other prisoners at Western Penitentiary, located outside Pittsburgh, have sued the state. The five charge that they are abused, underfed, and denied their constitutional rights.



Stanton Story with his mother during prison visit.

Chicago rally hits grand jury

On February 4 a Chicago rally celebrated the recent release of several Puerto Ricans and Chicanos who had been jailed for refusing to testify before federal grand juries. Grand juries in New York and Chicago have been carrying out a witch-hunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement under the pretext of investigating a group called the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation).

The crowd of 200 in Chicago heard three of the five people released—María Cueto, José López, and Roberto Caldero. The three charged the grand juries with harassment and attempting to undercut the growing support to the movement for Puerto Rican independence.

—Diane Wang

The coal bosses' 'ball & chain' contract

Anger spread like wildfire in the coalfields when the terms of the mineowners' proposed settlement were learned. A "ball and chain" contract was what one union official called it.

In the following four pages we reprint the official summary of the contract, which the union bargaining council rejected February 12 by a thirty to six vote. The council must approve an agreement before it can be submitted to the membership for a ratification vote.

The proposed contract would massively dismantle gains won in previous contract battles and institute new "labor stability" and "productivity" measures unheard of in the UMWA for decades.

A new 1978 National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement, succeeding the agreement of 1974, has been negotiated between the United Mine Workers of America and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association containing the following major increases, improvements and changes:

I. Wage Increases

First year—\$0.95 per hour; second year—\$0.75 per hour; third year—\$0.65 per hour. Total—\$2.35 per hour.

The cost of living adjustments have been included in the new wage scale and the former Article X is deleted from the agreement. The existing \$0.28 per hour COLA adjustment will be rolled into the wage scale commencing with the effective date of the new 1978 Agreement.

II. Additional Allowance

A \$100.00 payment shall be made to each employee who returns to work as scheduled following ratification of the new agreement. This payment shall be made on the first payday following the resumption of operations at each mine.

III. Clothing Allowance Increase

The annual clothing allowance will be increased from \$75.00 per year to \$100.00 per year, commencing with the effective date of the new agreement and to \$125.00 per year commencing at the beginning of the second year of the agreement. The first clothing allowance of \$100.00 will be paid on the first payday following the resumption of operations at each mine.

IV. Shift Differential Increases

Afternoon shift from \$0.15 to \$0.20.
Midnight shift from \$0.20 to \$0.30.

V. Special Health Reimbursement Fund

A special five million dollar fund is established, to be administered by the Trustees of the UMWA Health and Retirement Funds to reimburse employees for health bills that were paid by employees during the period July 1 through December 5, 1977, due to the cut in health benefits in 1977, to the extent such special fund permits.

VI. Death Benefits During the Strike

Death benefits under the United Mine Workers of America Health and Retirement Funds will be paid retroactively in the case of any employee who died during the strike which commenced December 6, 1977.

VII. Guaranteed and Increased Health and Retirement Benefits

A. Guarantee

All health benefits will hereafter be absolutely guaranteed by the employers during the new agreement, for all active and retired employees.

B. Health Benefits Restored

Health benefits for both active and retired employees will be restored to the levels that existed before the cut in benefits that occurred in July, 1977. The 1950 United Mine Workers of America Benefits Fund will be continued as is for retired 1950 pensioners. The 1974 Benefits Plan will be discontinued and the health and death benefits for active employees and 1974 pensioners will be provided by each employer through insurance companies.

Deductibles for health benefits are as follows:

For the *working miner group*—Hospital Charges (Participating hospitals)—7½ percent of charges up to a maximum of \$125.00 per family per year. Hospital charges (Non-participating hospitals)—15 percent of charges up to a maximum of \$500.00 per calendar year per family.

Physicians charges—\$7.50 per visit up to a maximum of \$150.00 per family per year.

For the *non-working miner group*—Hospital charges (Participating hospitals)—5 percent of charges up to a maximum of \$100.00 per family per year. Hospital charges (Non-participating hospitals)—10 percent of charges up to a maximum of \$300.00 per calendar year per family.

Physicians charges—\$5.00 per visit up to a maximum of \$100.00 per family per year.

For *both groups*—Drugs—\$5.00 per prescription up to a maximum of \$50.00 per family per year.

C. Advanced Insurance Premiums

In the event of an economic strike at the expiration of the 1978 Agreement, employers will advance the premiums for the employees health and life insurance coverage for the first 30 days of such strike. Such advanced premiums shall be repaid to the employers by the employees through check-off deductions upon their return to work. Should such a strike continue beyond 30 days, the union or the employees may elect to pay premiums themselves.

D. New Eye Care Program

Effective at the beginning of the 7th month of the new agreement, a new eye care program will be installed covering both active and retired employees. The program provides specific coverage for eye examinations, lenses and frames.

It's a model—and a warning—for what other industries would like to impose on their employees as well.

The coal operators hoped to force the contract through with as little discussion and debate as possible. It's easy to see why.

Many UMWA members believe they haven't seen the last of this contract, that after a few cosmetic changes it will find its way back before the union again.

The italicized column on the right of each page outlines the corresponding contract demands voted by the 1976 UMWA convention. The center column in bold type is an explanation and commentary by the "Militant."

The wage increase is the sweetener the coal operators hoped would make the contract acceptable to the ranks of the United Mine Workers. But even this pay hike is far from what is needed to keep up with soaring living costs. The news media has widely reported the increase at 37 percent, but the wage increase alone is only about 30 percent—no more than what other industrial unions have gotten recently.

Without the cost-of-living adjustment, one new round of inflation could quickly wipe out the fixed wage increase.

If the coal operators succeed in eliminating the UMWA's cost-of-living clause, it could be the first step toward taking it away from other unions as well.

This token amount can't begin to reimburse UMWA members for the millions of dollars they had to spend after the coal industry forced benefit cutbacks in July.

Health benefits under this scheme would be no more "absolutely guaranteed" than they are with other private benefit plans. The UMWA health and retirement fund—one of the gains won through bitter struggle in the 1940s—would be dismantled. Medical care would move totally out of the hands of the union and into the control of insurance companies, whose only purpose is to make a profit.

The president of one large coal producer says a private plan would cut health-benefit costs by 25 to 30 percent.

Contrary to the absurd claim that health benefits "will be restored to the levels" before July 1977, for some the new system would be even worse than after the July cuts.

At that time miners were forced to begin paying up to \$500 a year for medical care, whereas before the union fund offered complete coverage. Under the new proposed setup, a miner using a "nonparticipating hospital" could pay up to \$700 a year.

UMWA fund subsidies to coalfield clinics are, of course, completely out of the picture. Health care for all in the coalfield communities would suffer.

Cutting off the "absolutely guaranteed" health benefits during a strike (section C)—just when they may be needed the most—gives the companies a powerful strikebreaking weapon.

The 1976 UMWA convention demanded a "substantial wage increase" in the next contract in addition to a strengthening and upgrading of the cost-of-living-adjustment formula in the 1974 agreement.

Convention delegates approved a resolution calling for the health and retirement fund to provide "eye care, including glasses, full dental care, including oral surgery, full coverage of all ambulatory prescription drugs and long-term nursing care, and birth control, including vasectomies."

Other resolutions adopted proposed the union work with the UMWA fund in organizing health-care centers controlled by miners. A separate resolution urged special effort be put into organizing health care and housing for miners in the rapidly expanding western coal fields.

Continued on next page

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E. Increased Life Insurance

An increased death benefits program is established for all active employees providing life insurance of \$12,000.00, plus an additional \$12,000.00 in event of accidental death or dismemberment.

F. Increased Pension

1950 Pension Plan

(a) The February pension checks will be made up upon ratification of the new agreement.

(b) Pensions are increased commencing March 1, 1978, for both blacklung retirees and non-blacklung retirees, and the differential between the two groups is eliminated in the third year of the new agreement. The new pensions will be as follows:

Blacklung retirees:

First Year: \$235.00 per month

Second Year: \$245.00 per month

Third Year: \$275.00 per month

Non-Blacklung Retirees:

First Year: \$260.00 per month

Second Year: \$270.00 per month

Third Year: \$275.00 per month

(c) Disability Pensions will be increased commencing March 1, 1978, to the following amounts:

First Year: \$130.00 per month

Second Year: \$135.00 per month

Third Year: \$137.50 per month

1974 Pension Plan

(a) Commencing with the employees retiring on, or after March 1, 1978, the pension formula is increased by \$1.00 per month per year of service, as follows:

\$13.50 per month per year of service for the first 10 years of service

\$14.00 per month per year of service for the second 10 years of service

\$14.50 per month per year of service for the third 10 years of service

\$15.00 per month per year of service over 30 years of service

(b) Pensioners already retired under the 1974 Pension Plan will receive increases as follows:

First Year: \$10.00 per month

Second Year: \$10.00 per month

Third Year: \$5.00 per month

(c) Minimum disability pensions will be increased to the following amounts:

First Year: \$130.00 per month

Second Year: \$135.00 per month

Third Year: \$137.50 per month

(d) Credit for service with the United Mine Workers of America will be provided at the formula level, but with no duplications. There is no longer a requirement to return to work for one day.

(e) The formula for accruing one full year of service will be 1450 man-hours worked per year.

(f) The employers, as a multi-employer group, have the option to convert to individual, employer-provided, guaranteed pension plans providing the same benefits, such option to be exercisable not later than April 1, 1979.

VIII. Increased Sickness and Accident Benefits

Weekly benefits for sickness and accident will be increased to the following amounts:

First Year: \$120.00 per week

Second Year: \$130.00 per week

Third Year: \$150.00 per week

IX. Vacations—Christmas Shutdown

A. Christmas Shutdown

A Christmas shutdown will be provided which will be a period of Christmas Eve through New Year's Day. The two floating vacation days previously provided for under Article XIII, Section E of the 1974 Agreement shall be taken as part of the Christmas shutdown and such provision deleted from the new 1978 Agreement.

B. Additional Vacation Day

One additional vacation day is granted which shall be taken as a part of the Christmas shutdown (in 1979 and 1980, a personal and sick leave day or graduated vacation day may be taken by an employee to complete the Christmas shutdown).

C. Increased Graduated Vacation

The graduated vacation table previously appearing in Article XIV of the 1974 Agreement is revised so that the entitlement to graduated vacation commences at six years of continuous service, as follows:

<i>Length of Continuous Employment</i>	<i>Additional Days Per Year</i>
Six years, but less than seven years	1 day
Seven years, but less than eight years	2 days
Eight years, but less than nine years	3 days
Nine years, but less than ten years	4 days
Ten years, but less than eleven years	5 days
Eleven years, but less than twelve years	6 days
Twelve years, but less than thirteen years	7 days
Thirteen years, but less than fourteen years	8 days
Fourteen years, but less than fifteen years	9 days
Fifteen years, but less than sixteen years	10 days
Sixteen years, but less than seventeen years	11 days
Seventeen years, but less than eighteen years	12 days
Eighteen years or over	13 days

X. Joint United Mine Workers of America-Industry Development Committee

A Joint Committee of three United Mine Workers of America representatives and three Industry representatives is established that will meet regularly to explore ways of improving labor relations and productivity in the coal industry. Every six months, the committee will report to the United Mine Workers of America and the Industry concerning these matters.

XI. Protection of Benefits

In order to protect the financial integrity of the benefit programs for retired miners, their families and widows, each employee who does not work as a result of an unauthorized work stoppage will make a contribution to the 1950 Benefits Trust per each work day missed, up to a maximum of ten work days missed in any calendar month. That contribution will be made by deducting \$20.00 per day from the employee's pay beginning on the next work day on which he works after the work stoppage and continuing until the full amount he owes to the trust has been deducted. After the tenth day

This fails to bring pensions up to a decent standard of living, nor does it equalize pensions for all retirees. As with the health benefits, the pension plan would be put under the total control of the companies.

Contract negotiators were instructed by the union convention to work toward the equalization of pensions and to add cost-of-living adjustments to all UMWA pensions.

This is an especially sore point, since under the old contract miners had December 24, 25, and January 1 off, and the two "floating days" whenever they wanted them. "A miner wants time off to get into the sunshine," says one, "not in the middle of winter."

The convention urged negotiators to add at least three holidays and a holiday week between Christmas and New Year's. It was also recommended that "floating vacation days" be increased.

This is an undisguised attempt to enlist the aid of top union officials in curbing militancy and stepping up "productivity," the code word for speedup and unsafe working conditions.

This is the strikebreaking section of the contract. Rather than "protecting benefits," this provision is intended to put the union in a strait-jacket so the companies can run the mine in the most profitable manner possible with no interference. This and the section on Stability of Work Force are aimed at breaking the

When a resolution came to the convention floor to establish a special procedure for disciplining leaders of wildcat strikes, it died for lack of a second.

Instead, delegates approved—with no opposition voiced—a proposal that the next contract have an explicit right-to-strike clause.

that an employee doesn't work because of his participation in an unauthorized work stoppage, his health benefit coverage will be suspended until he returns to work. However, if an arbitrator finds that the employer breached the contract and that the employer's conduct was a flagrant and willful provocation that was the immediate cause of the unauthorized work stoppage, he shall require the employer to reimburse the employees directly impacted by the employer's conduct for the above amounts contributed.

XII. (Topic title omitted)

If a supervisor has performed classified work an arbitrator shall compensate an employee losing wages for no less than four hours at straight time rate. If an arbitrator cannot determine which employee, if any, lost work such award shall be paid to the United Mine Workers of America 1950 Benefits Trust.

XIII. Stability of Work Force

To promote orderly and peaceful relations between the parties necessary for the wages, health and retirement benefits and other benefits to be paid to employees, and in order to resolve the problem of unauthorized work stoppages, the 1978 Agreement will contain provisions recognizing an employer's right to discipline employees who cause or engage in unauthorized work stoppages, including participating in a sympathy strike at the operation of any signatory employer.

XIV. Irregular Work and Absenteeism Control Program

A standard absenteeism control program is established in the 1978 Agreement. If an employer decides to institute an absenteeism control program he shall use the new standard program and shall notify the Mine Committee.

XV. Probationary Period

A newly hired employee shall be designated as a probationary employee until he has completed 30 calendar days of continuous employment. Prior to the end of the 30 day period, he may be terminated, provided he is not discriminated against for union activities. After the 30 day period the employee will be eligible to participate in the job bidding process and his seniority will run from the first day of the probationary period.

XVI. Incentives

An employer may establish, revise and terminate incentive productivity plans in accordance with prescribed standards and procedures. Such procedures require full notification and discussion with the Mine Communications Committee at least sixty days prior to an incentive installation, as well as serving of a copy of the plan on the International Union. The standards require that incentive productivity plans shall not be commenced or continued unless all of the following conditions are satisfied:

- A. The plan does not lessen safety standards as established by applicable law and regulations;
- B. The plan shall provide an earning opportunity above the standard daily wage rate for all active classified employees at the mine;
- C. The plan shall require that quarterly reports be made to the union of all compensation paid under its terms; and
- D. Compensation provided by the plan shall only be monetary or a monetary equivalent.

Any dispute concerning the application of an incentive shall be subject to the resolution solely in the grievance and arbitration procedure contained in the 1978 Agreement. If an arbitrator finds that an incentive plan has lessened safety standards established by applicable law and regulations, the plan shall be suspended until such standards are met.

XVII. Scheduling of Work

The prohibition against producing or processing coal on Sundays previously contained in Article IV, Section D of the 1974 Agreement is deleted. Work on the seventh consecutive day, Sundays and Holidays is optional. However, where an employee exercises the option not to work on a Sunday, he may not also elect not to work on what otherwise would have been a seventh consecutive day in the work week. Work performed on Sundays shall be paid for at double time or double rates as provided in the 1974 Agreement.

XVIII. Starting Times

Each shift shall have a regular starting time which may be changed by the employer upon thirty days notice to the local union. However, all shifts starting times shall be within the following hours:

6:00 A.M.-8:00 A.M.
2:00 P.M.-4:00 P.M.
10:00 P.M.-12:00 midnight

XIX. Non-Signatory Coal Clause

In recognition of the employer's new obligation to restore and guarantee the employees' health and death benefits as provided in the 1978 Agreement the parties have agreed to delete those provisions of Article XX, Section D of the 1974 Agreement which required that signatory employers contribute to the health and retirement trusts on the basis of coal procured or acquired from non-signatory companies for use or for sale. However, it has been agreed that the deletion of such provisions shall not be relied upon by any employer as a basis for avoiding any obligation under the 1978 Agreement or successor labor agreement between the parties. The employers have agreed that they will not procure or acquire coal from non-signatory companies for

Continued on next page

powerful solidarity of UMWA miners who never cross a picket line.

The provision for reimbursement is a joke. Imagine how many times an arbitrator—months after the fact—will find a coal company guilty of “willful provocation” of a wildcat strike.

The Stability of Work Force clause reportedly gives the coal industry its long-sought power to fire participants in wildcat strikes—without right of appeal.

A provision on “absenteeism control” just gives the companies one more way to harass mine workers. The last contract included no such section. “Absenteeism” stems from bad working conditions and long hours. The purpose of the union is to improve those conditions—not help the companies devise mechanisms to crack the whip.

Presently miners are automatically members of the UMWA with full union rights as soon as they are hired. A probationary period divides workers, in this case creating a layer of second-class miners at the mercy of the coal bosses with no job rights. Thirty days gives the company time to weed out workers it finds “troublesome”—such as those who insist on safe working conditions.

Since the company can fire a probationary employee for no reason, this setup helps the bosses get away with discrimination against minority and women workers.

And a thirty-day period need only be the beginning. In the next contract, the operators' demand could easily grow to a ninety-day period as in the Steelworkers contract.

Introduction of an incentive plan would be deadly. Its only purpose and guaranteed result is speedup in the nation's coal mines, the most dangerous of all workplaces. The stated concern for safety is simply window dressing. The plan would inevitably jeopardize the lives of miners by putting production before safety.

The imposition of a seven-day workweek would be a big step backward. For the coal operator it means more coal production. For the miner it means disruptive schedules and less control over his or her life.

The 1976 convention urged the basic workweek begin on Monday and end at midnight Friday. The basic workday, delegates voted, should be six hours for inside miners and construction workers and five hours and fifteen minutes for outside miners and surface miners.

The convention recommended abolishing compulsory overtime.

Elimination of royalties paid on nonunion coal processed through union tipples could give the green light to companies to step up this practice. To avoid opening up new union mines, a signatory company could simply “process” scab coal.

Continued from preceding page

use or for sale where the purpose thereof is to avoid the application of the terms or provisions of the 1978 Agreement or any successor labor agreement between the parties.

XX. Job Bidding—Ability

A. Lateral or Downward Bidding

An employee will not be entitled to bid on a vacancy or new job which carries the same or lower wage rate than his present rate for a period of eighteen months after his last job change under the bidding procedure, except by mutual agreement of the Mine Committee and Mine Management.

B. Ability Factor

When an employer awards a job using the bidding procedures on a basis other than seniority at the mine and the job award is disputed, the employer shall have the burden in any arbitration proceeding of showing that the grievant does not have the ability to step into and perform the work of the job at the time of the award.

XXI. New Inexperienced Employees at Underground Mines

The period of ninety days contained in the old Article XVI, Section F and Article XXI, Section E(1) of the 1974 Agreement is changed to forty-five working days. A new employee shall be given adequate instruction by his employer on the work practices and mining conditions in the mine in which he will work following his training period.

XXII. Reclamation

The parties recognize that the new Surface Reclamation Act contains provisions, the full impact of which are not yet known. Therefore, the local unions in concert with the International, will, upon request by individual companies, negotiate in good faith to develop changes in work practices, including but not limited to separate seniority units, in order to best facilitate the companies' plans to comply with the top soiling requirements of the said Act.

XXIII. Surface Mining

There will be no changes in this article except in conformance with other articles in the Agreement.

XXIV. Health and Safety

A. Qualification for Safety Committee Members

Each committee member shall have at least three years mining experience.

B. Additional Pay for Meeting

Committee members shall be paid at their regular straight time rate of pay for up to two hours for time spent in each of two joint monthly meetings with the employer.

C. Requirement to File Grievance in Dispute Over Imminent Danger

For disputes over claimed imminent dangers which have not otherwise been resolved after federal or state agencies have been involved, a written grievance shall be filed by the union no later than five working days after the findings of the federal or state agency have been provided. Such grievance shall be filed directly in Step III.

D. Removal of Safety Committeemen

A member of the Mine Health and Safety Committee who is removed from the committee shall be removed for the duration of the 1978 Agreement.

XXV. Grievance and Arbitration Procedure

A. District Arbitrators

Panels of arbitrators will be continued for each United Mine Workers of America district, but an employer and United Mine Workers of America district may choose to select a district arbitrator or panel of district arbitrators, provided such agreement is reached within ninety days of the effective date of the new agreement.

B. Arbitration Hearings

A hearing before an arbitrator shall be the standard rule of the industry. However, if an employer and the UMWA district have chosen to select a district arbitrator or panel of district arbitrators, they may also elect to submit cases to an arbitrator or briefs and the record made at Step III instead of following the standard rule.

C. Arbitration Review Board

The Arbitration Review Board is continued, but with a single umpire. Appeals are limited to cases involving:

(1) Decisions of a district arbitration in conflict with or more decisions of other arbitrators on the same issue of contract interpretation or in conflict with a previous decision of the Arbitration Review Board; or

(2) Decisions involving a question of contract interpretation which has not previously been decided by the Board and which in the opinion of the Board involves the interpretation of a substantial contract issue.

The backlog of cases under the 1974 Agreement will be handled by an interim arbitrator and his decisions will not be precedent setting. This will give the new Board a clean docket with no backlog.

D. Shortened Time Periods and Prompt Decisions

The time periods for proceeding through the grievance steps have been shortened and arbitrators are obligated to render decisions within thirty days or explain why they are unable to do so.

XXVI. Term of the Agreement

The agreement shall be for a term of three years and may not be terminated sooner except as provided for in such agreement.

XXVII. Effective this Summary

This document is a summary only, intended for the sole purpose of setting up major improvements and changes contained in the settlement reached between the United Mine Workers of America and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, Inc. It is not all inclusive nor is it meant to be used in place of the new 1978 Agreement and associated agreed upon documents. This summary is not intended to be a summary such as contemplated by federal or state statutes. The new Agreement and associated documents shall control the rights and responsibilities of the parties, and this summary will have no effect in that regard.

/s/ Arnold Miller for UMWA
/s/ Joseph Brennan for BCOA
Dated February 6, 1978

The period a new employee is classed as a "trainee" would be cut in half with this provision. This would mean more deaths in the coal mines.

During the training period, a miner is not allowed to operate heavy machinery and is supposed to work within sight and sound of another miner. The reduction in the training period again sacrifices safety for production. It jeopardizes the lives of all miners—not just those newly hired.

Under the 1974 contract, the union safety committee was given authority to close the mine or mine section if it believed "imminent danger" was present. If a member or members of the committee were found to have acted "arbitrarily or capriciously," it was grounds for removal from the committee.

Bargaining council members have interpreted the clause in this proposal to mean that the safety committee would no longer have the authority to immediately close a mine to protect the lives of miners.

"Imminent danger" would have to first be proven to a federal or state inspector. This could mean a delay of a day or more before an inspector even showed up. If the inspector were to "find" no imminent danger, the only legal recourse would be arbitration.

If a safety committeeperson were to defy this procedure, he or she could be removed from the committee for up to three years under section D. Once suspended, there would be nothing stopping the company from firing the committeeperson.

Resolutions on training approved by the convention included those calling for company-paid orientation programs of eighty hours for all new workers, plus eight hours of company-paid instruction by the UMWA health and safety committee.

One thousand resolutions on health and safety were submitted to the 1976 UMWA convention.

Approved as a "top priority" for contract negotiators was the demand for full-time health and safety committee persons elected by the union and paid by the company.

Other resolutions called for stricter dust and noise control, chest X-rays on company time, the right of safety committeepersons to "red tag" unsafe equipment, miners trained as emergency medical technicians on every shift in every mine section, and additional company-paid protective equipment.

The convention proposed revision of the arbitration procedure to allow the option of striking after the first three steps of the grievance procedure over "issues affecting the safety, health, working conditions, job security, and other fundamental contract rights of our members."

If the union decision is to arbitrate, delegates voted, "there must be strict time limits on the amount of time allowed to an arbitrator to render his decision. When he renders his decision, it must be implemented."

The key phrase here is "thirty days or explain why they are unable to do so." Says one miner, "The arbitrator can always say he was sick or had a backlog of cases—he can give any excuse he wants as to why he can't make a decision within thirty days and be legal under this clause."

Without any way to force the company to settle grievances speedily—that is, without the right to strike—the arbitration procedure will continue to work in favor of the companies.

Step forward for socialist movement

Australian Trotskyists unite

[The following article appeared in the January 26 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

By Allen Myers

Nearly 200 delegates and observers attended the fusion conference of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist League, held near Sydney from January 8 to 14.

The week-long conference healed a five-year split in the Australian Trotskyist movement, creating a united revolutionary party with a far greater ability to intervene in the class struggle and win support for its revolutionary program.

Delegates voted to name the united party Socialist Workers Party (Australian section of the Fourth International).

The gathering culminated a six-month fusion process of increased discussion and common work between CL and SWP members.

The conference was preceded by three months of oral and written discussion in the branches of both organisations. A joint discussion bulletin was published during this period, to which all members were free to contribute. Twelve numbers of the bulletin, totalling 400 pages, were printed in the course of the discussion.

Broad agreement

In the Fourth International, of which the united party is the Australian section, delegates to the conference are elected on the basis of their support for or opposition to the major resolutions presented for consideration. Any grouping with a position opposed to that of the outgoing leadership elects its own delegates in proportion to its numbers in the party.

The broad measure of political agreement achieved during the fusion pro-

cess is indicated by the fact that no such tendency was formed in opposition to any of the resolutions. The only division in the election of delegates occurred in the CL, where a group that favoured postponing the fusion for six months won 20 percent of the delegates.

After separate conferences of the two organisations had voted for fusion, the united conference adopted all the major reports and resolutions without a dissenting vote.

Despite the virtual unanimity of political line, the conference discussion was perhaps the richest in the history of Australian Trotskyism.

This reflected the different experiences of the CL and SWP and also the experiences gained in other movements. Delegates included former members of the Communist Party of Australia and of the Socialist Labour League, a sectarian group that claims to be Trotskyist.

New opportunities

Even more, the rich discussion resulted from the new openings available to the united party and the increasingly obvious need for a class-struggle program in the fight back against Fraser's offensive.

This was indicated, among other things, by the range of areas considered by the conference. The delegates adopted reports or resolutions on the international situation; "The Crisis of Australian Capitalism," an outline of capitalist political economy in this country; the current political situation in Australia; building a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement; the movement against uranium mining; the party's organizational tasks in the coming year; the work of the Socialist Youth Alliance; and the situation in the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organisation.

In addition, there was a special

panel and discussion on the women's liberation movement, as well as workshops on trade unions, gay liberation, the ALP, the Black movement, Palestine, and Latin America.

Evening sessions heard special educational talks: an analysis of the workers' upsurge in Spain; a comparison of the movements against the Vietnam War and against uranium mining; a description of the contributions to party-building made by James P. Cannon, the American revolutionary; and an analysis of why the politics of the CPA still deserve to be characterized as Stalinist.

Class-struggle left wing

The overriding theme of the conference was the need for a class-struggle program and methods if the bosses' offensive is to be defeated. This was summarised in the slogan "For a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement."

Reporters and delegates repeatedly emphasised that the timidity of ALP and ACTU leaders in the face of Fraser's attacks had produced nothing but setbacks for the workers and other oppressed people, while encouraging the reactionaries to step up their offensive. It was this failure to fight back by the ALP leadership which produced the debacle of the December 10 elections.

The three Stalinist parties—Maoists, CPA, and Socialist Party of Australia—had all failed to provide an alternative to the reformism of the ALP. All have followed a more or less open policy of collaboration with one or another section of the bosses. The CPA, for example, with its support for protectionism and the People's Economic Program, has sought to ally the workers' movement with "small and medium" manufacturing capitalists.

The various small sects on the left had also failed to provide a real alternative. This is due less to their small

size than to their sectarianism: their inability to recognise movements such as that against uranium mining or for women's liberation as a part of the class struggle and to intervene in them with a correct program.

Only the forces of the Fourth International in Australia—the SWP and the CL—have been able to put forward a class-struggle program of fighting back against Fraser and the bosses. As delegates stressed, the creation of a united party will greatly enhance the ability to win a hearing for revolutionary politics and increase the party's ability to intervene in struggles.

The perspective of a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement is not confined to "bread and butter" trade union struggles. Rather, it focuses on encouraging the entire labor movement to become the champion of all progressive causes: women's liberation, self-determination for Aborigines, gay liberation, opposition to uranium mining, etc.

As part of this perspective, the delegates decided on a "propaganda offensive" to spread the ideas of socialism. This will include expansion of the circulation of *Direct Action* and *Socialist Worker*, the party's theoretical journal.

Plans for expansion

Also projected was the publication of four new books in 1978, and possibly a second printing of *Towards a Socialist Australia*, which was published last year.

In order to finance these and other plans for expansion, the delegates voted to launch a three-month fund drive for \$15,000. This will be combined with a campaign to raise substantially the income of party branches and national office.

Flowing from the greater size of the united party, its participation in the struggle, and the propaganda offensive will be the opportunity to win more and more militants to the party of revolutionary socialism. The conference therefore planned a year-long campaign to recruit new members and educate them in the ideas of Marxism and the methods of building the revolutionary party.

This conference was already the largest in the history of Australian Trotskyism. As it concluded with the singing of the "Internationale," delegates were confident that next year's conference will be significantly larger still.



Fusion conference healed a five-year split in Australian Trotskyist movement

Direct Action

Carter wrings concessions from Japan

U.S. workers will also pay

By Jon Britton

"The U.S. and Japan have averted a trade war, but the truce is a temporary one and the field is open for further skirmishes."

That is the judgment of the *Wall Street Journal's* Tokyo correspondent, Mike Tharp, on the new trade pact agreed to by Japan and the United States in mid-January.

It appears that U.S. imperialism has wrung some significant concessions from its rival across the Pacific.

"The U.S. side got more than it expected in the talks," Tharp writes in the January 16 issue, "and the Japanese conceded more than they may have wanted, at least for the time being."

U.S. trade negotiator Robert Strauss exuberantly hailed the agreement as "the beginning of a new day." "We feel it represents a change of direction and a new philosophy for Japan," he added.

Japanese Minister of External Economic Affairs Nobuhiko Ushiba's comment to reporters was more subdued: "This is a good development that we should be happy about."

Japanese concessions

According to a joint communiqué issued January 13, Ushiba pledged that his government would stimulate the Japanese economy to provide a bigger market to U.S. goods and to reduce its trade surplus with the United States—currently running at a rate of \$10 billion a year—to \$6 billion this fiscal year.

Specifically, Tokyo agreed to reduce tariffs on \$2 billion worth of imports, effective April 1; to increase imports of beef and citrus products; and to explore ways to boost imports of electric-power machinery. In addition, a Japanese delegation is to visit the Pacific Northwest as a prelude to higher lumber imports.

The new pact follows an earlier agreement by Japan to limit exports of color television sets to the United States.

The latest agreement was arrived at only after months of hard bargaining and a high-pressure campaign by Washington that combined public and private arm-twisting and "malign neglect" of the falling exchange rate of the dollar in relation to the yen. (The dollar decline squeezed Japanese exporters by forcing them to choose between raising dollar prices, thereby jeopardizing markets, or losing profits if prices were left the same.)

After a visit by a U.S. trade delegation in November, the editors of the influential newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun* had this comment on U.S. tactics:

The behavior of the U.S. negotiators . . . was shocking because they tried to intimidate and almost dictate terms to this country.

Many Japanese could hardly believe that this was the attitude of a supposedly friendly nation and ally. The negotiators attempted to bring Japan to its heels. . . . [Quoted in the *Washington Post*, November 24, 1977.]

It turned out that Washington's arrogant demands were offers that Tokyo could not refuse. Jimmy Carter's emissaries wielded two clubs that the Japanese government could ill afford to ignore.

U.S. threats

The first was the U.S. threat, and actual moves toward, drastically reducing Japan's access to the U.S. home market, its biggest and most lucrative.

On December 1, for example, Robert Strauss, speaking at a breakfast meeting of news reporters, warned that restrictive legislation against Japanese imports was "very imminent" if Tokyo did not make important concessions to reduce Japan's trade surplus with the United States.

Meanwhile, the Carter administration was working up new restrictions, utilizing "antidumping" laws, to cut imports of steel from Japan.

The other big club wielded by Carter's emissaries—if not brandished openly, at least held behind their backs—was U.S. imperialism's overwhelming superiority in military might.

"We were pushed into a corner 40 years ago," a high adviser of the Japanese government told Mike Tharp. "It isn't good to see similar unfortunate and dangerous pressure being placed on us again" (*Wall Street Journal*, December 5, 1977).

The reference, undoubtedly, was to the embargo imposed by Washington in 1940-41 on exports to Japan of oil, scrap metal, machine tools, and other "strategic" materials to discourage Japanese encroachments into the domain of U.S. imperialism.

But Japan's rulers do not have the same options available to them today that they had—and exercised—in 1941, to say the least.



Japanese auto workers relaxing. Higher productivity of Japanese industry is due to technology, not different work habits.

Why is the Carter administration pursuing its trade offensive against Japan so aggressively?

The explanation given by Carter, the steel companies, and top bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO is that Japanese firms have been engaging in "unfair competition" by selling below cost in the U.S. market, thanks to government subsidies and other aid.

But this argument does not square with a recent statement by U.S. government economist Peter Allgeier. In a column appearing in the January 12 *Washington Post*, Allgeier writes that "the Japanese are in reasonable compliance with fair trading practices. . . ."

He goes on to say that Japanese exporters get no more government help in the form of subsidies and tax breaks than do their U.S. counterparts. Moreover, he points out, the government finances 50 percent of all research and development in the U.S., whereas only 25 percent of Japan's "R & D" is so financed.

The real answer to why Washington has been pressing Tokyo so hard for trade concessions and a speeding up of Japan's economy has to be sought in fundamental changes that have taken place in the world economy since the long post-World War II boom ended in the early 1970s.

Among the most important of these have been sharply reduced profitability of investment in many sectors of industry, especially when inflation is taken into account; a marked slowdown in capital spending for new factories; and a consequent crisis of overproduction in steel and other industries.

Decline of U.S. productivity

The lack of adequate markets has greatly sharpened competition among the giant imperialist monopolies. It has also, in conjunction with lagging labor productivity in the United States, led to a huge trade imbalance between the United States and Japan.

The steel industry provides a measure of how far relative U.S. productivity has slipped: Between 1971 and 1976, the yearly production of crude steel per Japanese worker was 480 tons while the comparable figure for an American worker was only 240 tons.

The discrepancy is due not to different working habits of American and Japanese workers, but rather to technology. In 1975, the Japanese produced 83% of their crude steel using highly efficient basic oxygen furnaces and only about 1% by outdated open-hearth furnaces. The figures for American producers, however, were 62% and 19% respectively.

About 31% of Japan's production in the same year was the result of the continuous-casting process—eliminating the ingot-making stage of steel production—and in the U.S. the figure was only about 9%. In addition, advanced plant technology enabled Japanese steelmakers to use about 30% less coking coal per ton of steel produced than the Americans.

Thus, Japanese-produced steel, automobiles, and other products are flooding into the U.S. market not because of "unfair competition," but because these sectors of Japanese industry can produce goods with substantially less labor than is required by their U.S. counterparts.

This translates, as with the case of automobiles, into goods of a higher quality and with a lower price tag taking markets away from the higher priced, shoddier products offered by U.S. manufacturers.

Specter of trade war

The result was that in 1977 Japan chalked up a record trade surplus with the United States of \$7.3 billion. Exports to the U.S. and other countries jumped 20% over the level attained in 1976, while imports, reflecting sluggish growth in Japan, rose only 9%.

The combination of sharpening competition and growing trade imbalances between the world capitalist powers raises the specter of another trade war such as the one in the 1920s and 1930s that preceded the global shooting war a few years later. It is the outbreak of such a trade war between Japan and the United States that has supposedly been averted by the new trade agreement.

However, the concrete steps promised by the Fukuda government will have little effect on the U.S.-Japan trade imbalance. "The reduction in Japanese tariffs and nontariff barriers negotiated

last week . . . will help U.S. exports only marginally," *Business Week* states in its January 30 issue.

The reason is that Japanese trade barriers for most goods were already modest (the average tariff rate was about 10%, for example), and further reductions do not get at the root cause of the imbalance: lagging U.S. productivity.

On the other hand, the "voluntary" restrictions of Japanese exports of color TVs, as well as the new barriers against steel imports into the U.S. from Japan and other countries, have aided the profit drive of some U.S. corporations. The protectionist moves saved precious few jobs in the United States, however. Obsolete facilities that were closed down haven't been reopened. Instead the steel companies are raising prices an average 5.5%. And Zenith Radio Corporation has gone ahead with plans to shift most of its television-manufacturing operations abroad.

U.S. offensive hurts workers

As a result of the decline of the dollar, American workers have been hit by price hikes for automobiles and other goods. Japanese firms increased the prices of cars sold in the United States, for example, to make up for the dollar's fall in relation to the yen. American manufacturers, suddenly feeling less competition, quickly followed suit.

Japanese workers, farmers, and smaller capitalists will also be hurt by American imperialism's stepped-up trade offensive. Already at the end of last year, more than a million were officially counted as unemployed, an eighteen-year high, businesses were going bankrupt at a record pace, and farmers were suffering a glut of agricultural commodities, especially rice, and falling prices for their crops. To the extent that the sinking dollar and lowered import barriers result in more American goods coming onto the Japanese market, this situation is bound to worsen.

In particular, Japan's "lifetime employment system," which has already begun breaking down under the pressure of economic stagnation and the falling dollar, will be further weakened. Complete destruction of this system, a holdover from Japan's



Workers in Tokyo protest inflation

feudal past, would be very much to the liking of American employers. They blame the tradition of keeping workers on the payroll even during slumps for triggering intensified export drives by Japan whenever business is slow at home and thus, in effect, exporting unemployment to the United States and elsewhere.

"This practice cannot continue without provoking retaliation and protectionist measures in other countries," the editors of *Business Week* warn in the January 30 issue.

The working people of Japan probably face more inflation on top of increased unemployment. The new trade agreement calls on the Fukuda government to take stronger measures to "reflate" the Japanese economy. The idea is that faster growth will result in increased imports and therefore a reduced U.S. trade deficit with Japan.

What this means, essentially, is more deficit spending by Japan's government. Last year the deficit amounted to about 30% of the total budget; in a recent interview, Fukuda indicated that in fiscal 1978 the deficit will be 37% of the budget.

To the extent that this red ink has to be financed,

in effect, by simply printing new money, the result will be to "stimulate" prices much more than production.

Thus, it is safe to say that the class struggle in Japan will become hotter in the period ahead as a result of the recent actions of the United States government.

And following in Washington's footsteps are the West European powers making up the Common Market. They too have demanded that Japan step up its imports—including airplanes, automobiles, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, machinery, footwear, and agricultural products—and curtail its exports.

Both the United States and the Common Market countries have moved to limit imports of steel, textiles, footwear, and other goods coming in from the more industrialized semicolonial countries.

All this bodes ill for the "Tokyo Round" of trade talks now going on in Geneva, Switzerland. Involving representatives of the ninety-eight countries participating in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the talks have been stalled since they were launched with much fanfare in 1973.

Trend toward protectionism

In the context of a deepening worldwide crisis of overproduction, the negotiators for the major powers face an extremely difficult problem: They want other governments to reduce the barriers to their country's exports. But at the same time, powerful forces are coming forward in each country to demand increased protection for profit-threatened domestic industries. In fact, protectionist barriers to trade have been proliferating in recent years.

As long as national economies are expanding, even if slowly, the protectionist pressures will probably be contained and even be used by the most powerful imperialists as a club to force other governments to lower trade barriers, as Washington has done with Tokyo.

But when the next generalized downturn hits the world economy, the trend toward freer trade that has prevailed since World War II could be decisively reversed, and working people of all countries will suffer the consequences.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Racist campaign labels U.S. unemployment 'made in Japan'

By Diane Wang

"Next Time You Buy a TV, Remember Pearl Harbor!"

The racist campaign to blame unemployment on Japanese workers has stooped that low. The New York *Daily News*, with the largest circulation of any U.S. newspaper, ran a column by Pete Hamill under that headline in December.

Hamill recalls the propaganda from World War II with nostalgia: "I suppose there was a lot of racism in that war; certainly the comic books I read were filled with buck-toothed 'Nips'. . . . But Pearl Harbor made it seem a war worth fighting: a war against . . . sneak punchers like the Japanese."

The nuclear incineration of some "Nips" was not so bad, Hamill suggests, as the unemployment he claims Japan is now inflicting on this country:

"Hiroshima and Nagasaki were terrible acts of war. But they killed a total of 110,000 people. New York has lost seven times that many jobs, and the loss of work is a kind of death that is often less merciful than sudden extinction."

To conclude, Hamill (who in the past has occasionally posed as a socialist) reaches back into his memory for a line from those old comic books: "Not many of those idle men and women will remember Pearl Harbor today. But they should. Yeah. They should."

Should they? Should working people fire up old

patriotic fevers and blame their problems on Japanese workers?

Hamill's trade-war talk, cribbed from U.S. corporations, neglects some facts that would show who is really to blame for unemployment.

Take the case of Zenith, since that company has been leading the campaign against imported television sets. Zenith claims that Japanese products have driven it to make massive layoffs.

In May Japan signed a three-year pact cutting its TV exports to this country by 40 percent. But in October Zenith announced that it was laying off one-fourth of its work force and moving its picture tube plant from Pennsylvania to Mexico and Taiwan.

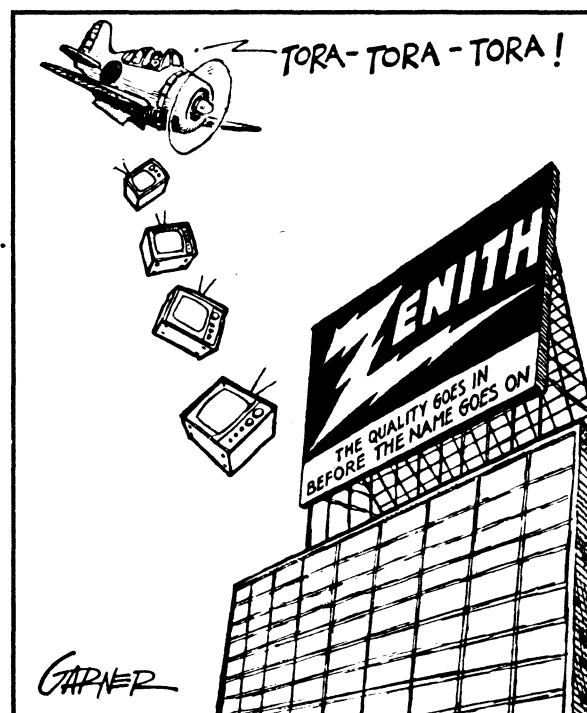
If Japanese imports were really the cause of Zenith's problems, the import cutback would have made the layoffs unnecessary, wouldn't it?

Or consider steel. In that industry, too, the bosses, as well as union bureaucrats, say imported Japanese steel has stolen the jobs of American workers.

But when Bethlehem Steel laid off 5,000 people at its Youngstown plant, it just transferred production to its more modern facilities at Indiana Harbor.

The same thing may happen with U.S. Steel. While that company talks about closing its Homestead Works near Pittsburgh, it is hiring at its modern plant in Texas.

So what should workers do? Go on statewide protectionist campaigns? Perhaps Ohio steel-



A sample of the racist propaganda used by U.S. capitalists in their struggle for markets.

workers should picket against Indiana workers? Or maybe, à la Hamill, Pennsylvania workers should take up a fight against Texans under the battle cry, "Remember Gettysburg!"

The protectionist hysteria against foreign imports is just as absurd. Japanese workers are not taking away American workers' jobs. Only bosses can take away workers' jobs.

And they are. The companies are using the protectionist campaign as a cover while they step up productivity, modernize their processes, and squeeze more profits from working people.

Then they resort to racist demagoguery in an attempt to slap a "made in Japan" label over the mess they have made.

Tunisia: workers upsurge shakes regime

Bourguiba calls out tanks, declares state

By Ernest Harsch

Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba declared a state of emergency January 26, the same day the country was paralyzed by a twenty-four-hour general strike. Police and troops equipped with tanks, armored cars, and automatic weapons swept through the major cities and gunned down scores of striking workers and protesting youths.

The call for the general strike, which was issued a few days earlier by the Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens (UGTT—General Union of Tunisian Workers), capped more than three months of massive labor unrest that had crippled key sectors of the economy. Although the general strike was specifically called to protest government attacks against the unionists, it set off a broad social upheaval against the Bourguiba regime itself.

On January 24, the day the UGTT leadership announced strike plans, about 1,000 youths shouting antigovernment slogans demonstrated in the center of Tunis, the capital. Toward the end of the afternoon, they were attacked by police who tried to disperse the protest with tear gas. Clashes followed throughout the downtown district.

Troops occupy major cities

While sporadic unrest continued the next day, troops occupied strategic positions in Tunis and surrounded other major cities.

On January 26, the ferment spread to most of the largest cities, including Sousse, Kairouan, Kasserine, and Gabès.

In Tunis itself, according to a dispatch by Michel Deuré in the January 28 Paris daily *Le Monde*, the clashes between demonstrators and police began in the downtown area in the morning. "They quickly spread throughout the city, not sparing a single quarter, and reached the nearby suburbs, the site of a number of plants where workers had downed tools."

As the conflict mounted, troops were brought out to reinforce the police. They attacked the protesters, at first with tear gas and then increasingly with gunfire. In a massive display of anger, crowds of strikers, unemployed workers, and young people poured into the streets and attacked numerous symbols of authority. At least one office of the ruling Parti Socialiste Destourien (PSD—Destour Socialist Party) was burned down.

The upheaval was the most massive in the residential quarters around the outskirts of Tunis and in Médina, the old part of the city.

Charging that the strikes and demonstrations had created an "insurrectional situation," the regime proclaimed a countrywide state of emergency, the first in Tunisia's history. All public gatherings of more than three persons were banned and a dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed. Violators were warned that they could be shot, and many were. All of Tunis was sectioned off as police and troops moved in to crush the upsurge.

According to the regime itself, 42 persons, the vast majority of them demonstrators, were killed during the unrest, and another 325 were wounded. But according to a report in the January 31 *Le Monde*, some sources put the death toll at 130. Other estimates range even higher.

In the course of the crackdown, eleven of the thirteen executive members of the UGTT, including General Secretary Habib Achour, were arrested. UGTT offices around the country were raided and a total of 400 persons, according to official figures, were detained.

Twilight of 'Bourguibism'?

The workers upsurge—and the accompanying bloodbath—have been the most massive in Bourguiba's twenty-two years in power. The wave of strikes that began in October and culminated in the January 26 general strike were the result of widespread disaffection with the ruling PSD, caused in part by the country's mounting economic problems and Bourguiba's authoritarian methods of rule.

Bourguiba, who was active in the Tunisian nationalist movement since the 1920s, came to power in 1956 when Tunisia gained formal independence from France. He was an avowed conservative, and under the label of "Bourguibism" advocated continued economic ties with the imperialist powers and expressed hostility toward revolutionary developments in other African countries.

Although Bourguiba's relations with Paris deteriorated during and after the Algerian war (including a break in diplomatic ties, military clashes, and the expropriation of French-owned land), they have improved considerably since then. The former colonial power is still Tunisia's main trading partner, and Bourguiba guaranteed French investments during his visit to France in 1972.

To keep the Tunisian population in check, he erected a repressive regime. Even before independence, the more militant nationalists within Bourguiba's old Neo-Destour (New Constitution) Party were purged and some later sentenced to death. Opposition to his regime, from both inside and outside the party, was ruthlessly crushed.

'Tunisian socialism'

Seeking to give his regime a leftist cover, at least to an extent, Bourguiba proclaimed himself in favor of "Tunisian socialism" and in 1964 changed the name of the party to the PSD. The PSD is now the only legal party in the country, and in 1975 Bourguiba had himself named president-for-life.

The main method Bourguiba employed to keep the working class demobilized was to tie it directly to the PSD and the regime through the leadership of the UGTT. To cite just one example, UGTT General Secretary Habib Achour was a member of both the PSD



Bourguiba regime has long record of oppression. Above, students and teachers on trial in 1968.

Political Bureau and of its Central Committee.

The job of the union bureaucrats was to reconcile the rank and file with Bourguiba's economic policies. The subservience of the UGTT leaders was demonstrated in the signing of a "social pact" in January 1977, in which they agreed to accept a modified wage freeze for five years.

As a safeguard against the development of any major independent unions outside the UGTT, the UGTT itself organized a large number of Tunisian workers within it. Its membership today is about 650,000, out of a total population of 6 million.

However, once the ranks of the union began to struggle on their own, as they started to do in late 1977, the UGTT developed into a pole of opposition to Bourguiba's capitalist regime, despite the orientation of the union bureaucrats.

The labor discontent was spurred primarily by a sharply rising cost of living and by widespread unemployment, particularly among young workers. In some areas, such as around the phosphate mines of Gafsa, drought has greatly exacerbated the suffering of the population. As a result of the worsening conditions, the PSD became increasingly discredited.

At the same time, a struggle developed among ruling circles over the successor to Bourguiba, who is seventy-four years old and has been suffering from arteriosclerosis for several years.

Workers move

The prospect of Bourguiba's demise and the spectacle of several current and former cabinet members squabbling over his post may have been an added encouragement to workers to launch their own struggles for higher wages and better working conditions.

On December 8, about 12,000 phosphate miners in Gafsa began a three-day strike to press demands for supplementary allowances, housing assistance, and other concessions. The regime rejected them on the grounds that they were in violation of the "social pact" signed earlier that year.

About two weeks later 7,000 railway workers held a one-day strike and refinery workers stayed away from their jobs for two days. Another strike by phosphate workers was averted December 29 when the regime agreed

to meet some of their demands. The railway workers struck again, this time for three days, in early January. And on January 4, about 6,000 agricultural workers near Tunis stopped work for a day.

Bureaucrats under pressure

This rising combativity among the workers, combined with an influx of younger members into the UGTT, placed tremendous pressures on the union leadership.

The militant currents developing within the UGTT were evident during a meeting of the union's National Council January 8-10.

A resolution adopted by the National Council condemned the regime's economic policies, which were "oriented toward the consolidation by all means of a capitalist class, to the detriment of the national interest, all the more so as the interests of that class are bound up with those of exploiting foreign capital."

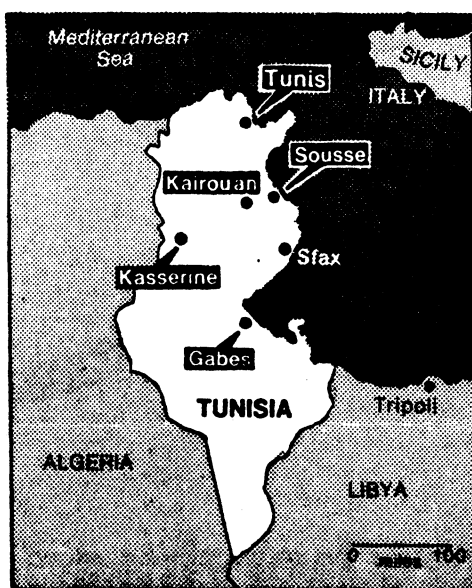
Achour himself was forced to announce his resignation from the PSD Political Bureau and Central Committee, although he continued to remain a member of the party. While proclaiming himself an "old Destourian," Achour at the same time noted the existence of a sizable tendency within the UGTT that was "moving toward consideration of a break with the PSD and [that] might advocate the establishment of a labor party."

Throughout the labor unrest that built up toward the general strike, Achour sought to walk an increasingly shaky tightrope. He temporized and stressed the need for negotiations. He tried to convince his bosses in the PSD that the "UGTT has no political views" and asserted that the unionists "do not want to depose Prime Minister Hedi Nouria from power."

The regime, however, appeared to conclude that Achour was losing control over the union. Rather than making any significant concessions, Bourguiba and Nouria adopted a "hard" stance.

Speaking before the National Assembly December 10, Nouria affirmed, "The government will maintain order. . . ." He claimed that those responsible for the massive unrest were "backward supporters of class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat, and permanent revolution."

After Interior Minister Belkhodja



New York Times

of emergency

publicly differed with Nouria, stating that it would be impossible in the current situation to "rule by the stick," he was dismissed from his post December 23. Five other ministers, some of whom had proposed negotiating with the strikers, resigned after Belkhouja's ouster.

Attacks on unions

The campaign of vilification against the UGTT escalated sharply in January. The government-controlled press charged the UGTT with having been infiltrated by an "anarchist tendency" that gave the union an "extreme communist and Baathist character."

Meanwhile, PSD goon squads began to attack UGTT headquarters in various parts of the country. According to a report in the February 1 issue of the Paris weekly *Jeune Afrique*, union meetings in Tunis, Sousse, Tozeur, Zaghouan, and other cities were attacked and the union halls were sacked.

In response to the regime's increasingly vicious assaults, sentiment for a general strike built up among the union membership. When the UGTT leaders first announced January 22 that they would call a general strike, they said that it was in response "to the demands of the ranks, who are beginning to lose patience in face of the repeated provocations. . . ."

Despite the repercussions that massive repression could entail, Bourguiba and Nouria chose the occasion of the

January 26-27 upheavals to try to crush the growing working-class opposition with one sudden blow.

Besides the scores of strikers and demonstrators who were killed, several hundred persons were arrested. According to a dispatch from Tunis in the February 1 *Le Monde*, 140 protesters have already been tried, almost all of them being sentenced to prison terms ranging from one to two years.

Witch-hunt against militants

The regime launched a witch-hunt against union militants, justifying it on the grounds that the upsurge was the result of a "premeditated plan." Arms caches were alleged to have been found in some UGTT offices.

Although Achour tried to dissociate himself from the mass demonstrations, he too was arrested, as were most of his colleagues in the UGTT leadership. He was suspended from his post as general secretary February 2. And to purge the UGTT of its more militant activists, a special congress has been called for February 25 to "exclude definitively the extremist and deviationist elements."

Whether the crackdown will be successful in stifling the unrest for the moment is still uncertain. In a dispatch from Tunis February 2, *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hoffmann reported that "many here say there may be more trouble."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

World news notes

'Prisoners of conscience' in Argentina

Amnesty International, winner of the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize for its work in defense of human rights, has adopted as "prisoners of conscience" members of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) who are currently in prison.

According to *Unidad Socialista*, an Argentine monthly with a circulation of about 20,000, Amnesty International named all members of the PST who have been jailed by the junta and held "at the disposal of the National Executive Power"—meaning that they can be kept in prison indefinitely without any charges.

The PST reported it had twenty-two members in this category as of last October 15, among them former PST vice-presidential candidate José Paéz. In addition, four other PST members were in prison and at least fifty-one were known to have disappeared, many of them kidnapped by individuals who identified themselves as police or wore official uniforms.



JOSE PAEZ: Named a 'prisoner of conscience' by Amnesty International.

Austerity plan passed in Portugal

On February 12 the new Portuguese government headed by Prime Minister Mário Soares passed an economic program calling for more sacrifices by the Portuguese workers and peasants. The austerity plan was the first major piece of legislation by the coalition between Soares's Socialist Party and the capitalist Social Democratic Center Party that was formed January 19.

Freitas do Amaral, the head of the Social Democratic Center Party, was an adviser to former dictator Marcelo Caetano before the old regime was overthrown in April 1974.

Dissidents discuss Eurocommunism

According to a report in the January 19 issue of the British weekly *Socialist Challenge*, an open letter to exiled East German dissident Wolf Biermann from members of the East German Communist Party recently appeared in the West Berlin journal *Der Lange Marsch* (The Long March).

Timed to mark the first anniversary of Biermann's illegal expulsion to West Germany, the letter stresses solidarity with the persecuted poet and singer against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

But the authors go on to say to Biermann that they "do not share your sympathies for what is termed 'Eurocommunism,' for it ties the aspiration for socialist democracy to the illusion that socialism can be achieved without the violent destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus, without establishing the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

The authors, who say that they will fight to remain inside the East German Communist Party in order to avoid being isolated, reaffirm their commitment to socialist democracy and to the continuing struggle to allow Biermann to return to East Germany. "You remain a citizen of East Germany," they say, "because the citizens of this country wish it so."

Life in South Africa I

Eight Blacks were arrested by South African police in Bloemfontein February 10 for protesting the conviction of Winnie Mandela on charges of violating a government banning order. Mandela, wife of imprisoned Black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, was convicted of receiving an unauthorized visit from friends and relatives and of holding a conversation with two neighbors.

Life in South Africa II

A new opera house being built in Pretoria at a cost of about \$53 million will be for whites only. Sybrand van Niekerk, the administrator of Transvaal province, explained February 10 that "We offer very few performances in which nonwhites are interested. They don't believe in the same sort of entertainment as we do. They do war dances, etc."

Tory leader vows end to immigration

Margaret Thatcher, the head of the British Conservative Party, told supporters February 12 that if the Tories come to power in the next election they will end immigration to Britain. British racists have been campaigning for years against the largely Asian immigrant population.

Thatcher, who will be Britain's next prime minister in the event of a Tory victory, said, "I do not believe we have any hope of promoting the sort of society we want unless we are to follow a policy clearly designed to work toward the end of immigration as we have seen it in these postwar years."



'President for life' Bourguiba (left) and Prime Minister Nouria, his designated successor.



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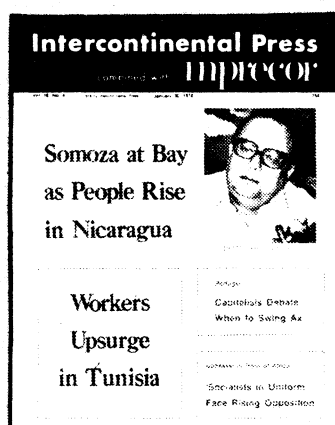
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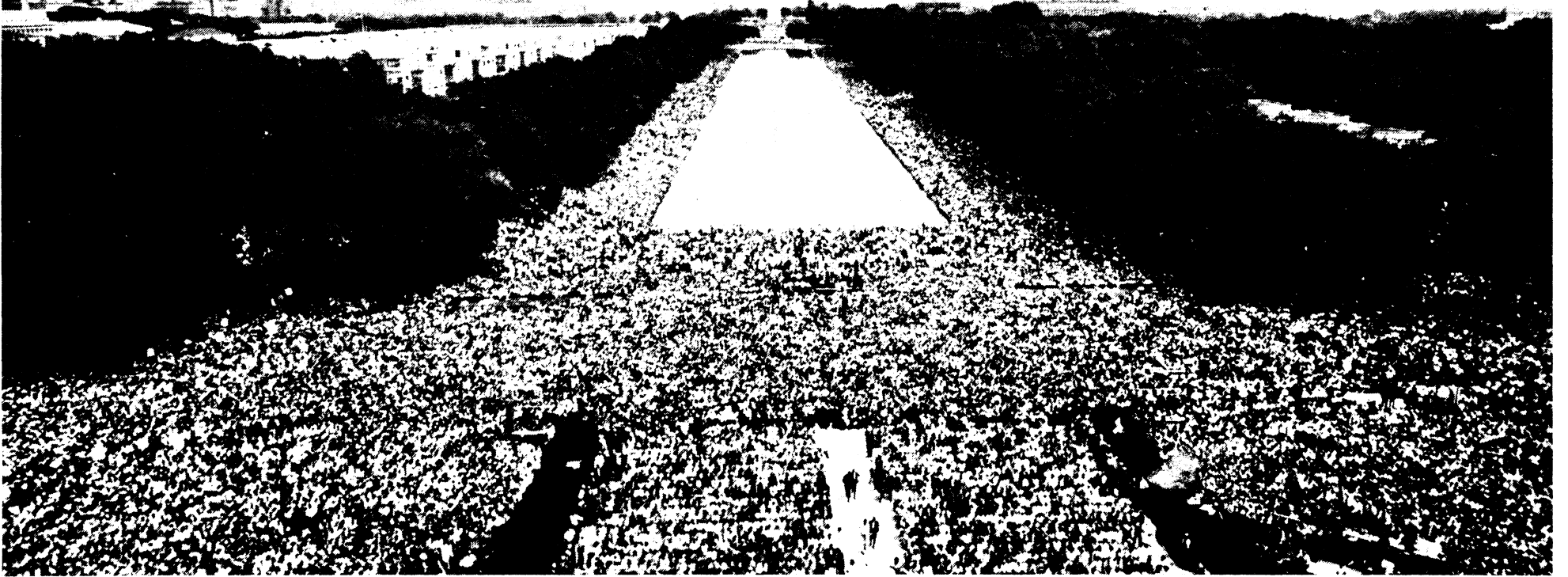
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Poor People's Movements

Why They Succeed, How They Fail



Poor People's Movements: Why they Succeed, How They Fail by Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward. Published by Pantheon Books, New York, New York 1977. 359 pages. \$12.95

By Omari Musa

Today, activists in the struggle for social change are discussing what strategy is required to end racial and sexual discrimination and class exploitation. This discussion is fueled by increasing government and employer attacks on the rights of Blacks, women, Latinos, and working people generally.

Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward's message comes through clearly. "Whatever influence lower-class groups occasionally exert in American politics does not result from organization, but from mass protest and the disruptive consequences of protest."

To make their case, the authors chose four of the most important working-class struggles of the twentieth century: the unemployed movement in the 1930s, the upsurge of industrial workers that led to the formation of the CIO, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, and the welfare rights revolt that flowed from the Black movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Piven and Cloward trace the development of these struggles, outlining the factors that forced Blacks, the unemployed, industrial workers, and welfare recipients into action.

For example, they cite three factors that formed the backdrop for the emergence of the civil rights movement.

First was the mechanization of southern agriculture. This process whittled away at the meager livelihood of a large part of the rural Black population and created a huge pool of surplus Black labor.

Second—and flowing from the first factor—was the tremendous migration of Blacks out of the South to the urban centers in the North in search of jobs in the mass production industries.

This was the need of U.S. imperialism to clean up its image internationally. It was impossible for the U.S. rulers to cast themselves in the role of the world's foremost defender of democracy and freedom when Blacks were legally relegated to second-class citizenship.

Rise of CIO

Piven and Cloward also put the rise of the unemployed struggles and the industrial union movement in historical context.

They point out how the rapid industrialization and monopolization of production leading up to the 1930s led to the growth and concentration of the industrial work force.

By the time of the economic collapse, Piven and

Cloward write, "no sector of the economy was insulated, and no sector of the population spared. The discontents which galvanized workers also affected virtually the entire population, with the result that worker agitations were more threatening to political leaders."

This also led to greater confidence among workers. "At the same time the industrial working class itself had enlarged, and its role in the economy had become more central, so that workers themselves were more menacing when insurgent."

Piven and Cloward take great pains to explain why the struggles they describe didn't go further. *The leaders of the spontaneous revolts of working people consistently dragged these movements into the Democratic Party and government apparatus, where the struggles were stifled and wrecked.*

In this the authors are absolutely correct.

Wrong conclusion

Piven and Cloward, however, draw the wrong conclusion. They reject all electoral activity by the oppressed and exploited.

Combined with their view that "it is not possible to compel concessions from elites that can be used as resources to sustain oppositional organizations over time" and that "organizations endure . . . by abandoning their oppositional politics," the authors leave spontaneous mass protests as the only strategy for victory.

But if the oppressed are to depend solely on this aspect of independent working-class action, leaving the political arena to the capitalists, then the next wave of struggles is certain to also become enmeshed in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Piven and Cloward's problem is that they identify all electoral action with the Democratic and Republican parties.

During the upsurge that led to the formation of the CIO, thousands of militant workers saw the need to break with the Democratic and Republican parties and launch a labor party based on their newly organized unions. The 1936 convention of the United Auto Workers, for example, unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a labor party.

But the leaders of the CIO channeled the sentiment for independent working-class political action into support for Roosevelt, falsely crediting him for the organizing victories won by the workers themselves.

Demands for a labor party rose again as a result of Roosevelt's antilabor offensive during World War II. But the CIO tops stalled, insisting that "now is not the time."

Independent Black party

Piven and Cloward do not mention the experiences of the Freedom Now parties, the early Black Panthers, or the Lowndes County Freedom Organi-

zation. All were efforts in the 1960s to form independent Black political parties in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

However, these attempts by relatively small groups of Black activists to break the stranglehold of the capitalist parties over the Black community faced heavy opposition.

The government launched a murderous drive of slander and disruption against militant Black nationalists. The government framed up, harassed, spied on, infiltrated, and murdered Black rights fighters.

Any motion toward an independent Black political party also faced strong opposition from moderate civil rights leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and from trade-union bureaucrats such as United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther.

These dyed-in-the-wool Democrats united to torpedo efforts to break with the Democratic Party.

The fact that Piven and Cloward propose no political alternative for Blacks or labor opens them up for attack from those who oppose *any* form of independent working-class political action.

Already Bayard Rustin, national chairman of Social Democrats USA and a mouthpiece for the George Meany wing of the labor bureaucracy, has jumped on this weakness in Piven and Cloward's analysis. He is a staunch defender of the Democratic Party.

Rustin presents his strategy for Blacks in a recent article on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times*. He argues that after the August 1963 March on Washington, "a debate took place in the civil rights movement over whether to shift from a strategy of protest to a strategy of politics."

Rustin conveniently omits the fact that part of the debate was over whether to break with the Democrats and form an independent Black party.

Nevertheless, he is absolutely correct when he states, "the effort to alter the poor's social and economic conditions required new policies at the national level. These could be implemented only through the political process. . . ."

How did Rustin propose to achieve this?

"By electing a President and a Congress committed to providing equality of opportunity for every citizen."

In Rustin's view this strategy has been a "success" and "impressive." It has elected thousands of Blacks, mostly Democrats, and transformed "the South from a reactionary bastion into a region moderate in racial outlook. . . ."

Rustin's hand is forced by reality. "Still," he complains, "some blacks have become somewhat disillusioned with electoral politics."

Why? "The most obvious [reason] is disappointment with the Carter Administration's performance."

Nearly all Blacks who voted in 1976 followed Rustin's advice. They thought they were voting for a president "committed" to full equality. But Rustin tells us that "on the major issues affecting the well-being of the black poor—particularly employment, welfare, and the cities—the President's policies have left much to be desired."

Rustin then falsifies the record by claiming, "President Carter's policies have been beneficially modified under pressure from the black and labor groups that helped elect him."

So Carter's record, according to Rustin, "is an argument for electoral politics."

Indeed it is. But not the Democratic Party politics Rustin advocates.

The fact is that the Carter administration opposes quotas to enforce affirmative-action programs. Carter has presided over attacks on school desegregation, rising unemployment in the Black community, restrictions of the right of women to abortion, welfare cuts, and the slashing of funds for social services.

Workers *should* involve themselves in electoral action to combat this government-employer offensive. But the only way to do this effectively is to break with the Democratic and Republican parties and launch independent political action based on

The fact that Blacks have *not* been in the streets fighting for full equality has allowed the opponents of Black rights to mobilize to carry out the capitalists' program of taking back the gains previously won.

Violence baits protests

Rustin aims to convince us that once Blacks won the democratic right to vote in the South, continued mass protests were somehow undemocratic.

"Once the democratic process was thus opened up," Rustin says, "it followed that the blacks' next step was to *participate* in this process at all levels. In this sense, democratic politics flowed naturally from democratic protest."

That said, Rustin violence-baits the proponents of mass action in the streets:

"What the current advocates of disruption are saying, however, is that *democracy doesn't work*—that the only thing that *does* work is a policy of force by which a minority, by threatening or actually creating disruption, compels society to submit to its will."

Nowhere do Piven and Cloward argue for a "policy of force" on the part of a minority. As a matter of fact, if Rustin added it up he would find that Blacks, workers, women, and the poor consti-

Piven and Cloward see the need for mass protests in the streets to win victories for the oppressed. But is that enough?

the needs of Blacks and other working people.

The labor movement and Blacks should run their own candidates against the Democrats and Republicans. These candidates would have to speak out against the massive military budget, demanding that these funds be used for a crash program to create jobs.

They would fight to overturn the *Bakke* decision and demand enforcement and extension of affirmative-action programs.

Independent labor and Black candidates would support the right of women to choose abortion and oppose any restriction of that right.

They would help organize support for striking coal miners and use their campaigns to aid the struggle to unionize J.P. Stevens.

A 'freedom later' liberal

Rustin also takes aim at Piven and Cloward's call for "new protest movements." He claims, "Far from speeding social change, this would produce the very opposite effect."

Rustin concedes that demonstrations might win "token concessions." But "they would also produce a backlash against the poor and dangerously polarize our society along racial lines. Blacks and the poor would be isolated from needed allies. . . ."

History demonstrates the fallacy of Rustin's view. It was when Blacks mobilized in the streets, demanding equality, that the civil rights movement won allies and isolated the die-hard racists from other whites. It was the sit-ins, mass demonstrations, and rise of Black nationalist sentiment that helped inspire Chicanos, women, Native Americans, and Asian-Americans to stand up for their rights—opening important new fronts in the fight against discrimination.

And mass protest by Blacks has helped inspire a new rise of militancy in the unions, potentially the strongest allies of Black rights.

tute the majority of the American population.

But even more revealing is what Rustin means by democracy. It is simply Blacks supporting the Democratic Party and getting that party's candidates elected.

Hears rumblings below

What really bothers Rustin and other defenders of the Democratic Party in the Black and labor movements is that people are beginning to catch on that the Democratic and Republican parties represent not the majority but a tiny minority—the ruling rich.

He is also beginning to hear the rumblings that will lead to the rise of new working-class struggles. As these protests grow, the sentiment for parties representing them and not the rich will also grow.

A break with the Democratic and Republican parties will give political muscle to the struggles of all working people. A labor party or a Black party would be able to extend and unify the fight against racism, sexism, and class exploitation.

Rustin knows that this step will not only spell the end of the Democratic Party, but also call into question the entire system of rule by the rich as well.

The experiences gained in these coming battles will lead the oppressed and exploited to draw the conclusion that capitalism is the root of their problems. These workers will swell the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party and through it lead the majority to the overthrow of capitalism. They will reorganize society on the basis of satisfying human needs, not profits.

The threat that mass, independent, working-class political action will spell the doom of capitalism is what scares Rustin. This is the real reason why he attacks Piven and Cloward's call for renewed mass protests.

A Reader's Notes

In the past decade there probably have been more people in this country interested in learning about Marxism than ever before, including in the 1930s. So the publication of a book to satisfy that interest is an occasion for rejoicing by all of us who want to build the socialist movement.

The new introduction to Marxism is by Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International who has for many years been teaching classes on the subject to young people in Belgium and other countries.

It is entitled *From Class Society to Communism* and has just been published by Ink Links, a new publishing house in London (186 pages, \$3.95 paperback). Ink Links books are distributed in the United States by Pathfinder Press.

Most readers of such books fall into one of two groups: people who know very little about Marxism and want to

learn about it; and people who know enough to want to teach others about it. I approach Mandel's book here as a member of the second group.

I am not a professional teacher, but I often used to lead classes in Newark and Detroit introducing the ideas of socialism to workers and young people, including high school students. Some were well educated, others did not find it easy to read.

A big problem was finding a text for the class to read in preparation for our discussions. Marxism has produced a vast body of literature, but most of it was not suitable for beginners.

Most of the books or pamphlets were too specialized, or too advanced, or written in outdated language, or poorly translated.

Or the examples they gave were too old.

Or the historic material they presented did not extend to the current period.

Or the authors, especially Stalinists and social democrats, would introduce objectionable material that you would have to warn the students to watch for.

And when you did have an acceptable text, it would usually cover only some aspects of the subject and omit others.

Well, I am happy to report that most such problems are solved or avoided in Mandel's new book.

Here, in seventeen short chapters averaging ten pages each, is precisely what the author promises: "the basic element of the theory of historical materialism, of Marxist economic theory, of the history of the workers movement and the problems of strategy and tactics for the workers movement in our times."

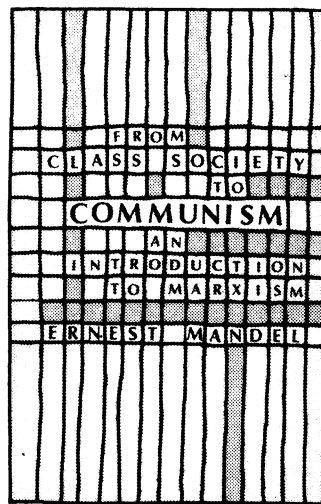
Of course, it would be unfair to expect the author to have dealt with all questions concerning Marxism. This is a work of limited scope and is not intended to substitute for other Marxist literature, only to introduce and arouse interest in the other literature.

Nevertheless, I'm sorry that Mandel hardly mentions the national question and that he did not find more room to discuss racism and sexism. I'm also sorry that the publishers did not provide an index, which would be exceptionally useful for beginners. There is a good "further reading" list to accompany each chapter.

The translation from the French by Louisa Sadler is quite good, although marred by an infrequent barbarism ("the more the class struggle hots up," page 82); or is that a Britishism?

Finally, Mandel seems a little defensive about having put his two chapters on dialectics and historical materialism at the end of the book instead of at the beginning. I don't know why. Maybe the other way around would be better if your audience were a group of students majoring in philosophy or logic. For most beginners, the best sequence is the one he has used.

—George Breitman



For a strategy to win

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Prospects for Socialism in America by Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, et al. 256 pages, \$2.95.

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School busing in Louisville still not secure

By Ilene Carver

LOUISVILLE, KY.—“What ever happened to Louisville, Kentucky?” many people around the country are asking.

Two years ago the media across the United States broadcast daily news of the antibusing violence that accompanied the desegregation of public schools here. Now that the antibusing movement has died down and the major issue facing our school system is the struggle of Black students to get an equal education, the capitalist press evidently does not think Louisville newsworthy.

However, a real assault is being waged against the rights of Black students, and nothing less than the future of the school desegregation in Louisville is at stake.

In late December, Federal Judge James Gordon, who has administered the desegregation of



Although right-wing antibusing terror has subsided, city and school board officials have continued their segregationist crusade.

As I see it

the Louisville-Jefferson County school system, announced he would withdraw from this case in late winter and return control of the schools to the school board. Gordon's departure from the case is meant to signify that the goal of school desegregation has legally been met—and that Black students are now receiving equal educational opportunities in Louisville.

This is far from the truth. It is true that the last legal challenge to our school desegregation plan—filed by the county judge and financed with thousands of dollars of taxpayers' money—was rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court last October.

And it is true that the massive resistance to busing that emerged here in the fall of 1975 has disappeared. Buses carrying Black children to school are no longer stoned, for the most part, and thousands of antibusers who once marched nightly have not mobilized in more than a year.

Resegregation

However, school desegregation in Louisville is under attack. Since the busing plan began in 1975, the courts, school officials, and others in the school system have worked to erode and sabotage it through a variety of means.

Out of 149 schools in Jefferson County, 21 have moved towards resegregation. Two years ago Judge Gordon stated he would not permit any school to resegregate. However, last December he retreated from this stance, citing recent Supreme Court rulings, particularly the Dayton case. Gordon, stated that if the racial composition of schools changed because of population shifts, nothing would be done to keep these schools desegregated.

Ilene Carver is a member of the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and an activist in Progress in Education, a Louisville organization active in support of school desegregation.

First-graders were initially exempt from busing. Remembering how big the teacher looked on his first day of school, Judge Gordon decided it would be too “traumatic” for children to be bused their first year. Until a county-wide kindergarten system is instituted, first-graders would instead attend their neighborhood schools, he stated.

Now that every school in Jefferson County will have a kindergarten within a couple of years, Gordon has again retreated. He's announced he's not sure even then if first-graders should be included in the busing plan.

In addition to the legal assault on school desegregation here, people within the school system have been out to sabotage busing from the day it began.

School board

Members of the Jefferson County School Board have repeatedly spoken out against school desegregation. A couple of months ago it was revealed that the then-chairperson of the school board had attended forums on “Alternatives to Busing” financed by the Pioneer Fund. This fund was set up by the late Wycliffe Draper, who wanted scientific proof to back up his belief that Blacks are inferior and should be sent back to Africa. When a number of people from the community challenged the school board chairperson's participation in these racist-sponsored seminars, she had a ready defense. She stated in part that she thought it perfectly acceptable for her to do all she could to stop “forced integration.”

The racist attitudes of some of our school board members are shared by not a few students, teachers, and administrators in Jefferson County.

Two big fights provoked by racist students last fall helped create an atmosphere in many schools where Black students feel unwelcome. It is as if they are entering enemy territory every day they go to school.

But it is the “adults,” the teachers and administrators, who are most responsible for creating this atmosphere and emboldening racist provocations.

More than half the suspensions given in the first quarter of this school year went to Black students—although they comprise less than one-fourth of the student population.

Many Blacks who once were top students are now mysteriously failing their courses.

Black studies are nonexistent in most schools, and attempts to organize Black student organizations have been thwarted by school officials.

An astounding number of Black teachers have fled the system since the start of school desegregation. Some have publicly stated their reason for leaving—racial discrimination. Few Blacks are in administrative positions, and the system's affirmative-action plan is a joke.

What's needed

School desegregation, along with many other hard-won rights of Black people, is under nationwide attack. And the school situation in Louisville is a reflection of this. The outcome in our community will depend, as it will everywhere, on our ability to fight back and put the racists on the defensive.

There are some groups of people in Louisville who have been organizing. Black teachers have formed an active caucus to protest racism in the schools. Black parents have joined together in several cases recently to defend Black students under physical attack.

But there has been no community-wide movement since the start of busing when many people, Black and white, organized to defeat the upsurge of the Ku Klux Klan and their allies. This kind of united movement is what's needed, and it is needed now. Only this will enable us to rescue school desegregation in Louisville and give us the power to launch an offensive to make it work.

...Malcolm X

Continued from back page

They get all the Negro vote, and after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return. All they did when they got to Washington was give a few big Negroes big jobs. Those big Negroes didn't need big jobs, they already had jobs. That's camouflage, that's trickery, that's treachery, window-dressing.

I'm not trying to knock out the Democrats for the Republicans, we'll get to them in a minute. But it is true—you put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last.

Look at it the way it is. What alibis do they use, since they control Congress and the Senate? What alibi do they use when you and I ask, “Well, when are you going to keep your promise?” They blame the Dixiecrats.

What is a Dixiecrat? A Democrat. A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise. The titular head of the Democrats is also the head of the Dixiecrats, because the Dixiecrats are a part of the Democratic Party. The Democrats have never kicked the Dixiecrats out of the party. The Dixiecrats bolted themselves once, but the Democrats didn't put them out. Imagine, these lowdown Southern segregationists put the Northern Democrats down. But the Northern Democrats have never put the Dixiecrats down.

No, look at that thing the way it is. They have got a con game going on, a political con game, and you and I are in the middle. It's time for you and me to wake up and start looking at it like it is, and trying to understand it like it is; and then we can deal with it like it is.

The Dixiecrats in Washington, D.C., control the key committees that run the government. The only reason the

Dixiecrats control these committees is because they have seniority. The only reason they have seniority is because they come from states where Negroes can't vote.

If the black man in these Southern states had his full voting rights; the key Dixiecrats in Washington, D.C., which means the key Democrats in Washington, D.C., would lose their seats.

The Democratic Party itself would lose its power. It would cease to be powerful as a party. When you see the amount of power that would be lost by the Dixiecrat wing, or branch, or element, you can see where it's against the interests of the Democrats to give voting rights to Negroes in states where the Democrats have been in complete power and authority ever since the Civil War. You just can't belong to that party without analyzing it.

By and about Malcolm X

Malcolm X Speaks.
242 pp., paper \$1.65.

Malcolm X on Afro-American History.
74 pp., paper \$1.95

By Any Means Necessary
by Malcolm X.
192 pp., paper \$2.95

The Last Year of Malcolm X
by George Breitman.
169 pp., paper \$2.95

Assassination of Malcolm X
by George Breitman, Herman Porter, and Baxter Smith.
190 pp., \$1.95

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

Women in Revolt

A 'delicate' matter

My Spanish is not too good, but the ad certainly looked like it would translate as, "Yes. Norforms is a contraceptive."

Which surprised me. The Norforms advertised in this country is a vaginal deodorant pandering to the insecurities of women about their bodies.

So I checked with José Pérez at the desk next to mine, and he read me the text of the Spanish-language ad: "Yes. Norforms is a contraceptive. And what's more, an effective contraceptive. Used according to instructions, Norforms can prevent unwanted pregnancy. Norforms is easy to use. Delicate. . . ."

The December-January issue of *Para La Gente*, a Chicano newspaper published in Texas, used the ad to illustrate an article about this dangerous hoax on Latin American women.

I called the giant corporation that puts out

Norforms, Morton-Norwich. Its answer sounded quite matter-of-fact. "In the United States it's used for hygiene, but in other countries it's used for a contraceptive," a woman told me. "Their standards are lower than the United States and FDA [Food and Drug Administration]."

"Their standards"? Latin American women don't care whether a product works or hurts them? Hardly. Women there are simply denied the truth. They have no legal safeguards restraining what Morton-Norwich can tell or do to them.

Morton-Norwich is not unusually callous and irresponsible. Pharmaceutical companies routinely use Latin America as a dumping ground for products too dangerous to peddle in U.S. drugstores.

Sterling Drug company, for example, cannot legally sell dipyrone here because the product is

Diane Wang



dangerous. But in Brazil dipyrone is sold like aspirin for "migraine headaches" and toothaches.

Bristol-Myers sells an antibiotic under the name KATREX. In this country instructions warn about the drug's serious side effects, which can lead to deafness and kidney damage. In Latin America, of course, the company puts out no such warning.

Para La Gente quotes Martina Langley, a woman from El Salvador in the United States to publicize Norform's crime. She charges that the product sold abroad contains mercury.

That means that if women do get pregnant using this phony contraceptive, the mercury may damage the fetus and poison the mother's milk.

Morton-Norwich is making millions of dollars lying to women in Latin America, our sisters. Millions of dollars from destroying women's bodies.

There is nothing "delicate" about that.

National Picket Line

Assault on Houston teachers

The following guest column was written by Warren Caldwell, a member of the Houston Teachers Association.

HOUSTON—On January 14, several hundred teachers packed into a school board meeting here, while fifty more picketed out front. The teachers were there to protest Superintendent William Reagan's proposal to increase Houston's school year by seven working days with no increase in salary. This would make it longer than in any other district in Texas.

Reagan tried to justify a longer school year by releasing secondary school test scores. The scores showed that all of Houston's white schools scored among the best in the nation, while Black and Chicano schools scored among the lowest.

Reagan was asked at a later meeting whether the scores indicated Houston had two school districts in one—the better for whites and the worse for Blacks and Chicanos. He answered, "That is absolutely correct." But he offered no solutions.

Thus Houston, by the superintendent's own admission, has a dual, segregated school system twenty-four years after such segregation was outlawed by the U.S. Supreme Court. All the phony desegregation plans, the latest being a "magnet school plan," have left 102 schools still totally segregated.

Two members of the executive committee of the Houston Teachers Association—Bill Pisciella, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board in 1977, and Signa Segrest, HTA president-elect—were allowed to speak at the board meeting, but only as individuals.

Pisciella stated that the test scores expose the racist policies of Houston's school administration. He argued that money spent on a longer school year could be better used to hire new teachers, lower class size, provide supplies, and grant paid hospitalization for teachers.

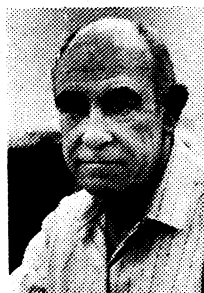
Segrest talked about the demoralization facing teachers. The attacks on their standard of living and working conditions are forcing a high turnover, he said.

Both teachers received standing ovations that could not be gavelled down. Under this pressure, Reagan decided to allow the teacher organizations to speak officially. He then postponed consideration of the school calendar until February.

On Tuesday, January 17, Reagan aimed another blow at Houston's teachers. He announced the reinstatement of standardized qualification tests, which had been abandoned as part of a desegregation plan for teachers in 1971.

HTA opposes qualification tests for teachers because the tests are culturally biased and have traditionally been used to deny jobs to Blacks and

Frank Lovell



Chicanos. This position is consistent with the National Education Association's opposition to the racist *Bakke* decision.

The Houston Federation of Teachers, however, supports these tests, a stance in keeping with the American Federation of Teachers' policy of support to the *Bakke* decision. This division among teachers weakens their organizations, Blacks, and other oppressed national minorities in the face of attacks brought against us all.

Another source of weakness is the refusal of the teacher organizations to engage in independent political action.

In Texas teachers are denied the right to bargain collectively or to strike. Yet the Texas State Teachers Organization continues to line up behind Democrats, such as 1978 gubernatorial candidate John Hill, who oppose these rights as well as raises for teachers.

In the 1977 school board elections the teacher organizations refused either to field an independent slate or to support Pisciella, the only advocate of teachers' interests on the ballot.

At a January 21 HTA meeting Pisciella proposed a protest meeting that could unite teachers, community groups, and labor unions against the attacks upon Houston's teachers. While the meeting adopted this motion, the HTA leadership has done little to see that it is implemented.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

'This fish is greasy...'

A federal district court in Boston issued an injunction January 28 delaying Washington's sale of offshore oil and gas exploration leases on the Georges Bank, a rich fishing ground off the coast of Massachusetts.

In his ruling, Judge W. Arthur Garrity cited "the possibility that this area is more valuable . . . as a breeding ground for fish . . . than it is as a source of oil and gas."

According to some estimates, the Georges Bank grounds have supplied one-fifth of the world's animal protein since the sixteenth century. Some of the tracts to which exploratory drilling rights are to be sold lie directly on a number of the most active fishing areas.

Garrity's decision was upheld by an appeals court January 30.

The courts' rulings were made in response to lawsuits by the state of Massachusetts and several groups of environmentalists and fishermen represented by the Conservation Law Foundation. The suits ask that sale of the leases be delayed until three conditions are met:

- An "oil spill liability fund" to compensate fishermen in the event of damage to the fishing grounds.
- A fund for compensating the loss of fishing gear damaged by oil exploration equipment left on the sea bottom.
- The empowering of the Interior Department to order suspension of operations and repossession of the leases in the event of "an environmental disaster."

The "Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act Amendments" now before Congress could require such

Arnold Weissberg



measures. A watered-down version of this bill was adopted by the House of Representatives on February 2.

Oil drilling in the Baltimore Canyon, an area south of the Georges Bank off the New Jersey coast, has also been delayed while the Supreme Court considers a 1976 lawsuit filed by the Natural Resources Defense Council. A district judge ruled last year in that case that the government's environmental impact statement on offshore drilling had been "a charade."

The total amount of recoverable oil in the entire offshore Atlantic area has been estimated at two to four billion barrels by the U.S. Geological Survey. This is roughly the amount currently imported by the United States in one year's time.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Quote unquote

"The government might be able to plow peanuts, but they sure in hell ain't gonna mine no coal."

—Donald Lawley, United Mine Workers executive board member.

VERNON JORDAN ANTINUKE

On January 20 and 21 North-east States Power, a big utility, held a consumer-utility conference. The conference was supposed to give consumer, low-

income, and environmental groups a voice in utility policies. Yet NSP refused to include nuclear power as a topic.

Under pressure from an alternative conference called by local chapters of the Minnesota Public Interest Research Group and Northern Sun Alliance, however, NSP conference organizers agreed to hold a future meeting to debate nuclear power.

And keynote speaker Vernon Jordan, president of the Urban League, told the NSP conference that Black people must recognize that their future does not lie with hazardous nuclear power sources.

CONTEMPTIBLE LAWYERS

Federal Judge Alfred Kirkland has declared two lawyers for the FBI in contempt of court. The lawyers have refused to produce subpoenaed FBI files for evidence in two Chicago lawsuits against political spying.

The judge declared that the government's tactics had been "to delay, to stall, to deceive, and to do anything they can to frustrate this litigation."

The two lawyers assured the judge that they had personally discussed their stonewalling actions with and won approval from Attorney General Griffin Bell and Solicitor General Wade McCree.

sor charged with overseeing illegal mail openings and wiretapping.

The judge said the two indictments were drawn up improperly. That mistake, the judge charged, "was caused not only by its inherent imprecision, but also by [the government's] fundamental lack of proper investigation."

The judge also revealed that the Justice Department could have, but did not, indict twenty-seven other FBI agents, including J. Wallace LaPrade, current head of the FBI's New York office.

So much for the widely publicized Justice Department probe to clean up the FBI.

are each day at this time in this city over 3,000 recorded cases of people without heat. The city hospitals show that in December there were 298 pneumonia deaths and so far in January we have had 445 die. Most deaths are of the very old and very young. The emergency rooms report that the number of respiratory cases is up by 40% in the larger hospitals."

POISON IN THE AIR

The area where the Soviet satellite disintegrated has been portrayed as an uninhabited Canadian wilderness. Actually, the radioactive debris may have fallen where Indians live. According to the *New York Times*, the Canadian Forces Nuclear Accident Support Team had difficulty explaining the problem to the 262 Chipewyan Indians living in Snowdrift. The Chipewyan have no word for radiation and had had no experience with satellites before this. They simply called it poison in the air.

BOYCOTT HURTS COORS

Adolph Coors Company acknowledges that the AFL-CIO-called boycott of its beer was one factor behind a 5.3 percent decline in sales from 1976 to 1977.

Coors—a notorious right-wing, antiunion outfit—forced Brewery Workers Local 366 on strike last April and clearly aims to break the union.

Despite the sales drop, Coors gave no indication it is considering settling with the union.

Women defend abortion rights

Wisconsin chapters of the National Organization for Women and Women's Political Caucus, along with abortion rights groups, have called a protest at the state capitol for noon on February 22. The Wisconsin Senate is expected to vote the next day on AB 321, a bill to end state funding for abortion.

* * *

The *Militant* has received more reports about actions held to defend abortion rights at the end of January.

In New Orleans abortion rights activists picketed Charity Hospital on January 21, while others in San Antonio, Texas, attended a memorial service for women who have died because of illegal abortions.

In Los Angeles 100

women rallied on January 22 and protested a new threat posed by a proposed ballot initiative for the November elections that would deny California state funding for abortions.

Missouri Gov. Joe Teasdale declared January 22 a day of mourning for "unborn souls." In response, Missouri women's rights supporters picketed his office in St. Louis, and 100 people attended an abortion rights panel in Kansas City.

Channel 10 TV in San Diego, California, reported that "the *Militant* bookstore was packed!" for a debate on abortion held there January 27. Joan Casale, president of the San Diego NOW chapter, and Nancy Brown of the Socialist Workers Party, defended abortion rights against two San Diego anti-abortionists.

S. AFRICAN HOLDINGS

Ohio University's board of trustees voted on February 11 to get rid of the school's \$52,000 worth of stock in businesses investing in South Africa. The businesses include International Telephone and Telegraph, Mobil Oil Corporation, Emery Air Freight Corporation, Monsanto Corporation, and Getty Oil Company.

A-BOMB VICTIM DIES

In 1957 the U.S. Army marched 250 GIs to within 3,000 yards of a Nevada nuclear explosion so that their reactions could be tested. Several contracted cancer. On February 8 Paul Cooper became the first of those human guinea pigs to die as a result.

CLEANING UP THE FBI?

On February 9 a federal judge threw out two of five indictments against John Kearney, a former FBI supervi-

LESBIAN WINS BACK JOB

Dr. Josette Mondanaro was appointed director of the California Division of Substance Abuse because she is a nationally known expert on drug and alcohol addiction.

But last October Mondanaro was fired. An angry letter she had written protesting sexual abuse of children, stolen from her personal files, was used as the excuse.

The real reason? Mondanaro is a lesbian and is considered a political liability to Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown's political career.

Mondanaro appealed her dismissal and won wide support among women's and gay groups. On February 8 the personnel board ordered her reinstated.

COLD, CRUEL CITY

New York Daily News columnist Jimmy Breslin reported at the end of January, "There

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

EAST LOS ANGELES

MALCOLM X: HIS MEANING FOR TODAY'S STRUGGLE. Speaker: Frank Greenwood, playwright. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

SAN DIEGO

HEALTH AND SAFETY ON THE JOB. Speaker: Mark Friedman, Socialist Workers Party; Renaldo Cherokee, business agent, Iron Workers Local 627; others. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

COLORADO

DENVER

THE 'BAKKE' CASE: THREAT TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Speakers: Deborah Tucker, feminist and antiracist activist; Kim Kistler, Student Coalition Against Racism. Fri., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

FLORIDA

MIAMI

COAL MINERS' STRIKE: WHAT IT MEANS FOR WORKING PEOPLE. Speaker: Lee Smith, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 266-4381.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

DO WE WANT NUCLEAR POWER NEAR ATLANTA? The Fight against the Barnwell, South Carolina, nuclear power plant. Speakers: representatives of Georgians Against Nuclear Energy; Palmetto Alliance of Columbia, S.C.; Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 471-A Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE

WILL THE ISRAEL-EGYPT TALKS BRING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST? Speakers: Tuval Foquel, Israeli student; Gordon Fox, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON: SOUTH END

COFFEE HOUR: BILINGUAL DISCUSSION OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION & THE 'BAKKE' DECISION. Thurs., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. & Thurs. Mar. 2, 7 p.m. (English only). 510 Commonwealth Ave. (take T to Kenmore Square). Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

NEW YORK

N.Y.: THE BRONX

THE HERITAGE OF MALCOLM X FOR POLITICAL ACTIVISTS TODAY. Speaker: Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party; Ramón Jiménez, La Raza Unida. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. Lincoln Hospital, 234 E. 149th St., 1st floor, conference room 3. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

N.Y.: LOWER EAST SIDE

ASIAN WOMEN STRUGGLE FOR THEIR RIGHTS. Speakers: Cora Yamamoto and Ruby Tsang, Asian-American Women's Caucus; Lolita Lacson, Philippine Women in Action; Jane Tam, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 7 Clinton St. (off Houston). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

N.Y.: QUEENS

POLITICAL ASYLUM OR DEATH: THE CASE OF HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speaker: Barry Fatland, national coordinator of Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. Fri., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m. 90-43 149th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

OHIO

CLEVELAND

MINERS UNION UNDER ATTACK. Sun., Feb. 26, 7 p.m. 13002 Kinsman. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILA.: GERMANTOWN

MALCOLM X & MARTIN LUTHER KING: LESSONS FOR THE BLACK MOVEMENT TODAY. Speaker: Shafiq Abdul-Ahad, Socialist Workers Party; tape of Malcolm X, *The Ballot or the Bullet*. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 5950 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 844-2874.

WEST PHILADELPHIA

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Sat., Feb. 25, Mar. 4 & Mar. 11, 3:30 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (215) 387-2451.

TEXAS

DALLAS

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? A class series. Sun., Feb. 12; Wed., Feb. 22; and Sun., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

HOUSTON

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Class #3. The difference between Maoism and the Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 26, 4 p.m. 4987 Martin Luther King Dr. (formerly South Park). Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

Int'l Women's Day



March 8 has been celebrated as International Women's Day since 1910. This year women will mark the occasion with actions to win the Equal Rights Amendment and to defend abortion, affirmative action, and other rights.

CHICAGO: "An Afternoon for Women's Rights." Sat., March 4, 12:30-4:30 p.m. Loop YWCA, 37 S. Wabash. Speakers include Addie Wyatt, executive vice-president, Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); Rev. Willie Barrow, Operation PUSH; and Roberta Wood, cochairperson, United Steelworkers Union District 31 Women's

Caucus. Sponsors include Committee for the ERA, north and south suburban chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE), Illinois Abortion Rights Action League, and National Coalition of American Nuns. Call (312) 663-0490 for more information.

SAN FRANCISCO: Sat., March 11, 11:00 a.m.-3:30 p.m. "Day in the Park for Women's Rights" at Golden Gate Park, Band Concourse. Sponsored by NOW Women's Rights Committee. For more information call (415) 282-1079 or 647-2855.

WASHINGTON

SEATTLE

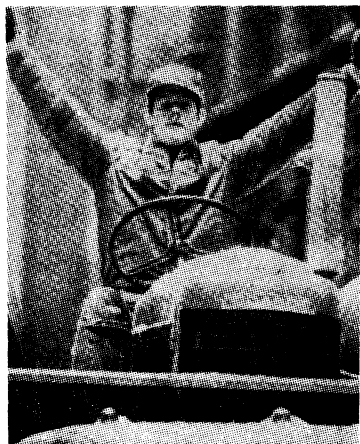
A TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X: THE MAN & HIS IDEAS. Speakers, tapes,

refreshments. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. E. Cherry YWCA, 2820 E. Cherry. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7407.

Striking farmers hit board of trade

Hundreds of farmers on strike for a decent yearly income parked their tractors in front of the Chicago Board of Trade February 6, stopping traffic in the city's financial district. The board of trade is where wealthy speculators bid on agricultural commodities.

"They're playing poker with our farms," declared one farmer, explaining the target of their protest. Another farmer added, "Eliminate this middleman, and you'll have lower prices in the grocery store."



Striking farmer in Chicago

Socialist Democracy

Socialist Democracy, a pamphlet, has just been published by Vanguard Publications in Toronto. The pamphlet reprints the resolution, "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," adopted in May 1977 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

The resolution takes up the real meaning of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as put forward by Marx and Lenin. It explains how to achieve genuine workers democracy, examines the problems of the last half century in the struggle for socialism, and analyzes the current debate between the West European Communist parties and Moscow.

The pamphlet is available for 75¢ from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

PUERTO RICAN WORKERS

On February 11 the Chicago Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee held a meeting urging support for the striking electrical workers in Puerto Rico. Speakers included Gil Rios, president of the San Juan chapter of UTIER, the union at the government-run electric company; Teamster organizer Miguel Cabrera; and Victor Quintana of the New York-based Trade Union Committee against Repression.

Speakers described attacks on Puerto Rican unionists. Cabrera, for example, faces frame-up charges of murdering corporate lawyer Alan Randall.

RICHER RICH. . .

A U.S. treasury report shows that under last year's tax code the 1.4 percent of the nation's taxpayers who reported incomes of more than \$50,000 received almost one-third of the \$84 billion in tax breaks.

. . . AND POORER POOR

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the median income for American households in 1976—the latest figure available—was still \$780 less in real buying power than in 1973. The inflation-adjusted figures were \$13,466 for 1973, and \$12,686 for 1976.

Selected Works of Marx and Engels

SPECIAL OFFER FROM PATHFINDER

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Includes complete texts of: *Wage Labor and Capital*; *Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*; *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany*; *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*; and *Wages, Price and Profit*.

Also, *Civil War in France*, *The Housing Question*; *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*; *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*; *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*.

Key chapters from *The German Ideology* and *Capital*, important prefaces, letters, and other writings.

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

The Great Society

Harry Ring



That's a comfort—We were a bit concerned when Chief Davis quit a good-paying job with the Los Angeles Police Department to make a rather chancy bid for governor of California. But, we're assured, the good chief will be drawing a city pension of \$939.62 a week.

Money's worth—A California judge ordered publisher Ralph Ginsberg and Avante-Garde Media, Inc., to discontinue illegal practices in connection with the sale of *Moneysworth* magazine and merchandise. The attorney general's office said the merchandise was often delivered late or not at all and that *Moneysworth* subscribers received renewal bills even though they were paid several years ahead. But your honor, they were just showing people how to get your money's worth.

Tired of the snow?—Round up the gang and make it down to the Crow's Nest, a vacation spot in the West Indies. A four-bedroom villa, with three meals daily, \$800 per diem.

Fail-safe—The Air Force is investigating the vandalism of a Strategic Air Command bomber that was on alert and carrying A-bombs. A source said one of the nuclear missiles had been tampered with and "looked like somebody had beat on it with a hammer." However, we were assured, it was unlikely the bomb could have been detonated that way.

Evangelical candor—Deprecating his religious influence, Billy Graham said, "I don't think I have the intellectual depth to be the leader."

A matter of priorities—The Federal Aviation Authority has said yes to airlines removing life rafts from planes flying routes that include stretches of ocean. Applications made a year ago assured that failure of all three engines on a modern jet was "virtually unknown." This past January 19, all three engines died on a Florida-bound plane, and the pilot got them restarted only after plummeting more than 10,000 feet. Eliminating the rafts lightens the plane load, cutting the gas bill by about \$150,000 a year.

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins

NAACP conference call

NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks has announced that his organization is calling a conference of Black leaders. At the top of the agenda, says Hooks, will be jobs.

So far, so good.

According to the official January figures, official unemployment among Blacks stood at 12.7 percent, more than twice the official rate of 5.5 percent for whites. However, while unemployment among whites declined 1.2 percent last year, Black joblessness rose by .1 percent.

But just what Hooks plans to do about jobs at the NAACP conference he doesn't say. He does give some indication of how he views the problem, however.

"If there's any one lesson Black folks should know by this time," he writes, "ain't going to be no jobs for Black folks until there are jobs for all folks. . . ."

"We've prodded President Carter and Congress on some jobs legislation because we recognize that as long as there is joblessness in America, we're going to have more of it than anybody else. . . ."

"Our first concern then is the push for employment, jobs legislation. . . . Then, having done that, we have to push to make sure Blacks get their proportional share. . . ."

Undoubtedly the fight for full employment is crucial to ending Black joblessness. But that Blacks must accept high and disproportionate rates of unemployment until full employment is won is a mistaken notion.

Not only would it mean giving in to the trend in layoffs and hiring discrimination recorded last year—Black unemployment rising, while unemployment for whites declined—but it would weaken the possibility of launching a fight for jobs for all.

Any conference of Black leaders should consider making one of its top priorities, along with the fight for jobs, the fight to defend Blacks from discriminatory layoffs and discrimination in hiring. In short, it should discuss defense of affirmative-action programs—beginning with a united action campaign to reverse the *Bakke* decision.

A conference would also do well to reassess how to fight for jobs for all.

Like the trade-union officialdom, the major civil rights groups have limited their fight for jobs since Carter's inauguration to lobbying Congress for passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill—a fake bill that creates *no jobs at all*.

Instead, Black leaders should demand a massive federal public works program to build schools, hospitals, housing, public transportation, recreational facilities, and libraries—all of which are sorely needed in Black communities. Of course, Carter would cry, "The money isn't there!"

But few Blacks would disagree that the billions now spent on the war budget could be better used to put the unemployed back to work.

In addition, as Hooks suggests, preferential hiring of Blacks and other oppressed minorities on any public works program should be demanded.

It will take more than lobbying and courting Capitol Hill "allies" to win such measures. It will take a concerted campaign *against* the Democrats and Republicans in the White House and Congress.

Because in the final analysis, both those parties and the politicians in them are owned by the same wealthy capitalists who *profit* from unemployment and discrimination against Blacks.

The fight today for jobs and against discrimination in hiring requires the same sort of strategy that toppled Jim Crow—demonstrations, pickets, mass marches *against* the government, along with the natural allies of Blacks—other oppressed minorities, labor, women, and youth.

Such a coalition of forces in public, visible action—independent of the Democrats and Republicans—would be a powerful factor for the government to reckon with. It could also begin to lay the basis for independent action by the Black movement and labor in the electoral arena.

The Black leadership conference called by the NAACP should make it its business to pull together such an action coalition.

Defeat Taft-Hartley!

Striking coal miners today are being threatened with a presidential back-to-work injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act. Where did this strike-breaking law come from? And what can be done about it?

Taft-Hartley was adopted in June 1947 at the height of a postwar anti-labor offensive headed by the Democratic Party administration of Harry Truman. Truman had sought to break a series of powerful strikes—especially by coal miners—by demanding legislation to draft strikers into the army. He also called for revisions of the 1935 Wagner Act to drastically limit union power.

On April 24, 1947, half a million workers in Detroit walked out of the plants, and nearly 300,000 jammed Cadillac Square to protest the impending legislation. Dozens of CIO councils and local unions endorsed a call for a one-day general strike.

But the top leaders of both the CIO and the AFL opposed any militant action to stop the bill. They recommended instead petitions, postcards to Congress, and prayers.

Truman—even though he had initiated many of the bill's proposals—vetoed it in order to retain his pose as a 'friend of labor.' He could do this confident that Congress would override the veto. It did—with a majority of congressional Democrats voting to uphold what the unions called a 'slave-labor bill.'

Taft-Hartley outlawed the closed shop, allowed the president to order strikers back to work for eighty days, banned secondary boycotts, prohibited unions from contributing to political campaigns, outlawed strikes by government employees, and required all union officers to sign anti-communist oaths.

Here is what the 'Militant' said in a front-page editorial on June 28, 1947:

Millions of workers gritted their teeth in white-hot anger as the Democratic and Republican parties united this week to give the plutocracy its first major victory over the working masses since the end of the war. . . .

How stunning is this blow! Only yesterday there were laws on the statute books safeguarding the elementary democratic rights of the organized labor movement. Today the open shop is back. Injunctions are back. Forced arbitration is back. Litigation against unions is back. Manhunts against the militants are back. Overnight the clock of labor legislation has been pushed back twenty-five years. In Wall Street there is jubilation.

How was Wall Street able to win this

victory? Why were 15 million union men and women impotent to stay the hand of Congressional cut-throats? Because this giant of American labor was armed by its leaders with nothing but paper weapons—wads of postcards and telegrams to fling at Congress. . . .

An era is closed. It was the era of fighting on the picket lines but crawling at the polls. It was the era of keeping labor chained to the Democratic Party.

The crime of the labor leaders lay in blessing this political party which helped forge the chains for the unions. No shouts of "betrayal" can cover up this crime.

Truman paved the way for Taft. Democrats marched down the bi-partisan road, with the Republicans, to defeat the veto. And all the while, [CIO President Philip] Murray and [AFL President William] Green strained might and main not to safeguard the unions—but to salvage Truman's reputation!

They provided cheap publicity for this friend of the railroad magnates, coal barons and meat kings; this benefactor of Franco, Peron, Chiang Kai-shek and the King of Greece; this political bedfellow of Rankin and Bilbo.

Will the labor leaders support a militant policy to defy and defeat the slave-labor act? Already they are trying to persuade the workers not to place the unions in legal jeopardy, but to rely on the courts for its nullification—the same courts which are the servants of Wall Street; the same courts which upheld Truman in breaking the mine strike last year. They have always preferred the courtroom to the picket line.

Already they are talking about repeating their suicidal policy of electing "good" capitalist politicians—who can be relied upon only to stab labor in the back. In 1948 they will draw a curtain around 1947 and beat the drums once again for Truman and the Democratic Party. To follow them is to follow the Judas-goats to the slaughter pens.

The hour has struck for action—POLITICAL ACTION! Along with the fight to nullify the Taft-Hartley Act must go the struggle to drive out of Congress the two capitalist parties which enacted it.

This is the lesson of this grim hour. Fifteen million workers are as weak as one unless they are organized in their own class party based on a fighting program.

It is not too late for labor to enter as an independent force in the 1948 elections. Right now is the time for all unions, CIO, AFL and independent, to convene a Conference of Labor to nominate Labor's own candidates for the Presidency and Congress. Such a Labor Conference, held in time, might have stopped the Taft-Hartley Bill. Now it must be held to curb the evil workings of this law and mobilize the forces to repeal it. . . .

China's doctored photos



I thought your readers might be interested in these photographs. The top photo of Mao Tse-tung in northern China in 1947 appeared in the October 1967 *China Pictorial*, an official publication in China. Ten years later—after the death of Mao and the subsequent arrest of his wife Chiang Ch'ing as one of the "gang of four"—the photo appeared again in the same magazine with Chiang Ch'ing (at the far rear in the top photo) airbrushed out.

Through this falsification of history, the bureaucratic elite in China has proved once again that it is of exactly the same breed as its factional opponents in the Kremlin. Under Stalin's orders, the Soviet bureaucrats doctored countless photographs to remove the embarrassing figure of Leon Trotsky, Lenin's great collaborator in the Bolshevik revolution.

Of course, Chiang Ch'ing, herself one of the most arbitrary of the Peking bureaucrats, bears no comparison with Trotsky, who wrote in his autobiography, *My Life*:

"There can be no greater proof of the intellectual downfall of a revolutionary politician than deception of the masses."

Chiang Ch'ing is a victim of her own methods, but the point is the same: both the Peking and Moscow Stalinists falsify their own history so that no embarrassing questions can be asked. Both are motivated solely by special privilege and the mortal fear of their own people.

Their role and methods remind me of the "tuxedo unionists" of our own American labor movement, the "labor statesmen" who sell out and mislead millions of workers in exchange for \$50,000 salaries, fat cigars, and a game of golf with the boss. These bureaucrats also distort history—the militant history of organized labor's struggles in the thirties and forties—afraid that the American workers will rediscover the lessons of the past and begin to put them into practice today.

Chris Horner
United Steelworkers Local 6282
Dallas, Texas

Excited about socialism

I am very excited about the prospect of weekly columns devoted to studying socialism. [See "Learning About Socialism" on this spread.] Clearly a brilliant and needed addition to an already fine publication.

If you are thinking about offering an outline of topics, please do. That might encourage readers to be thinking ahead of time and posing questions.

I hope there will be a good

feminist perspective included in the discussions, as well as other "minority" viewpoints.

A reader
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Saw a poster

I have seen a poster on the streets of Tucson informing me that a subscription is available at two dollars for ten issues. I am quite interested and am enclosing my check.

Evan Krieger
Tucson, Arizona

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PRDF benefit

The *Militant's* coverage of the Los Angeles benefit cocktail party for the Political Rights Defense Fund gave a good flavor of the event. (See February 10 issue.) But there was one important omission. The afternoon's program was opened by Brad Kahn, a PRDF staff member who spent three months in Los Angeles organizing the event.

The success of the benefit was due, in significant part, to his efforts.

Syd Stapleton
New York, New York

Likes letters column

I have a job now and will be able to buy a complete year's subscription. I think the *Militant* is great because it brings out ideas that can't be found in any other paper. Even though I disagree with you on the talks going on in the Middle East, you bring up some good points that make me think about this question in more detail.

I like the letters column, because I can read what other people think too. And although it would cost a lot, you should think of polling *Militant* readers on some of the big questions going on in the world.

I would also like to thank the staff of the *Militant* on the hard work they put into the paper. You're doing a great job!
Mike Waller
Naperville, Illinois

Women in prison

Recently I returned to my hometown in the deep South in Alabama. I accompanied a friend on a visit to women prisoners in the Mobile County Jail.

There I found two cell blocks of young women, almost all of them Black. The conditions were inhuman. There were no lights in the cells; they had to read by dim lights in the hallway.

Women who came in with only one set of clothes were forced to wash them out in the one sink, hang them on the bars to dry, and wrap up in a sheet in the meantime. While the warden agreed to allow them access to the daily paper, the cops in the docket room denied them this privilege.

When I mentioned Joanne Little in discussions with the prisoners every head popped up with excitement. Being in a similar situation as Little had been in, they were eager to hear news of her and other Blacks and women who have been locked away by racism.
Caroline Fowlkes
Phoenix, Arizona

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.

A good book to start with

When I became a socialist I was certain I had made the right decision. I also knew I had a lot to learn. There was so much I hadn't read, and so many books to choose from, that I didn't know where to begin.

Then I read *The History of American Trotskyism* by James P. Cannon. Originally delivered as lectures on the first ten years of the Trotskyist movement in the United States, Cannon's history is an easy-to-read course in revolutionary politics. I recommend it strongly to socialists who are in the same position I was—trying to decide where to begin their studies.

It covers everything from the ins-and-outs of the early communist movement to trade-union tactics and the rise of the industrial union movement in the United States. Cannon, a veteran socialist agitator and educator, never loses the reader's interest and explains even the most complicated ideas without getting bogged down.

Above all else, Cannon insists on the tremendous power of ideas and the need for a correct political program. "If the program of a political group, especially a small political group, is false," he says, "Nothing can save it in the end. It is just as impossible to bluff in the political movement as in war. . . . You must have a correct program in order to survive and serve the cause of the workers."

Would-be socialists who try to take shortcuts through programmatic compromises often end up serving the enemies of the socialist cause. Cannon describes how the Communist Party degenerated from a revolutionary organization devoted to the class struggle, to a tool of the Kremlin bureaucrats who came to power as a result of the isolation and economic backwardness of the first workers state.

Side-by-side with Cannon's emphasis on the importance of Marxist ideas is his internationalism. Our struggles here in the U.S. are very directly related to the struggles of workers elsewhere in the world.

One outstanding example given by Cannon of the connection between developments in the U.S. and the struggles of the working class in other countries is the effect of the Russian revolution in shaping the radical movement here in the U.S.

"The Bolshevik revolution in Russia changed everything almost overnight," Cannon recalls. "Here was demonstrated in action the conquest of power by the proletariat. As in every other country, the tremendous impact of this

proletarian revolutionary victory shook our movement in America to its very foundation."

The exploits of the Bolsheviks gave strength and hope to the young militants of that time, and the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky transformed American socialism and were the basis for the formation of the American Communist Party.

"Without international collaboration—that is what the word 'internationalism' means—it is not possible for a political group to survive and develop on a revolutionary path in this epoch," Cannon says. It was something he found out from experience.

With the triumph of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, Communist parties around the world began to get orders instead of collaboration and aid. Blind factional struggles were encouraged by the Kremlin as a way of maximizing its control. But, as Cannon says, "We fought in the dark, thinking only of our national troubles."

Then, in 1928, Cannon happened to come across a document by Trotsky criticizing the policies of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International. When Cannon became convinced that Stalin was destroying workers democracy in the USSR and replacing socialist internationalism with class collaboration, he decided to lead a fight for Trotsky's ideas even though he knew it would mean expulsion from the Communist Party and years of difficult work in isolation.

"Our action brought about a fundamental change in the whole situation in the American movement, the transformation, virtually at one blow, of a demoralizing, degenerating national faction fight into a great historical principled struggle with international aims," Cannon says.

Of course, that was only the beginning of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S. Most of *The History of American Trotskyism* deals with what happened afterwards.

The History of American Trotskyism is an introduction to what a revolutionary workers party is, an explanation of why it is necessary, and a handbook on how it functions. For anyone who wants to learn about socialism, Cannon's history is a good place to start.

—Paul Montauk

The History of American Trotskyism is available from the bookstores listed in the directory below, or it can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, for \$4.45.

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THE MILITANT

Malcolm X: the road to Black political power

Printed below are excerpts from "The Ballot or the Bullet," a speech delivered by Malcolm X in April 1964, less than a month after his break with the Nation of Islam.

The speech outlined some of the basic ideas around which he sought to construct a new, militant Black nationalist organization.

At the heart of Malcolm's ideas was his conviction that the two-party system was a trap. Flowing from this, he was convinced that Black political power had to be mobilized independent of and in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

At the time this speech was delivered, a major goal of the Black movement was winning voting rights in the South. Malcolm described the potential power of Black voters once that right was guaranteed.

Malcolm also laid bare the trickery employed by the Democratic Party to win votes from Blacks while disregarding their needs and aspirations. All this is even truer today, as Carter's string of broken promises to Blacks makes clear.

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy.

These 22 million victims are waking up. Their eyes are coming open. They're beginning to see what they used to only look at. They're becoming politically mature. They are realizing that there are new political trends from coast to coast.

As they see these new political trends, it's possible for them to see that every time there's an election the races are so close that they have to have a recount. They had to recount in Massachusetts to see who was going to be governor, it was so close. It was the same way in Rhode Island, in Minnesota, and in many other parts of the country. And the same with Kennedy and Nixon when they ran for president. It was so close they had to count all over again.

Well, what does this mean? It means that when white people are evenly divided, and black people have a bloc of votes of their own, it is left up to them to determine who's going to sit in the White House and who's going to be in the dog house. It was the black man's vote that put the present administration in Washington, D.C. Your

vote, your dumb vote, your ignorant vote, your wasted vote put in an administration in Washington, D.C., that has seen fit to pass every kind of legislation imaginable, saving you until last, then filibustering on top of that.

And your and my leaders have the audacity to run around clapping their hands and talk about how much progress we're making. And what a good president we have. If he wasn't good in Texas, he sure can't be good in Washington, D.C. Because Texas is a lynch state. It is in the same breath as Mississippi, no different; only they lynch you in Texas with a Texas accent and lynch you in Mississippi with a Mississippi accent.

And these Negro leaders have the audacity to go and have some coffee in the White House with a Texan, a Southern cracker—that's all he is—and then come out and tell you and me that he's going to be better for us because, since he's from the South, he knows how to deal with the Southerners. What kind of logic is that? Let Eastland be president, he's from the South too. He should be better able to deal with them than Johnson.

In this present administration they have in the House of Representatives 257 Democrats to only 177 Republicans. They control two-thirds of the



House vote. Why can't they pass something that will help you and me? In the Senate, there are 67 senators who are of the Democratic Party. Only 33 of them are Republicans. Why, the Democrats have got the government sewed up, and you're the one who sewed it up for them. And what have they given you for it?

Four years in office, and just now getting around to some civil-rights legislation. Just now, after everything else is gone, out of the way, they're going to sit down now and play with you all summer long—the same old

giant con game that they call filibuster.

So it's time in 1964 to wake up. And when you see them coming up with that kind of conspiracy, let them know your eyes are open. And let them know you got something else that's wide open too. It's got to be the ballot or the bullet. The ballot or the bullet.

If you're afraid to use an expression like that, you should get on out of the country, you should get back in the cotton patch, you should get back in the alley.

Continued on page 26

'Assassination of Malcolm X'

Wide readership reflects desire for answers

By Rich Finkel

Who killed Malcolm X? Did government agencies help plot his murder?

These questions have been on the minds of many since Malcolm X was assassinated February 21, 1965.

And in light of the Watergate revelations and exposures of the government's campaign to destroy the Black movement, suspicion of government complicity in the murder has grown.

An indication of the deepening interest in getting to the truth about Malcolm X's assassination can be seen in the first-year response to Pathfinder Press's book, *The Assassination of Malcolm X* by George Breitman, Herman Porter, and Baxter Smith.

This account of the unanswered

questions surrounding the murder of Malcolm X sold 18,800 copies in 1977—Pathfinder's number one seller for the year. It is Pathfinder's first publication in the popular mass-market or pocketbook format.

The Assassination of Malcolm X examines the official version of the murder and exposes the government's refusal to seek out those behind the assassination. It is a powerful voice urging a new investigation by an independent commission of inquiry from the Black community.

Essays in this volume explore Malcolm X's ideas and achievements. George Breitman, editor of several books by Malcolm X and author of *The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary* challenges the widespread misrepres-

entations of Malcolm X's views that have occurred since his death.

Since the book's publication, suspicion of government complicity in the assassination has been raised by new sources. In March 1977, the *Militant* reported on the contents of more than 1,300 pages of FBI files on Malcolm.

Although heavily censored, these files revealed the FBI's constant surveillance of Malcolm X. They also pointed to FBI attempts to disrupt the activities of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity. However, these files contained nothing on the actual circumstances surrounding the assassination.

A new development could shed light on these questions. Talmadge Hayer—one of the three men convicted in 1966 for Malcolm X's murder—recently filed an affidavit

with the New York State Supreme Court giving the first names of four men he says aided him in the assassination.

During the 1966 trial Hayer confessed to the murder but testified that the two other men standing trial—Norman (3X) Butler and Thomas (15X) Johnson—were innocent. Hayer now says he can provide evidence to clear Butler and Johnson.

If the court takes action on this new evidence, it could lead to a reopening of the case. The necessity for such a step is vigorously argued in the *Assassination of Malcolm X*, which can be ordered in the paperback edition for \$1.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or purchased at any of the socialist bookstores listed on page 31.