

THE MILITANT

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

UNITE BEHIND THE MINERS!

Coal strike is the cause of all workers

The following statement was released March 8 by the Socialist Workers Party candidates in Ohio and Kentucky—Pat Wright for Ohio governor, John Gaige for Ohio lieutenant governor, and Jim Burfeind for U.S. Congress from Kentucky's Third District.

President Carter's use of the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" act against 160,000 striking coal miners poses a deadly threat to the entire

STRIKE COVERAGE INSIDE

- Baltimore labor rally backs miners, page 7.
- Would government seizure aid the union? page 8.
- Maoist thugs attack coal strike support meeting, page 9.

labor movement and to the rights of all working people.

The miners democratically voted in their overwhelming majority to reject the contract terms offered by the coal operators. By ordering the miners to give up their only weapon—the right to strike—and return to work, Carter is trampling on their democratic right to decide for themselves what are acceptable conditions of employment.

The strength of the miners lies in their *united action* and in the broad support their struggle has won from other working people. Carter is trying to *divide* the miners—to isolate them from other workers and to foster



CEDAR GROVE, W. Va.—Strikers discuss and reject coal bosses' contract. Carter's back-to-work order tramples on democratic rights of miners.

divisions within the United Mine Workers union itself. The divide-and-rule offensive is proceeding on several fronts:

- The employers, the government, and the news media have stepped up their scare campaign to blame the miners for layoffs, school closings, and power cutbacks. The miners are

made the scapegoats for everything from rising prices to the decline of the dollar.

- Provocative warnings about "violence" and threats of federal force to protect scabs are designed to create the false impression that intimidation by a minority—rather than the

Continued on page 6

About this paper

'I read it from the standpoint of a coal miner. And I think it's a real good prolabor paper.'

That's what a Pennsylvania coal miner told us about the 'Militant' last week.

This paper is unique. It tells the truth about the miners' fight. It explains why they have courageously waged their long, hard-fought strike.

The 'Militant' is being sold all across the country as part of the effort to lend solidarity to the striking miners.

For more on sales and how you can help, see page 5.

Miners blast Taft-Hartley

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON, March 8—On less than a day's notice, several hundred coal miners showed up at federal hearings here today to let the Carter administration know that "coal miners won't work under bondage."

The hearings before the three-member Taft-Hartley "fact finding" board were closed to the public and news media. Miners charged the event was intended only to "rubber stamp" Carter's decision to invoke the antiunion Taft-Hartley Act.

"If they say we have to go back to work, they're going to see the streets of Washing-

ton, D.C., filled with coal miners—because we're coming down here," Jim Nuccetelli, head of his local's safety committee, told reporters. "We're going to tell Mr. Carter and Congress what we think about their Taft-Hartley."

Miners across the nation rejected the second proposed contract in a two-to-one vote the weekend of March 4-5.

Carter announced March 6 that he would invoke the strikebreaking law to try and force the miners back to work.

"The country cannot afford to wait any

Continued on page 4

FBI threatens to defy Supreme Court

—PAGE 3

Women's rights under fire

In just the past few weeks attacks against women's rights have escalated dangerously. Every major gain women have won is under fire.

Abortion rights. The new restrictions on abortion recently approved by the Akron, Ohio, City Council as counseling "guidelines" are among the most severe in the country (see back page). Not only does Akron's new ordinance require that a woman's husband or parents know about the abortion. The regulations also demand that each woman seeking an abortion hear a religious description of when life begins, an attempt to intimidate her from exercising her right to choose.

The anti-abortion groups behind the Akron law have vowed to copy this tactic around the country.

The frenzied foes of women's rights have also resorted to violence. A March 1 attempt to burn out the Akron women's clinic was the seventh arson attack on an abortion clinic in the past year.

Nationally, only thirteen states and the District of Columbia still provide Medicaid for women's abortions. Some of these are now debating fund cuts too.

And the U.S. Congress is considering a measure to prevent private medical insurance from covering working women's abortions.

Equal Rights Amendment. As of March 22 there is only one year left to win ratification of the ERA. No state has ratified since January 1977, and three more must do so by the 1979 deadline. Two states voted it down last month.

Even scheduling a vote on the proposed extension of the deadline is facing major opposition in Congress.

Failure to ratify the ERA will be a signal to antiwoman, anti-Black, and antilabor forces to step up their battle against all civil rights.

Affirmative action. The *Bakke* decision against special-admissions programs for oppressed national minorities is being heard by the Supreme Court this spring. Similar challenges to affirmative action on the job have been upheld in courts around the country.

If the *Bakke* decision is not overturned it

will undermine the legal foundation for many of the advances in jobs and education that women and oppressed minorities have made since the civil rights movement.

The concerted assault on abortion, the ERA, and affirmative action must be answered. Defeat on any one issue will boost the morale of women's enemies and add momentum to their attack on other rights.

This makes it urgent for women's rights supporters to meet these attacks head on, on all fronts.

The women's movement must alert the public to the crisis and answer the divide-and-rule arguments of those who seek to keep women in "their place."

The movement needs to explain that these attacks are part of the general government drive against race equality, social services, job safety, the right to a job, and a decent standard of living.

In answer to this crisis women should place the responsibility for the escalated attacks exactly where it belongs, on the Democratic and Republican parties.

But many leaders of the women's movement, including leaders of the National Organization for Women, and Democratic and Republican politicians, say the only answer is to elect more "friends" to office and lobby harder on the Hill.

The Democrats and Republicans have already displayed their scorn for women. Relying on these politicians has strengthened their hand while weakening the women's movement.

What women need instead is a movement independent of the Democrats and Republicans. A women's movement that relies on its own strength. A movement that reaches out to oppressed national minorities and to all working people as allies. A movement that stands up to the Democrats and Republicans to defend and extend women's rights.

The striking coal miners are proving that it is not only possible, it is necessary to stand up to the government. They are showing that an uncompromising struggle, united and determined, is the first requirement in the battle to beat back the ruling-class attacks.

The miners' militancy in the face of crisis should be taken as an inspiring example for the women's movement.

Protest apartheid March 18

On March 17-19, U.S. and South African teams will face each other in Davis Cup tennis matches at Nashville's Vanderbilt University.

Despite mounting protests, Vanderbilt University and the United States Tennis Association refuse to withdraw as hosts for the match.

In response the NAACP is holding a demonstration against the matches in Nashville March 18. Other groups have also scheduled protests there during the weekend. Support for these actions is spreading, particularly on Black campuses throughout the South.

The protests against the Davis Cup can let the world know that the American people do not support this propaganda boost for South Africa. They can also register public discontent with continued U.S. support to the brutal white-minority regime in South Africa.

Such protests are sorely needed. Despite Carter's human rights rhetoric, Washington's policy on South Africa has not changed.

This policy supports the torture and murder of Black political prisoners. It condones huge investments by U.S. corporations, which—like their South African counterparts—pay Black workers starvation wages and refuse to recognize their unions. It upholds South African apartheid as a whole—a system of racial oppression and degradation repugnant to all who believe in human equality.

These protests deserve the support and backing of all American working people—as an act of internationalist solidarity with our Black brothers and sisters fighting for liberation in South Africa.

Successful protests against the Davis Cup tennis matches can give impetus to the developing movement among students, unionists, and other opponents of apartheid to get the United States out of South Africa and end U.S. investment there.

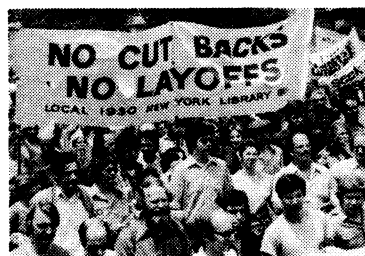
They can also spur increased demands for freedom for the South African political prisoners and an end to the bannings and detentions used by the regime to behead the Black struggle.

The *Militant* urges its readers to join in the NAACP-sponsored march and other protests against the Davis Cup.

Militant Highlights This Week

- 5 'Militant' sales drive
- 7 Miners' support rallies
- 9 Maoist thugs attack rally
- 10 SWP candidate Fred Halstead
- 11 Nashville antiapartheid action
- 13 Maoists & Sadat's trip
- 14 Anti-'Bakke' conference
- 15 Marroquin case
- 20 U.S. vs. USSR: the arms race
- 32 Akron abortion attack
- 2 In Our Opinion
- 27 Women in Revolt
National Picket Line
Capitalism Fouls Things Up
- 28 In Brief
What's Going On
- 29 Their Government
The Great Society
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage
Letters
- 31 Learning About Socialism
If You Like This Paper...

- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 23 Rhodesia gamble by Smith
- 24 International Women's Day
- 25 World News Notes

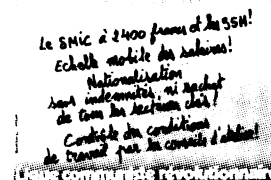


NY unions need a new strategy

Ray Markey, a well-known socialist and unionist in New York's AFSCME Local 1930, talks to the 'Militant' about what city workers can do to combat the growing cutbacks and layoffs. **Page 16.**

Issues in French election

A new government of the Communist and Socialist parties vs. collaboration with capitalist politicians. That is the key issue raised by French revolutionists in this month's parliamentary elections. **Page 12.**



Arms race: who's to blame?

Do the U.S. and USSR share equal responsibility for the threat of nuclear annihilation? Or is the arms race caused by U.S. imperialism's expansionist profit drive? **Page 20.**

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FBI threatens to defy high court, insists on 'informer privilege'

By Diane Wang

President Carter's Justice Department made front-page headlines in the March 3 *New York Times* when government lawyers threatened to defy a Supreme Court order rather than produce evidence about informers for the lawsuit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the government's political spying and disruption.

The threat to defy the Supreme Court was made public on March 1 when federal Judge Thomas Griesa unsealed previously secret court transcripts for the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. The committee's current hearings on Benjamin Civiletti, Carter's nominee for deputy attorney general, give it a chance to review and challenge the Justice Department's policy.

Leonard Boudin, the socialists' attorney, sent the Senate committee the court records with a letter explaining the constitutional issue raised.

"Not even President Nixon, at the height of the Watergate crisis, took the position that an executive privilege stood entirely above the Courts of this land," Boudin said.

"A key element in the FBI's disruptive operations was the use of paid infiltrators to try to disrupt the party from within," Boudin explained. "The federal judge before whom this case is

being tried believes this is a serious question and deserves a trial. But a trial cannot be held without facts.

"... By defying a Court order, the FBI and the Justice Department would deny citizens the right to a fair court test of government activities which ... violated constitutional rights."

At the previously secret court hearing on February 10, Assistant U.S. Attorney Frank Wohl said, "At the present time the FBI and the Department of Justice are leaning strongly in the direction of declining to turn over identities of any informants."

Wohl declared that even if the government lost all legal appeals and were ordered to produce the informers' files by the Supreme Court there was a "strong possibility" that the FBI would refuse. The government might prefer to forfeit the case or accept legal sanctions, he said, rather than produce the evidence.

Possible jailing?

Griesa answered, "I appreciate your warning, and I will state to you and to the FBI that as far as I can see now it is not tolerable or acceptable to this court to be told that the FBI will defy the order of the court and accept what you call sanctions.

"The purpose of discovery is not to

lead to sanctions, it is to lead to discovery. . . .

"As long as you have suggested it, I want to give you advance notice that I will seriously consider contempt or

imprisonment of defiant officials . . . I will not hesitate to use that power if there is a willful defiance of a final order of this court."

If the newly appointed FBI Director William Webster ends up going to jail for withholding evidence he will land in the middle of quite an irony. As a federal judge, Webster was part of a three-judge panel that upheld the very order by Judge Griesa that the FBI is now preparing to defy.

High stakes

The Justice Department's threat to defy the Supreme Court comes after more than a year of legal battles over the informer evidence. At stake are the complete files of eighteen FBI informers, twenty-five file drawers of information.

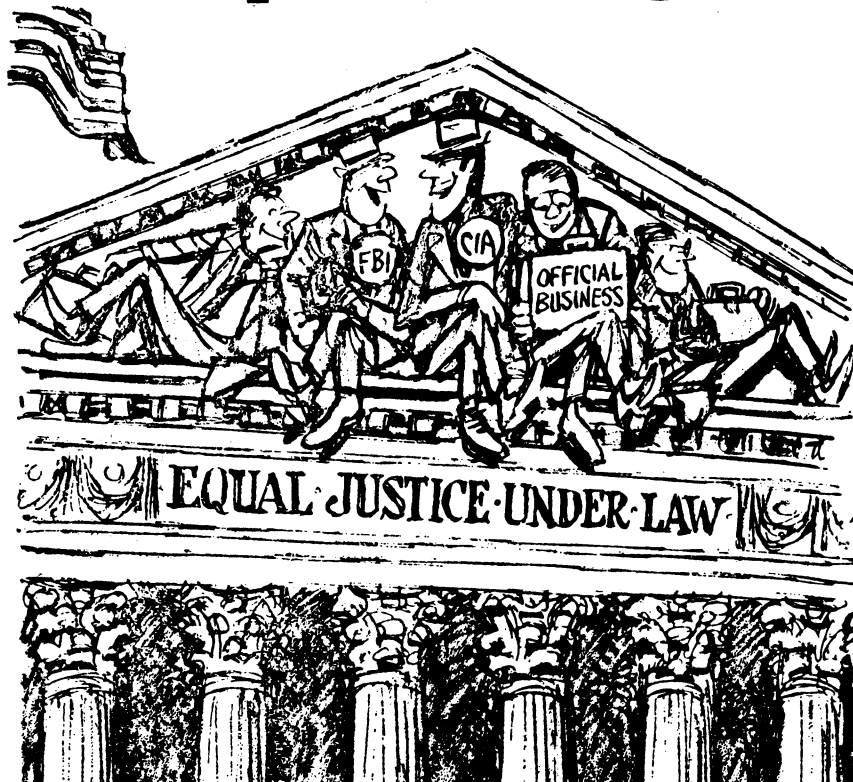
The socialists demanded the files on the eighteen as a sample, a first step in documenting how the FBI uses political spies.

The government lawyers have contended that the informers' secrecy privilege comes above citizens' right to know. If the informers are publicly brought to account in court, argues the government, all FBI informers will be afraid to continue operations.

Last May Griesa ordered the government to show the files to the socialists' attorneys. That order was upheld by the Court of Appeals. The files still have not been made available, however, since the government again appealed the judge's decision.

In a recent attempt to find a new solution to the problem, Judge Griesa reviewed the eighteen files case by case.

Continued on page 18



'Except for those of us who are above it.'

Herblock

Senate committee quizzes Justice Dept.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—By March 3 the Senate Judiciary Committee had already spent more than a week questioning Benjamin Civiletti, Carter's nominee for deputy attorney general. The four senators cross-examining Civiletti had a lot of topics to raise, ranging from the Bert Lance scandal to voter registration fraud.

But the first matter raised at the



Nominee Benjamin Civiletti had no real answers.

March 3 hearing was about the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI.

"There is a story in today's news that concerns me greatly," said Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo.). He was referring to a front-page article in the *New York Times* about the government's threat to defy a court order rather than produce evidence about informers. "Does the Justice Department feel itself bound by the U.S. Supreme Court?" he asked Civiletti.

Civiletti answered that "every piece of opinion is not law" that has to be obeyed.

But what about a direct Supreme Court order, such as a Supreme Court order to turn over informers' files? That was the issue raised by the newspaper article, Wallop insisted.

Although Civiletti later told reporters he had been briefed on the *New York Times* article that morning, he now asked the senator which article he meant.

Finally forced to explain the Justice Department's stand, Civiletti

read a statement on the SWP and YSA lawsuit made by the attorney general. "It is, of course, the policy of the Justice Department to obey court orders," he read. "The government interest in protecting the identity of informers is a very important interest. However, any proposal to deviate from the policy of obeying court orders should have my personal attention."

After the hearing the *Militant* asked Civiletti whether that statement meant the attorney general would personally consider disobeying court orders.

Civiletti would not answer. "It doesn't say the Supreme Court," was all he would say to explain the statement.

Senator Wallop told the *Militant*: "It is unsettling they could even contemplate deviating from a Supreme Court order, from any court order for that matter. They have the right to appeal, but not to deviate."

"I don't often find myself in agreement with parties of the far left, but they do have rights," the right-wing Republican conceded. "Hopefully we all do."

—D.W.

Special offer to new readers

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The *Militant* takes sides: for democratic rights and against the FBI, for the striking mine workers and against the coal operators, for women's rights and against the anti-abortion bigots. To get weekly coverage on the side of working people subscribe to the *Militant*.



'How many times do I have to explain, Henderson? There are good guys and there are bad guys and no matter how it looks we're still the good guys!'

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...miners blast Carter's strikebreaking

Continued from front page longer," Carter warned. "I've asked the attorney general and the governors of the affected states to make certain that the law is obeyed, that violence is prevented, and that lives and property are fully protected."

First, however, Carter was required to dispense with a few formalities, including the appointment of a board of inquiry. He appointed three tried and tested labor "arbitrators"—guaranteed to act on the side of industry and government.

Today's hearings were hastily convened to satisfy a technicality that there be a report on the strike's threat to "national health and safety."

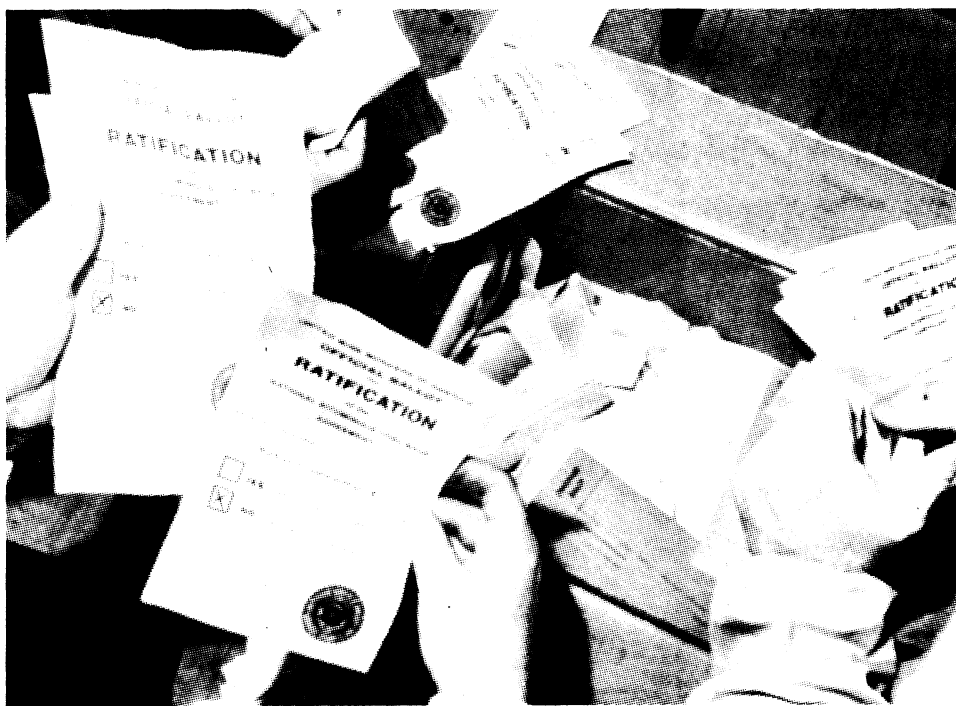
Hearings a 'sham'

A statement by representatives of UMWA District 17 in southern West Virginia called the hearings a "sham." Some 5,300 invitations were sent out, primarily to UMWA districts and locals. Most telegrams announcing the hearings arrived in the coalfields yesterday afternoon.

"We don't all live in Washington, D.C.," a miner angrily told the *Militant* as he left the hearings. "We all had to travel a great distance."

Even so, scores of locals were represented. Each was given just five minutes to present its case against Taft-Hartley. The board didn't bother to ask questions.

"Their minds are made up," another



Virginia ballot box. "We have the right to decide how we're going to live for the next three years," say miners.

miner added. "On Capitol Hill, too, their minds are made up in favor of Taft-Hartley."

The statement from District 17 challenged the closed hearings and proposed that if the board really wanted to know what miners think about the act, it should hold additional hearings in the coalfields.

As the *Militant* goes to press, how-

ever, it is reported that Carter plans to go ahead immediately with the court injunction ordering strikers back to work.

"We have the right to decide how we're going to live for the next three years," Nuccetelli told the *Militant*. "Carter stated we have that right, but when we failed to go along with his agreement, he's telling us, 'You no

longer have that right.'"

For its part, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association—the industry's bargaining arm—used the hearings to once again blame the lengthy strike on the miners.

"It must be called to the attention of the American people that the onus for bringing a resolution of the strike now must rest upon the United Mine Workers of America and its membership," read BCOA President Joseph Brennan's statement.

"The efforts of the Administration to bring an end to this dispute have been heavily directed toward industry; these efforts must now be directed to the true source of the dispute—the Union and its membership."

This line that Carter twisted the arm of the BCOA to reach the "compromise" agreement failed to convince the ranks of the UMWA, who overwhelmingly rejected the proposed pact.

Ignored miners' demands

They voted down the contract, despite Carter's threats of force, because it failed to meet their demands for full health care, equalized pensions, and the right to strike.

It also added penalties, including firing, for so-called leaders of wildcat strikes. And it completely bypassed improved benefits and working conditions demanded by the 1976 UMWA convention.

"The coal companies have worked those men out, and now they just want them to go off and die," Pennsylvania miner Mark Williams told *Militant* correspondent Fred Larson. "We felt we should stand by the pensioners, and that was a powerful force for unity in this vote."

On March 5 more than fifty local union officers in District 5 met in New Stanton, Pennsylvania, and announced their opposition to Taft-Hartley.

"The consensus is," said Jim Nuccetelli, "that we may be harassed, fined, put in jail—some of us might even die. But we'd rather die on the surface than in the mines under that contract."

Donny Redmond, president of the district's largest local, said, "Anybody who reads that contract offer has to agree it's a disgrace to the UMW."

'Read the contract'

"That's what we're asking the public to do—read the contract and compare it to the 1974 contract we had before. We're losing ground."

In northern West Virginia, miner George Sines told *Militant* correspondent Tom O'Hara, "We're not going in to work those mines just so the companies can rebuild their stockpiles. We've been out too long now to let them put us in the position we were in ninety days ago."

There appears to be a growing sentiment among the UMWA ranks, as well as among the leadership, that government seizure of the mines would benefit the union. Miners point to previous gains "won" under federal seizure and say that the government could open the coal bosses' books to prove the miners' demands are reasonable.

But there is no evidence that the same Carter who today resorts to the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act would tomorrow turn around and give the miners a better deal under government control. The government's aim under seizure, as well as under Taft-Hartley, would be to get the miners back to work. (For more on the seizure debate, see page 8.)

"The government's taking the side of the companies," said a miner here today. "They always have and they always will."

And the miners have always stood up for their rights.

They're doing it again.

Unionists hit Taft-Hartley

By Shelley Kramer

In response to Carter's invocation of Taft-Hartley against the coal strike, many unionists and other supporters of the miners have stepped up their solidarity activities.

Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, announced March 7 that the UAW was giving \$2 million to the UMWA International Miners Relief Fund.

"The United Mine Workers stood with the UAW during some of our most difficult struggles," Fraser said. "The miners, under John L. Lewis, supplied money and organizing help that was crucial to the survival of the UAW in the 1930s. We haven't forgotten that."

Fraser condemned Taft-Hartley legislation because the "pressure is on the workers instead of the owners." However, he repeated his call for government seizure of the mines as a way to put "pressure" on the operators. (See story on page 8: "Government seizure: would it aid the miners?")

In Virginia, Minnesota, United Steelworkers Local 1938 sent telegrams to Carter and to AFL-CIO President George Meany protesting federal intervention in the coal strike. The local told Meany it was "shocked and dismayed" by his support for the Taft-Hartley injunction.

Local 1938, whose treasury was drained by its own record-breaking 138-day strike last year, also sent a second \$1,000 contribution to the miners.

"We're at one of the most critical times in all labor history," local President Joe Samargia said. "A victory for the miners is a victory for the whole labor movement."

Leaders of the Miners Strike Labor-Community Support Coalition in the San Francisco Bay Area, which has already raised more than \$8,500 for the UMWA, reacted to Carter's move with an emergency mailing to all northern California unions and community organizations.

"We believe that the miners have the inalienable right to determine their own union's affairs," the letter read.

"Government action nullifies this right. We believe that government intervention must be strongly resisted by the entire labor movement, since the entire labor movement will be affected not only now but in the years to come."

The statement, signed by Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100, and Larry Wing, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

Local 10, called a coalition meeting for March 11 to plan further action.

An American Civil Liberties Union statement, issued on March 7, denounced Carter's action:

"The ACLU calls on President Carter to abandon plans for a Taft-Hartley Act injunction against the coal strike. The right to strike is a civil liberty. Denial of the right to strike invades the freedom of employees to decide what working conditions they believe should govern their employment. . . . Prohibitions on the right to strike thus act to weaken the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of association."

The National Lawyers Guild also denounced Carter for invoking the Taft-Hartley Act and pledged the guild's legal services to victimized miners.

Guild President Henry DiSuevero called Carter's action a "brutal example of state power in the pay of the coal companies."

The miners' rejection of the proposed contract is a "major defense of the right to strike, for the right to adequate medical treatment, and for the correction of unsafe working conditions," DiSuevero said. "It is a struggle waged by the miners not only for themselves, but for all American working people."



WALTER JOHNSON



JOE SAMARGIA



DOUGLAS FRASER

Set 'Militant' sales drive to defend miners

By Harvey McArthur

NEW YORK CITY—A March 8 city-wide planning meeting attended by 200 members of the New York Socialist Workers Party voted to launch an all-out *Militant* sales campaign in defense of the striking coal miners.

The meeting took place only hours after President Carter announced he was invoking the notorious Taft-Hartley Act to force the miners back to work.

With the big-business-owned media stepping up their campaign against the miners, sales of the *Militant* have become an even more necessary element in supporting the strikers.

SWP local organizer Linda Jenness reported on recent activities in support of the miners. "Getting out the truth about the miners' strike is the most important thing we can do," she said, "and sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are the most important way to do this."

Gale Shangold, city-wide circulation director, reported that "last week's sales—especially the workplace, campus, and political meeting sales—are the model for what we want to do in the coming weeks" (see box).

The stepped-up sales drive is part of a general plan to strengthen sales of the paper here this spring.

A big part of the campaign will be increasing regular workplace and plant-gate sales. Many more industrial plants will be targeted for weekly sales.

Special attention will also be paid to getting the *Militant* out to hospital, transit, and other city workers—all of

whom face more layoffs and cutbacks this year.

Careful planning will go into sales at the many political meetings around the city. Circulation directors in the different branches of the SWP will be working with Shangold to collect information on upcoming meetings, making sure that sales teams are dispatched to them.

Teams will be sent to Puerto Rican and other Latino communities to sell *Perspectiva Mundial*, especially in housing projects and on street corners.

"We also want to pay particular attention to sales on the high school and college campuses," said Shangold. "We will work closely with the Young Socialist Alliance in this effort."

By Nelson Blackstock

You can hardly turn around these days without hearing something about the miners. Most of what you get from the capitalist news media, however, is filled with distortions or outright lies. This has lent each sale of the *Militant* a special significance.

The *Militant* has received a warm welcome among both coal miners and their supporters.

We discovered a good example of this in Detroit.

More than half the 257 papers sold by the Detroit Socialist Workers Party last week were sold by socialists working inside that city's many auto plants.

Workers bought the *Militant* at the Dodge truck plant, Ford's River Rouge and Wayne Assembly plants, Chevrolet Forge Gear and Axle, and Lynch Road Chrysler.

"Auto workers have a gut-level sympathy for the miners," one UAW member told us. "They know what bad working conditions are. And they know what the right to strike means."

Our mine strike coverage inspired three Black auto workers to join our regular sales force inside the plants. At the end of the week they came to a class held at the SWP's East Side headquarters. Now they're looking forward to the March 12 *Militant* Forum on the strike.

Many workers were also able to buy the paper from salespeople stationed at the gates of Detroit steel and auto plants.

Over the weekend other auto workers got the paper while attending a special school they're enrolled in at Wayne State University.

On one week night Wayne State students bought fourteen copies, all



Selling the 'Militant' at Brooklyn Navy Yard

Militant/John Hawkins

that salespeople had brought with them.

Another focus of *Militant* sales is political meetings. Forty copies were bought at a March 3-4 Detroit conference on the *Bakke* issue.

Meanwhile, *Militant* sales teams have been bringing the paper to strikers in coal mining regions around the country.

Due in part to the generous response from readers to our fund appeal, we were able to send a second full-time national sales team to West Virginia on March 7. This team is made up entirely of volunteers from New York City.

Our first team has been out since mid-February. It was in the Charles-

ton, West Virginia, area during the first two weeks of March.

Team member Don Bechler, the Michigan SWP's candidate for lieutenant governor, reported the following:

"One day we went to a place called Houston Holler. We counted 147 doors and knocked on them all. At about a third of them we found nobody home. At the others we sold forty-two papers, plus ten subscriptions. Needless to say, we were feeling pretty good as we left."

Another team sold forty-two papers in two hours in Raton, New Mexico, home of the Kaiser coal mine. After running out of papers, they were put up for the night by friendly miners they met while selling. They're going back next week with a lot more papers.

NYC sales

The following are results of sales of the March 3 issue in New York City:

- Total copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sold: 820.
- Total copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* sold: 59.
- Total sold on campuses: 101.
- Total sold at political meetings: 70.
- Total sold at workplaces: 159.

This includes sales at one auto plant, two steel shops, five hospitals, and the main post office.

The best sales of the week were at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Workers in the plant sold 40 copies to their co-workers. And sales teams went to the yard every morning, selling 21 papers, for a total of 61 sold at this one workplace.

Help put teams on the road

"Enclosed is for the task of getting the *Militant* to the coalfields and into the hands of fighting miners," said the note. It accompanied a small part of the more than \$200 that has been received in answer to our appeal for funds to finance *Militant* sales teams in the coalfields. Among those responding were readers in Victoria, Texas; Meses, Arizona; and Menomone, Wisconsin.

I want to help put full-time *Militant* sales teams on the road in coal mining areas. Here's my contribution of \$ _____.

FREE—with each contribution of \$25 or more—Art Preis's *Labor's Giant Step*. This 538-page book tells the story of the working class's heroic struggle to build the CIO in the 1930s and 1940s, including the miners' crucial role.

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Ohio miners discuss strike with SWP candidate

By Dean Elder

NEW LEXINGTON, Ohio—"It stinks." "It's not worth the paper it's written on."

These are some of the responses miners gave here March 4 to the proposed contract they would be voting on the next day. The miners, members of United Mine Workers of America Local 1340, were talking with John Gaige, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Ohio.

Local 1340, which includes 600 miners, rejected the contract overwhelmingly.

Gaige was in New Lexington to express his support for the miners and to talk about some of the issues in the coal strike.

"The way you've carried out this strike is an inspiration to me and other unionists around the state," Gaige told the miners.

"The coal operators were sure at the

beginning of the strike that they could break your union. But you've shown them and the rest of the world that that's easier said than done.

"Lately they've been opening up a propaganda barrage in an attempt to isolate you from the rest of us and to divide you against each other. Since they couldn't break you economically, they're going after you on the political front.

"I think it's crucial that workers everywhere join in supporting your strike against these attacks."

Gaige, a member of United Auto Workers Local 12, has been a leader in building the Toledo Area Mine Workers' Support Committee, which is organizing a March 12 rally in support of the miners.

"Through my campaign I'm also talking about the idea of working people organizing in the political arena," Gaige said. "The coal owners and the government have tremendous

resources to tell their side. Just think of what we could do if the unions formed a political party and ran candidates to tell our side and fight for our interests."

Most of the miners here said they would be willing to go back to work if the federal government seized the mines. They don't completely trust President Carter, but they think the government would have to give them a better deal than the coal owners would.

Gaige pointed out that there is no guarantee of that. "It's dangerous to count on the Democrats and Republicans to take your side against the companies," he said.

"If Carter intervenes, the first thing he'll try to do is get coal moving. And if it's not under a decent contract, that can only weaken the strike and the union.

"Working people are much better off relying on ourselves."

One of those opposed to federal seizure is William Taylor, a retired miner. Taylor remembers the 1946 seizure and thinks that if the government seizes the mines, the miners will get less. "I want the boys to get anything they can," he said. "I'm right behind them."

The miners made it clear that an injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act would be ineffective. No coal, union or nonunion, has been moving out of Perry County since the strike began.

The miners Gaige talked with were pleasantly surprised to see the *Militant* and the way it covers their cause. Several of them bought subscriptions.

They thought it was important to continue publicizing their strike and helping organize support.

Jim O'Brien, who has worked at Peabody Coal for three years, said, "Before anybody forms an opinion they ought to look at the miners' point of view and ask what miners are fighting for."

Socialist takes miners' cause to steelworkers

By Alyson Kennedy

STEUBENVILLE, Ohio—"Hi. I'm Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, and I'm here today to encourage steelworkers and other working people to back the coal miners' strike. Do you support the miners?"

"I'm behind the coal miners," said one worker outside the Pittsburgh-Wheeling steel plant here, organized by United Steelworkers Local 1190.

"They'll trounce on us next if they get the miners, but most people don't realize it," said another.

More than sixty workers at the Pittsburgh-Wheeling plant bought copies of the *Militant* as Wright and a group of her supporters campaigned here March 2-4.

At a local grocery store Wright talked with a number of working people who agreed with the need for solidarity with the strike.

Mrs. Hutchman thought it was "great" that Wright was campaigning for the miners. As she was paying for a copy of the *Militant* she told Wright, "I'm 100 percent behind the coal miners. My husband works for Ohio Edison. The companies are running low on coal and this may mean my husband's job—we understand that."

"But if the coal miners let the coal



Wright talks with steelworker outside Pittsburgh-Wheeling plant.

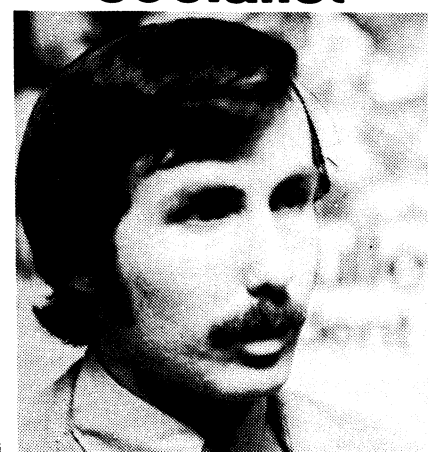
Militant/Dean Elder

run low, this is when the bosses will sit up and take notice that working people really do have something to say."

The Ohio Socialist Workers Party

campaign plans to field more teams to talk to miners and other working people about the strike and get the *Militant* into their hands.

Louisville socialist



At a March 8 news conference the Louisville Socialist Workers Party announced Jim Burfeind as its candidate for Congress, Third C.D. Burfeind told the press that the UMWA strike was the most important battle for the labor movement in thirty years. Assailing his Democratic opponent Rep. Ron Mazzoli for urging Carter to force the miners back to work, Burfeind stated, "My party, the Socialist Workers Party, stands on the side of the miners."

...unite behind the coal miners

Continued from front page

solidarity of the vast majority—is keeping the mines closed.

But the miners are the *victims* of violence, not its perpetrators. Already two UMWA members have been shot and killed by scabs.

- The White House says it will cut off food stamps for the strikers. If their children begin to cry from hunger, this cruel logic goes, maybe the miners will crawl back into the pits.

- Carter further threatens to impound local union treasuries and to fine or jail union officers, hoping to whip some locals into submission and split the union.

If Carter and the coal bosses get away with this assault on the United Mine Workers, more unions and millions more workers will soon feel the lash as well.

Carter's strikebreaking should be answered with a massive outcry of protest from the unions, from Black and Latino organizations, women's groups, and students: Stop government union busting!

Now more than ever the strikers need financial aid, food, and demonstrations of solidarity. Striking farmers showed the way with their caravan taking food to Kentucky miners. The recent \$2 million donation from the United Auto Workers should set an example for other unions.

Meetings and rallies are needed to explain the truth about the strike and the justice of the miners' cause.

Carter's speech invoking Taft-Hartley was a model of duplicity and

double-talk. "My responsibility is to protect the health and safety of the American public," he said.

But health care and safe working conditions are among the top demands of the miners—and Carter has never said a word in support of them. Aren't miners part of the public?

"The law will be enforced," Carter said.

But what about the mine-safety laws that Blue Diamond Coal Company, like hundreds of other profit-greedy coal operators, violated day after day—until the Scotia mine blew up and killed twenty-six men. To this day no mineowner has gone to jail or even paid a fine for those twenty-six murders.

When Carter talks about "law enforcement," he means sending his law-breaking FBI spies and provocateurs into the coalfields to harass and frame up strikers.

"The country cannot afford to wait any longer" for coal supplies, Carter said.

But it is the coal industry—dominated by the giant oil, steel, and utility corporations—that is holding the jobs and well-being of millions of workers hostage in its war against the UMWA.

The coal bosses deliberately provoked the strike last December with demands that the union give up previous contract gains and act as a police force against its members. The operators boasted about how they would "teach a lesson" to the miners.

Yet no Democratic or Republican politician—whether they support Taft-Hartley or seizure of the mines—has ever suggested that the solution to the "crisis" is for the coal operators to accept the *miners'* terms. They all agree that the miners must go back on the *operators'* terms.

Real issues

Carter solemnly warns that he will not tolerate "any more liberal and inflationary wage settlement." But wages have never been a major issue in the strike!

In order to portray the miners as greedy and irresponsible, Carter is covering up the real issues. What are they?

- **Right to health care:** The operators insist on destroying the comprehensive free health-care system the miners won more than thirty years ago. By substituting commercial insu-

rance plans and charging miners and their families hundreds of dollars for medical care, the coal companies stand to pocket millions of dollars a year in extra profits.

If the UMWA fund is dismantled, many of the coalfield clinics it subsidized will be forced to close. Health care for entire communities and thousands of people will suffer.

- **Right to a secure retirement.** Miners who retired before 1976 get only about half the pension paid to those who retired later. Miners demand that pensions for all retirees be equalized at a level that provides a decent livelihood.

In putting their muscle behind the rights of the retired and disabled, coal miners have set an example of solidarity with one of the most downtrodden sections of the working class.

Right to strike

- **Right to strike:** This demand is met with frenzied opposition from the coal bosses, news media, and capitalist politicians. They pretend that miners are lazy and irresponsible, eager to shut the mines on a whim. But the right to strike is a life-and-death question.

One hundred twenty-five miners were killed on the job last year alone—victims of the companies' drive for higher profits without regard for safety.

The miners have learned that they can't rely on government inspectors or

on the employer-rigged grievance and arbitration procedure. They can rely only on themselves and their power to halt production when conditions are unsafe.

The coal bosses demand harsh punishment for wildcat strikers and want the union to guarantee "labor peace." This is a formula for more speedup, more mine disasters, and more miners killed.

By standing up for their rights against the coal operators and the government—and by standing up for rank-and-file control over their union—the miners are fighting for the interests of all working people.

They have shown that it is possible to resist the drive of the capitalists to make the workers pay for the irrationality of the profit system.

Political action

The coal strike has given a glimpse of the awesome power of united working-class action. But the bosses have so far enjoyed a monopoly in the political field, which they can use to undercut the workers' power. That's exactly what Carter seeks to do now through Taft-Hartley and other governmental action.

As soon as the fight moves to the political level, it becomes clear that the workers have no voice and no political instrument.

The bosses have two parties—the Democrats and Republicans. Workers need one of their own—a mass, independent labor party based on a militant and democratic union movement.

Such a party would be a powerful weapon for exposing the government's divisive schemes and uniting the working class in defense of the miners.

Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, a labor party would vigorously oppose all restrictions on union power and the right to strike.

A labor party would help press forward the fight for free medical care, genuine social security, job safety—for all working people—as well as for jobs, shorter hours, an end to racial and sexual discrimination, and other demands.

It would fight to replace the present government of a rich minority with a democratic government of the workers.

Today the battleline in defending the rights of all working people is the coal miners' strike. Up against ruling-class violence and trickery, they need the broadest possible support.

Unite to defend the miners!

Candidates tour coalfields

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, flew to Morgantown, West Virginia, immediately after Carter announced he would seek a Taft-Hartley injunction against the miners.

Halstead will tour the coalfields, talk to miners, and bring their side of the story back to the working people of California.

Miguel Pendás, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas, is also in Morgantown to help provide the *Militant* with on-the-spot reports from the coalfields.



CARTER: Divide-and-rule strategy to break coal strike.

Baltimore unions: 'Proud of the miners'

By Andrea Morell

BALTIMORE—More than 600 people attended a broadly sponsored trade-union rally here March 5 to express their support for striking mine workers.

The rally was held amidst reports that the coal miners were voting overwhelmingly against the companies' proposed settlement and that President Carter was preparing federal action to force the miners back to work.

"We've been asked how 160,000 coal miners can hold the country hostage," Charles Parker, a striking miner from Harlan County, Kentucky, told the crowd. "It's not us that's holding the country hostage. It's the companies."

The audience roared its approval. Hand-lettered signs waved that read, "Victory to the miners!" and, "We are proud of the miners!"

Held at Steelworkers Hall, the rally

was sponsored by six USWA locals as well as locals of the Transit Workers, Machinists, Communications Workers, Teachers, Longshoremen, Auto Workers, Shipbuilders, and other unions.

The rally was also endorsed by the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council and the student council of Johns Hopkins University.

The meeting was chaired by Dave Wilson, president of USWA Local 2610 at Bethlehem Steel's giant Sparrows Point plant.

This show of solidarity initiated by the Steelworkers union was a powerful repudiation of attempts by steel companies here to blame layoffs on the coal miners. Bethlehem Steel laid off 500 workers from Sparrows Point in February, giving the miners' strike as the reason.

"It's a lie that coal miners are put-



Baltimore rally was initiated by Steelworkers union

Militant/Kathy Whitley

Farmers back miners



One hundred fifty striking farmers from Missouri, traveling in a car caravan, donated food collected from a dozen states to striking miners in Central City, Kentucky. Coal miners cheered the show of solidarity. "It's all labor organizing, and we need to support each other," said one miner. "If we don't get united, all of us are going to be out of it pretty soon."

ting you out of work. Bethlehem is," said Dave Lamb, a striking miner from West Virginia. Lamb works in a mine owned by Bethlehem Steel.

"Bethlehem has set up a system to try to divide workers. We can't let them do this," he urged, and was answered with sustained applause.

Support to the right to strike was a central theme at the gathering. Citing government pressure to force the miners to accept the contract and go back to work, Dave Wilson said, "When we started, I was worried about the kind of democracy that says, 'You've got the right to vote, but you have to vote my way.' Maybe we've answered that today."

The dominant theme of the day's event was the need for united labor action in the face of the employer-government offensive against all working people.

"There is a movement in this country to destroy organized labor, beginning with coal miners," Wilson declared in his opening remarks. "And that is why we are here today."

Charles Parker told the rally, "We're up against the coal companies, oil companies, the U.S. government, and the state government. They're united against us. We've got to unite so we can gain something."

Sam Church, UMWA vice-president, spoke out against the threat of a Taft-Hartley injunction and called for continued negotiations with the coal operators.

Church, evidently responding to the militant mood of the rally as well as to the overwhelming rejection of the contract by the UMWA ranks, did not try to defend the pact even though he had urged its ratification.

Two Democratic representatives, Parren Mitchell and Clarence Long, voiced support for the miners at the rally. But neither gave any sign of opposing plans for federal intervention to forcibly end the strike.

Kenneth Yablonski, an attorney and son of slain UMWA reform leader Joseph Yablonski, appealed for funds for the strikers and their families.

"It's a serious problem for you too," Yablonski said. "If they do it to the mine workers, don't think the steelworkers or the auto workers are too big."

Rally participants responded with donations totaling just under \$2,000.

Funds will be used to buy food and other supplies, which will be driven by car caravan to Martinsburg, West Virginia, on March 12. The car caravan is part of a continuing solidarity campaign projected by rally organizers.

Big NY support meetings

By Rebecca Finch

NEW YORK—"New York says: we support the mine workers." This was the theme of two big solidarity rallies held here during the first week of March.

Fourteen hundred people attended a meeting on March 1 sponsored by the New York Committee to Support the Mine Workers. Endorsed by several local union officials and Teamsters locals 840 and 1518, the rally featured songs by Barbara Dane, Pete Seeger, and Hazel Dickens.

Speakers included Henry Foner, president of the Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers; José Soler, member of the U.S. Trade Union Committee Against Repression in Puerto Rico; and Jim Hepe, a member of United Mine Workers Local 1441 in Ohio.

"Let them impose Taft-Hartley," Hepe said. "Taft can mine the coal and Hartley can haul it, and we'll see how far they get."

On March 3 some 300 people braved a snowstorm to attend a strike support rally featuring the film *Harlan County, U.S.A.*

The rally was initiated by members of the New York Central Labor Council and was endorsed by local union and Black leaders.

Ray Markey, a leader of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930, compared the employer-government offen-

sive against the UMWA with the city administration's attacks on city workers.

Speaking with Markey were Ruby Jones, president of the New York City Coalition of Labor Union Women and Michael Weber of the New York Mine Workers Support Committee.

Also scheduled to speak, but unable to attend because of the snowstorm, were Ken Tucker and Joe Jurscak, international representatives of the UMWA, and a striking miner from Stearns, Kentucky.

A phone message from Tucker, a miner for thirty years, was read to the rally. He described the working conditions that make mines the number-one industrial killer in the U.S.

"I have worked in mines where the coal seam is twenty-eight inches high . . . and you were in a prone position most of the eight hours that you worked."

"And I have worked on the surface in coal tipples, where the coal dust is just as bad," he added. "At times you couldn't see the man across from you, even though he was only four feet away."

Every safety provision protecting miners today was won through hard struggle, Tucker said. "They've never given us a thing. We had to fight for everything we've got. And now that we've got it, we've got to fight to keep it."

Labor solidarity events

Chicago: Bessie Lot Barker, a member of the UMWA and the Brookside Women's Club in Harlan County, Kentucky, spoke at Steelworkers Local 65's "South Africa Night" February 25. She called for active union solidarity with the miners and received an enthusiastic response.

On Sunday, March 5, more than 200 workers attended a miners' support meeting sponsored by USWA Local 1010 at Inland Steel. Sam Farley, a miner from UMWA District 29, spoke.

Pittsburgh: On February 23 local labor leaders held a news conference to express support for the UMWA and to condemn employer attempts to blame area layoffs on the striking miners.

Jim Comer, president of USWA Local 1272 at Jones & Laughlin Steel's Southside works, charged the steel companies with lying about the real cause of the layoffs. "J & L is just using the strike as an excuse to save money," he said.

Detroit: United Auto Workers Local 140 will show the film *Harlan County, U.S.A.* on Sunday, March 19, at the local's hall in Warren, Michigan.

Milwaukee: A miners' support meeting has been called for Sunday, March 19, at 2 p.m. at the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 48 headquarters, Thirty-fifth and St. Paul. Speaking will be James Bernhard, Illinois Miners International Relief Fund.

Boston: Labor and Black leaders and organizations are sponsoring a "Salute to the Miners" rally on March 12, 2 p.m., Electrical Workers Hall, 256 Freeport Street, Dorchester, Massachusetts. Chip Yablonski is the featured speaker.

Kansas City: UAW Local 31 adopted a resolution in support of the striking miners. Five thousand copies of the resolution were distributed at plant gates, and \$1,800 was collected in donations.

Taft-Hartley: what it is and how to fight it

By Nancy Cole

In invoking the Taft-Hartley Act, President Carter dusted off the most hated antilabor weapon in the government's arsenal. Since its enactment in 1947, Taft-Hartley has earned a reputation as the "slave-labor bill."

The act's sponsors made no bones about their antiunion intentions. They described the act, according to the *New York Times*, as "a measure to redress the balance of industrial power that had shifted to labor under the Wagner Act, which had set out rules against unfair acts by employers."

In fact, the bill marked an attempted return to strikebreaking by government injunction, which had been restricted by the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act of 1932.

Passage of Taft-Hartley followed a wave of powerful strikes that erupted right after World War II. The new bill was part of the government's attempt to roll back the labor upsurge and strangle the unions in a web of legal restrictions.

Using Taft-Hartley, the ruling rich made a direct attack on the right to strike. Without this right, none of the gains won by labor in the industrial union battles of the 1930s could be secure.

In addition to the clause providing for back-to-work orders—which Carter is now using against the miners—the bill also restricted other union func-

tioning. It outlawed the closed shop, made secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes illegal, prohibited strikes by federal employees, required union officers to sign anti-Communist oaths, and prohibited union contributions to political campaigns.

The strikebreaking clause set in motion by Carter provides for the appoint-

ment of a "fact finding" board to inquire into any strike judged to affect "national health and safety."

After the board issues its report, the president can ask for a court injunction to order the strikers back to work under the terms of the previous contract for an eighty-day "cooling off" period.

Federal mediators are instructed to come up with a settlement in the first sixty days. If the dispute isn't settled during that period, the next fifteen days are used to conduct a secret ballot on the industry's "final offer."

If that is rejected by the union, Congress has five days in which to take action. If it doesn't, the strike is supposedly free to resume.

The final step, of course, is never intended to come about.

With fine impartiality, Carter declared that Taft-Hartley would require "the miners to return to work and the mineowners to place the mines back into production."

In other words, the coal bosses are "required" to get just what they want—resumption of production and the replenishing of stockpiles. Meanwhile, the miners lose their power to force the industry to grant their contract demands.

Thirty-one years ago, on April 24, 1947, half a million workers in Detroit walked out of the plants and nearly 300,000 rallied in Cadillac Square to

protest the impending Taft-Hartley Act. With its final passage on June 23, 212,000 coal miners struck. "Let the senators dig the coal," the miners declared in the contract battle that followed.

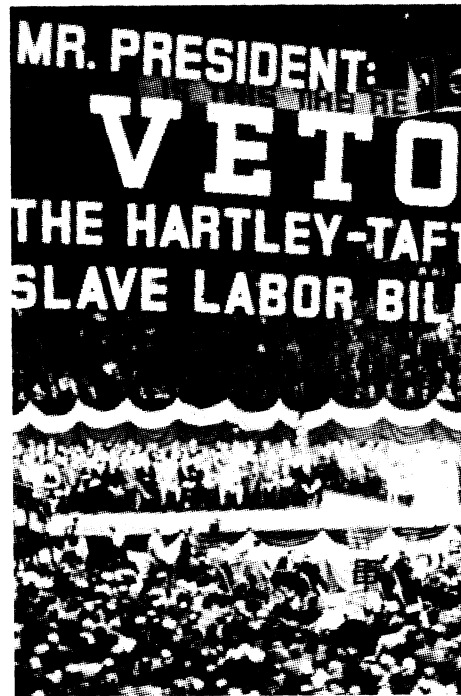
Despite the massive labor sentiment for militant action to fight Taft-Hartley, the top AFL and CIO officials opted for petitions and postcards as the way to protest.

For thirty-one years the union bureaucrats have told workers to rely on "friends of labor" in the Democratic and Republican parties to repeal the slave-labor bill. They're still waiting.

President Truman was one such "friend." Although he had called for passage of antiunion laws similar to the worst provisions in Taft-Hartley, he claimed to oppose the act. He even vetoed it, secure in the knowledge that Congress would override his veto. Thus the Republicans took responsibility for the antiunion measure.

Truman didn't hesitate, however, to use Taft-Hartley once it was passed. Twice during 1948 and once during 1950 miners stood up to Truman's strikebreaking and defied Taft-Hartley injunctions. Each time the miners' determination paid off, and they won substantial contract gains.

Once again, coal miners can show the coal industry and the capitalist politicians: Taft-Hartley can't mine coal. Only coal miners can.



There was massive sentiment in the ranks of labor for militant action against Taft-Hartley.

Gov't seizure: would it help the miners?

By David Frankel

Would government seizure of the coal mines be a step forward in the battle of the United Mine Workers for a decent contract?

Tom Morris, safety chairman of UMWA Local 340 in Ward, West Virginia, doesn't think so. "Government seizure is just Taft-Hartley with the flag wrapped around it," he says.

But the big-business news media are pushing a different view. As an article in the *Wall Street Journal* put it, government seizure of the mines "would be seen as punishing the coal operators" while "rewarding the miners."

The February 21 *Louisville Courier-Journal* went so far as to say, "To get the UMW members to return to work, the government presumably would have to offer them what they have been asking of the coal companies."

If that were the case, seizure would obviously benefit the miners. But would it?

Administration officials have been talking about a scheme under which miners would return to work under the 1974 contract, perhaps with a pay increase as a sweetener. Then, with the miners' power weakened and with stockpiles of coal being built up once again, a government-appointed panel would presumably "study" the disputed issues and come up with a contract proposal some months later.

And if such a contract is essentially the same as the one already endorsed by Carter and rejected by the ranks of the UMWA, the miners would be left behind the eight ball.

In short, seizure would be a way of getting the miners back to work with no guarantee that their demands will be met.

Nevertheless, many top union officials have been pushing seizure as a "solution" to the strike. United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser on March 6 called on Carter to introduce emergency legislation "permitting a government takeover of the mines with an immediate return to work and a resumption of bargaining."

Reports from the coalfields indicate that many miners believe government seizure would be to their advantage. One reason cited for this is that miners won gains in the 1940s when the government took over the mines.

But to portray the UMWA's victories as the result of government seizure of the mines is to misread history. The miners never won a thing—not from the coal operators and not from the government—that they didn't fight for and win through their own strength.

In 1943, for example, President Roosevelt seized the mines on May 1—the same day the miners went on strike. Roosevelt went on radio to attack the miners. He threatened to send the army to the coalfields and to draft miners. He threatened to jail Lewis and break the UMWA with fines. But the threats were to no avail.

It was not until November 1—six months after he seized the mines, and after trying every trick in the book to break a series of mine strikes—that Roosevelt authorized his underlings to negotiate a contract with the UMWA.

Another argument that is heard in the coalfields is that if the government takes over the mines it will open the books of the coal operators, and this will demonstrate the justice of the UMWA's demands.

The coal operators should indeed be forced to open their books—regardless of whether the government seizes the mines.

Miners have a right to know exactly how much blood money the owners make by refusing to install adequate safety equipment, by cutting corners on safety procedures, by speedup, and by all their other devices for increasing profits at the expense of miners' lives.

But the coal operators are jealous of their secrets. These can only be pried open by the UMWA itself raising this demand and forcing compliance.

To rely on the goodwill of the government to do this—or anything else—would be self-defeating. The reason is

simply that the government is not on the miners' side.

After all, Carter endorsed the bosses' contract terms and tried to intimidate the miners into accepting them. He has never had one word to say in support of the miners' demands or condemning the coal operators' greed.

In addition, miners can look at the government's previous record. Never once has it tried to force the mineowners to open their books to the union. In his history of the CIO, Art Preis quotes a dispatch in the No-

vember 24, 1948, *New York Times* that described the way government seizure worked under President Truman.

"American flags were hoisted over the tipples; officials of the mining companies were designated as Government officers in charge of the mines and mining areas. These were the only signs of Government rule."

Carter is trying to project an impartial image in the current strike. He would be a fool not to. But the fact remains that government seizure of the mines would have one purpose, and one purpose only: to break the strike.

Reading on miners' history

The role of the United Mine Workers Union in the labor upsurges of the 1930s and 1940s.

Includes the UMWA strike during World War II, and how the miners won.

By Art Preis
538 pp., \$6.95 paper

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



Maoist thugs assault miners support rally

By Rick Berman

HOUSTON—On Friday, March 3, club-swinging thugs led by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), a Maoist sect, assaulted and tried unsuccessfully to break up a miners' solidarity meeting here.

Several union activists attending the meeting were injured, including Tom Leonard, a local steelworker, who lost four teeth.

Organizers of the meeting have launched an emergency campaign to publicize this goon attack and win wide condemnation of such antilabor violence.

The March 3 meeting was sponsored by the University of Houston Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Mineworkers Strike. Sponsors included professors, student government officers, Chicano and feminist leaders, as well as leaders of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and Young Socialist Alliance.

The solidarity meeting was part of a tour by two United Mine Workers staff members, Mike Burdiss and Mat Miller, to help win support for striking

miners and raise funds for strikers and pensioners.

Ten minutes before the meeting was to begin, about forty supporters of the local chapter of the Iranian Student Association-U.S. gathered in front of the entrance to the meeting room. ISA-U.S. is a Maoist-Stalinist sect with views similar to those of the RCP. It is part of a national ISA faction called "For the Reconstruction of a Single Student Movement."

Upstairs in the same building, about a dozen RCP members met, unfurled two banners with inscriptions of their "United Workers Organizing Committee," and marched noisily downstairs to the meeting room.

Meeting blocked

Outside the room they formed a carefully arranged semicircle blocking the entrance. A front ring of RCP members was backed by approximately forty ISA-U.S. supporters.

Although some individuals who wanted to attend the meeting were turned away by the crowd in front of the door, about sixty people had already managed to enter the room.

RCP leaders W. W. Pietzch and Joe Sullivan led chants as the Maoists pumped their fists up and down. Hiram Berry, an RCP leader, brandished a knife.

After about ten minutes, Sullivan stopped the chanting and tried to whip up his thugs with a speech denouncing the proposed miners' contract and UMWA President Arnold Miller.

Sullivan called on the crowd to "get" Paul Fortney. Fortney is the UMWA press secretary and was scheduled to speak. He was unable to come to Houston, however, and Miller and Burdiss spoke in his place.

Pietzch started to chant, "We want Fortney, We want Fortney."

Assault begins

Twelve monitors recruited by the meeting organizers stood in the entranceway to usher the few latecomers who pushed through the knot of Maoists into the meeting.

As the chants of the disrupters became more threatening, the monitors reentered the meeting room with the intention of locking the door against the RCP thugs.

Sullivan then lunged at the monitors. A gang of RCP members and their Iranian friends joined in, trying to bust into the room and attack the UMWA representatives.

Wooden poles supporting the Maoists' banners were ripped from their cloth and used as clubs by the RCP goons. They also ripped two heavy flagpoles from their floorstands and used them as weapons. In the course of the melee most of these were broken over the heads, backs, and shoulders of monitors.

The attackers also used metal furniture from an adjoining lounge.

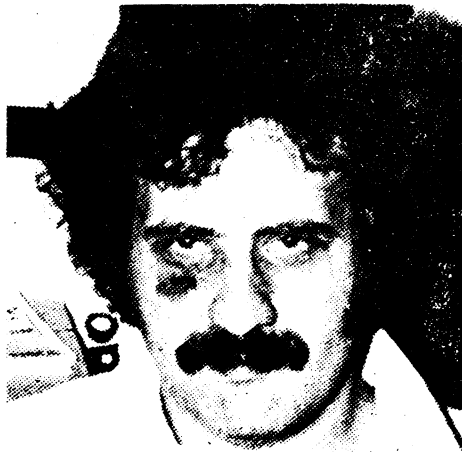
After a few minutes it was clear that the monitors were holding firm and would block the assault from entering the room. So the Maoists tried to pick out special targets among the monitors and drag them away from the doorway for a beating.

Unionists beaten

John Sarge, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1742 at Hughes Tool, was separated from the other monitors and pummeled by a dozen Maoists.

A squad of ten monitors was dispatched from a rear entrance to rescue Sarge. Only their quick action protected him from more serious injury. Four stitches were required to close a wound on the back of Sarge's head.

A group of thugs also worked over Pat O'Reilly, a railroad worker and



Daily Cougar

It took four stitches to close the head wound Maoist goons inflicted on John Sarge, Houston steelworker.

member of the Oilers' and Firemen's union.

Tom Leonard, a steelworker and a union militant for more than thirty years, was a special target. Last year Leonard was fired from his job at Hydril, an oil tool company, as a result of his union activity. He received a blow in the mouth that knocked out four teeth.

Diane Sarge, a steelworker at Hughes Tool and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston last fall, was beaten in the face.

These four together with Phil Hardy, an office worker, and Cynthia Slade, a carpenter, had to be rushed to a hospital for medical attention. Hardy had been beaten so severely that one rib was separated from the cartilage, a painful injury that will take weeks to heal.

As the monitors regrouped, the campus police began to arrive, and the thugs ran off, leaving their blood-stained clubs broken and splintered on the floor.

Solidarity meeting

After the attack, the solidarity meeting proceeded. As the meeting went on the self-confidence and enthusiasm of the audience built up quickly.

Regina Dotson, president of UH

University Feminists chaired.

Miller and Burdiss of the UMWA staff explained the demands of the miners and denounced the union-busting drive carried out by the coal operators.

They described the hazardous working conditions in the mines, the problems of pensioners and miners' widows, and the need for solidarity with the strikers.

Burdiss pointed to the right of the rank-and-file miners to vote on their contracts as "the great strength of our union."

A collection was taken for the UMWA Relief Fund and the Stearns Relief Fund.

Earlier in the day, Burdiss attended a statewide AFL-CIO Political Education Conference, where he approached Texas labor leaders for support for the strike.

In addition, a morning news conference for the UMWA staff members was covered by the three local TV network affiliates and several radio stations.

Protest violence

The next day, viewers of the evening news learned of the attack against the support meeting and saw the bruised face of John Sarge on their TV screens. Sarge was part of an emergency news conference held to protest the RCP-led attack.

Dr. George Morgan, Jr., a University of Houston professor, released a statement condemning the assault. The statement was signed by forty-five people who attended the previous night's meeting and witnessed the attack.

"We condemn this violence," the statement read. "This attack was not only an attack on this meeting. It was not only an attack on the democratic right of the UMWA to speak, and on our right to hear what they had to say. It was also a direct attack on the more than 160,000 striking miners who are trying to gain public support for their strike."

UMWA staff members Miller and Burdiss were unable to be present at

Continued on page 19

UMWA statement

The following is a statement by Mike Burdiss and Matt Miller of the UMWA staff—who spoke at the Houston strike support rally—about the March 3 attack:

Last night, March 3, a group of thugs led by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, National United Workers Organization, and the Iranian Student Association (US) used physical force and violence in an unsuccessful attempt to break up a meeting at the University of Houston. The meeting was sponsored by an ad hoc group of students and professors to support our union, the United Mine Workers of America.

The coal operators have forced more than 160,000 members of our union out on strike for nearly three months, trying to break us. The vicious goons who attacked the meeting last night must have given the operators a small shot in the arm.

The attack was also aimed at the democratic right of all to express their ideas and peacefully assemble. Its objective was to intimidate and terrorize people to prevent them from exercising their rights.

We cannot stress enough the seriousness of this assault. The attack represented the type of tactics our union has repudiated in our own ranks since we have won the right of our members to democratically vote on their contracts.

We call on our brothers and sisters in the labor movement to uphold our best democratic traditions. Join us in condemning this thoroughly inexcusable act.



MIKE BURDISS

Militant/Della Rossa

SWP candidate denounces antilabor assault

HOUSTON—Deborah Vernier was one of the monitors who helped defend the University of Houston miners support meeting from the RCP-led attack.

Vernier is a steelworker. She is also the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, Eighteenth C.D.

On Saturday, March 4, the day after the RCP assault, seventy-five people gathered at the Painters Union Hall to launch Vernier's campaign and the campaign of the other Socialist Workers Party candidates in the Houston area.

In addition to Vernier, speakers included SWP gubernatorial candidate Sara Jean Johnston, senatorial candidate Miguel Pendás, and railroad commissioner candidate Jana Pellusch.

In her remarks, Vernier scored the use of violence in the labor movement as a "malignant cancer."

"It must be isolated," she said. "If it spreads, it destroys the greatest potential strength of the labor movement—union democracy, the control of the rank and file over the union."

"In addition, the use of violence provides a golden opportunity for

agent-provocateurs of the bosses and the government, who welcome any chance to divide and discredit the workers movement.

"The Socialist Workers Party," Vernier went on, "unlike the Maoist-Stalinist Revolutionary Communist Party, is thoroughly committed to the fight for union democracy."

"We will be working with the University of Houston miners support committee to let the whole labor movement know about the RCP's hooligan attack. That's the best way to prevent similar attacks from occurring again."



Militant/Bruce Farnsworth

DEBORAH VERNIER

Socialist candidate Halstead: 'A victory for miners is a victory for Calif. workers'

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—"There are no coal deposits to speak of in California, but one of the first things I want to talk about in this campaign is the coal miners' strike," said Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor here, in a recent *Militant* interview.

"It's the most important thing going on in this country today from the point of view of working people in California."

Halstead, a veteran trade unionist and a leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement, announced his campaign in late January.

"When I saw those miners standing up and rejecting the contract the coal operators and the government were trying to stuff down their throats, I felt myself cheering inside. At last, a powerful section of American labor is making a real fight against the attacks big business and its politicians are carrying out against the American people."

Not one of Halstead's opponents in this campaign, from Democratic Gov. Edmund "Jerry" Brown to the five Republican candidates, has said a word in support of the miners.

Halstead's campaign supporters up and down the state have been involved through their unions, on the campuses, and in community organizations in building support rallies for the miners.

What the miners are fighting, Halstead explained, is the same thing other working people are fighting—the offensive against their rights and standard of living. "A victory for the miners will be a victory for working people here in this state, and that's what I tell my audiences wherever I speak."

'Small is beautiful'

"The link isn't hard to see if you look at what Governor Brown has done to us in California," Halstead said.

"Now Brown comes on as a 'small is beautiful' guru. He spends his time telling everyone that we have to learn to expect less.

"We're living too extravagantly, Brown says, and we all have to learn to tighten our belts. But what he really means is that working people have to tighten *our* belts, while the rich continue to live it up.

"Brown's belt tightening comes down to axing things like funds for college remedial English. Or he issues new regulations for people on Medicaid: no more dentures unless you need them for a job or to chew food that's needed for an illness!

"And he doesn't just go after old people. This skinflint guru has even eliminated dental fluoride treatment for children."

One of the key issues in the SWP campaign, Halstead said, is the *Bakke* decision. "We're going to make it clear," he declared, "that affirmative-action programs—yes, quotas—are necessary and vital to achieve racial and sexual equality.

"The racists shed a lot of tears about Allan Bakke being denied admission to medical school. But the U.S. census figures show there are proportionately fewer Black doctors today than in the 1940s.

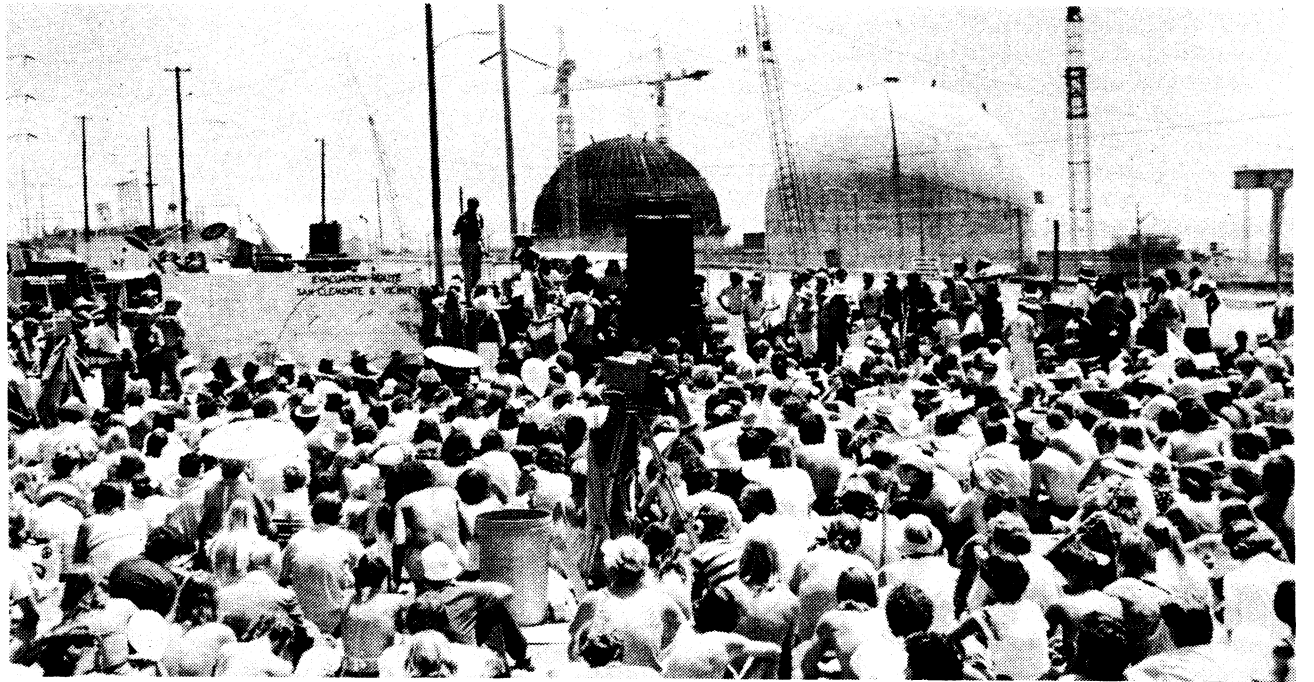
"One thing we're doing in this campaign," Halstead added, "is to help build support for the spring actions called to reverse the *Bakke* decision. We're explaining how affirmative-action gains have been a step forward for all working people, and that if we lose them, the labor movement as a whole will be weakened."

Another important campaign issue, he said, is



FRED HALSTEAD

Militant/Della Rossa



Militant/Al Twiss

Protesters at California nuclear plant last summer. 'Energy monopolies put their profits ahead of the very existence of humanity, just as they put profits above the safety and lives of coal miners,' Halstead says.

school desegregation. Los Angeles, for instance, has one of the most segregated school systems in the entire country. In a number of California cities efforts are under way to desegregate the schools through busing.

Because it is essential to desegregation, Halstead explained, busing has become the target of the racists.

"They say they're just against busing, not desegregation," he observed. "That's bunk. If you're against busing, you're for segregation, because busing is the only practical way to desegregate."

"Another thing," he continued, "is the game they've been playing to try to promote antibusing sentiment among Chicanos with the phony argument that bilingual education will suffer."

Two-thirds left out

"That's a joke. In L.A., for example, the truth is that a good two-thirds of the children who don't speak English don't have any bilingual program. An effective bilingual, bicultural program is needed, and there's no reason in the world why it can't be done in a desegregated school system. It's fake to say it's one or the other."

Halstead said another important problem for the Chicano and *mexicano* community is President Carter's deportation plan.

"It's designed," Halstead said, "to step up the deportations, to divide workers and the Spanish-speaking community itself. The idea is to build up a hysteria to blame the immigrants for unemployment.

"That's bull. During the thirties, when there was huge unemployment, there was far less immigration than now and a lot of emigration back to Mexico. During the Second World War, there was heavy immigration here and virtually no unemployment. The two have nothing to do with each other. Capitalism, not immigrants, causes unemployment.

"One deportation we're going to be fighting in this campaign," Halstead said, "is the one they're trying to get away with against Héctor Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. They want to send him back to Mexico to face jail and maybe worse because he's a socialist and because the Mexican government has laid frame-up charges on him. And we will block that."

Another issue felt deeply in the Chicano and Black communities here is forced sterilization. "Thousands of women in this state have been sterilized against their will," said Halstead. "My campaign stands 100 percent behind the right of each woman to decide for herself—whether she wants to have children, whether she wants an abortion. No politician, no hospital, and no welfare office has the right to control women's bodies."

Pollution

Halstead turned to a problem that gets him particularly incensed—California's deadly pollution.

"This is one of the great evils California suffers as the result of the power of the ruling rich," he said.

"Take L.A.," he continued. "We didn't have a

smog problem until they got rid of the good transit system we once had here and gave us the freeways instead.

"General Motors, Firestone Tire and Rubber, and Standard Oil set up a holding company, bought up the transit system, put it out of business, and forced everyone into an automobile as a necessity just to get to work.

"We need a mass, public, nonpolluting transit system.

"But the auto corporations, the oil companies, the banks, they just don't give a damn if the kids in East Los Angeles have lead in their blood as the result of all this. It's the same callous approach the coal companies take to miners' safety. They're concerned with making profits—period.

"I'm constantly enraged," he added, "to get up in the morning and look in vain for the mountains that I used to see every day when I was a kid here and realize they're blanketed by smog. To me it's important to be able to look at those mountains."

Halstead said the question of nuclear power plants in California is another case in point. "The problem of accumulating radioactive wastes—which remain deadly for thousands of years—has not been solved. This threatens the very future of the human race.

"But the energy monopolies go right on building these plants. They put their own profits for the next twenty years ahead of the very existence of humanity, just as they put profits above the safety and lives of coal miners.

"The problem of developing alternative sources of energy cannot be solved by private corporations. It requires a planned economy, one run by and for working people.

"And only working people ourselves can bring about that kind of society."

Independent political power

"The miners' strike gives an idea of what workers united in our own interests—independent of the two parties of big business—can do," said Halstead. "It shows the power we really have.

"That power can do more than strike an industry or stave off cutbacks. And it will *have* to do more—because the everyday struggles of working people today rapidly come up against the political power of big business, wielded through the capitalists' two parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

"The miners are seeing this happen right now with the Carter administration's strikebreaking. Up against the combined powers of the White House, Congress, and the courts, the miners have no party of their own to turn to.

"But the power of the working class can be organized politically. It can be united in an independent labor party—based on the unions, the miners, steelworkers, auto workers, farm workers, and others. Such a party would *not* be controlled by big business, but would be a party organized to fight for the interests of working people, for an end to race and sex discrimination, for a decent life for everyone in this society.

"We socialists believe there are many working people today searching for that kind of political alternative and for a society that places human needs above profits."

Protest in Nashville March 18

Growing support for antiapartheid action

By Maceo Dixon

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—At a well-attended news conference March 2, the NAACP announced growing support for the March Against Racism in South Africa scheduled here for March 18.

The demonstration has been called to protest the South Africa-U.S. Davis Cup tennis match in Nashville and the complicity of Vanderbilt University, which is hosting the event.

Gordon Brown, president of the Nashville NAACP Young Adult Council, opened the news conference saying, "The NAACP will lead a mass demonstration and march beginning 12:00 noon, Saturday, March 18, from the state capitol to Centennial Park.

"The organization will hold a peaceful and orderly march and demonstration, not only to protest South Africa's participation in the Davis Cup, but to educate and make the public aware of the vicious apartheid system of racial segregation and oppression of Blacks in South Africa."

According to Brown, "A significant number of students from NAACP Youth Councils, college chapters, and student groups from colleges and uni-



NAACP news conference in Nashville announces student support for March Against Racism in South Africa.

versities across the country are expected to come to Nashville on March 18 and join the students here in massive support of the demonstration."

Black students from Fisk University, Tennessee State, and other campuses in the area were present at the news conference. The NAACP reported that students are also coming to the action from New Orleans, Louisville, and the Atlanta University complex.

Busloads of participants from a southeast regional NAACP conference in Chattanooga are also expected to join in the March 18 action.

Janice Johnson, the youth coordinator of the NAACP for the Southeast region and a national staff representative, also spoke on the importance of young people. "During the Vietnam War, during the 1960s, and during the civil rights movement, students played a key role. Now students must play a key role around this issue," she said.

The president of the Nashville NAACP, Dr. Kimbrough, explained, "We have to challenge Vanderbilt University from the standpoint of its cor-

porate interest in South Africa." The U.S. government, universities, and corporations help perpetuate South African racism, he said, and must also be a focus of the antiapartheid struggle.

Kimbrough exposed the university's false argument that it must continue to sponsor the games on the campus to uphold the ideals of "free speech" and an "open forum." The very act of sponsoring the games, he explained, shows the complicity of the university with racism in South Africa. "As most people know, Vanderbilt University is a racist university and has a history of being opposed to Black rights," said Kimbrough.

Johnson added, "We will be mobilizing people to put pressure on our government to change its policy on South Africa."

"Students have been organized not only to participate in the March 18 demonstrations," Brown said. "They will petition, write letters and lobby with their elected officials to act forcibly against apartheid and to influence United States corporations to with-

draw their investments in South Africa."

The NAACP is placing ads in Black newspapers across the country to help publicize the march. It has also put out an attractive button and bumper sticker.

Speakers at the rally will include NAACP Executive Secretary Benjamin Hooks, national board members, and well-known celebrities.

Osborne Hart, a spokesperson for the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), was also a participant in the news conference. He explained to the *Militant* the importance of the march and NSCAR's support for it.

"Since the June 16, 1976, Black rebellion in Soweto, South Africa," Hart said, "NSCAR has seen the fight for Black freedom and majority rule in South Africa as one of our major campaigns. We are also demanding that all the political prisoners be freed and that the U.S. government get out of that country now!"

"NSCAR," Hart continued, "has seen as one of its major tasks to help expose the U.S. government's role in maintaining racism in South Africa. The Davis Cup should be seen in this light. These tennis matches could only be held with the complicity of the Carter administration and Vanderbilt University. In essence, they're both supporting apartheid. They're both supporting these segregated teams."

Hart explained that he was in Nashville to work with the NAACP on building student support for the march. He reported that SCAR chapters across the country are trying to get as many people as possible to come to Nashville or to hold solidarity activities in their cities.

Hart said students will also be participating in protest activities in Nashville scheduled for March 17 and 19. These activities are being organized by the Tennessee Coalition Against Apartheid.

For more information on the March 18 action and to obtain bumper stickers and buttons, call or write to the Nashville NAACP, 1308 Jefferson Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee. Telephone: (615) 320-0235 or 329-0999.

YSA team

The Young Socialist Alliance has fielded a four-person team to tour Black campuses in the South leading up to the March 17-19 antiapartheid protests in Nashville. The four will help build support for the protests and sell the *Young Socialist* and the *Militant*.

Team members are Melvin Chappell, Shirley Smith, Sidney Hunter, and Rick Young.

The team will visit North Carolina A & T University, North Carolina Central University, University of Alabama (Birmingham), Alabama State, Tuskegee Institute, Jackson State University, Kentucky State University, and Southern University.

Atlanta rally hears Wilmington Ten defendant

By Don Davis

ATLANTA—North Carolina Gov. James Hunt's refusal to give pardons of innocence to the Wilmington Ten has sparked new support for the frame-up victims, defendant Anne Sheppard Turner told a rally held here March 2.

"People are outraged. People want to take to the streets. There have been eight new defense committees formed in North Carolina within two weeks after the governor's speech," she told seventy-five people at an Atlanta University rally held to demand the nine defendants still in prison be freed.

Rev. Fred Taylor, director of chapters and affiliates of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told the rally that this case showed American justice is no more color-blind today than it was when he was growing up in Alabama.

"The only difference," he said, "is that it's subtle, it's sophisticated, it's under the table."

Howlie Davis, president of the Atlanta University Center Student Council, which cosponsored the event with the Atlanta Student Coalition Against Racism, called the Wilmington Ten case a prime example that "things are not right with America."

Julian Bond; Myrian Richmond, news director for WALK radio; and Eldson McGhee, president of the NAACP chapter at the Atlanta penitentiary, all sent greetings.

McGhee's greetings said, "The Wilmington Ten case epitomizes America's current and long-standing sense of justice and fair play when it comes to dealing with Black people. But more importantly the struggle that the Wilmington Ten have engendered in their determination not to be buried alive exemplifies that some of us still have the will to be free."

Before beginning her speech, Turner announced that Imani (Johnny Harris), a Black Alabama prisoner, is scheduled to be executed March 10 for his part in a prison rebellion. She appealed for support to save his life.

The frame-up of the Wilmington Ten, Turner said, was intended both to crush the growing Black student movement in Wilmington and to discredit an emerging Black leader, Rev. Ben Chavis.

Were it not for the international attention focused on the case, she said, "Ben Chavis wouldn't be alive today."

During her three-day stay in Atlanta, Turner also spoke at Georgia State University and to the Black

American Law Students Association at Emory University.

A demonstration will be held in Washington, D.C., March 18 to focus

the demand that the Wilmington Ten be freed on President Carter. Demonstrators will gather at noon at the Ellipse between the White House and the Washington Monument.

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Issues in French election

Working-class unity vs. alliance with capitalists



French workers protest government austerity plan

By David Frankel and Peter Seidman

"The issue is the economic crisis—*la crise*," *New York Times* guest columnist Emma Rothschild wrote March 1 in a discussion of the French legislative elections scheduled for this month.

La crise, according to Rothschild, "is omnipresent in political speech. By it are understood several things: high and persisting levels of unemployment and inflation; the sense that the economic boom of the postwar epoch is over; the knowledge that the economic policies of the boom can no longer insure full employment."

La crise is brutal on the working people of France.

Real wages are going down. Under an austerity plan imposed by French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's government, prices went up 9.5 percent in 1977 while wages increased only 8.7 percent.

Unemployment hit the highest levels in more than twenty years at the end of 1977.

But *la crise* has not been so bad for the bosses.

Profits are going up, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development predicts that France, with a growth rate of 3.2 percent, will do better than Germany and Britain this year.

Meanwhile, the gap between the rich and the poor is being widened. The OECD estimates that the richest 10 percent of the French population absorbs nearly a third of after-tax income, while the poorest 10 percent gets only one-fiftieth.

'Like an epidemic?'

"I understand," Giscard d'Estaing tells voters, "that certain among you may be tempted to vote against 'the crisis,'" by supporting the Communist or Socialist parties.

Such a vote, Giscard insists, would do no good. The crisis can't be escaped, he claims. It is "like an epidemic, it comes to us from without."

Giscard's problem is how to keep his capitalist governmental coalition in power despite his attack on the living standard of the working class. In France, as in Italy, working people are looking for an alternative to the capi-

talist parties and the system they represent.

Under the impact of the economic and social crisis, the French workers have been moving to the left. Today the two largest working-class parties, the CP and the SP, together have the support of roughly 50 percent of the French voters.

In their support to the CP and SP the workers are attempting to express their interests as a class, in opposition to the bosses and the parties of the bosses. In a more or less conscious way, they are trying to vote for socialism—for the expropriation of the capitalists and the replacement of the private-profit system with one in which economic decisions are determined democratically by the masses and in their interests.

Working people know that the factories and the wealth workers produce in them have not disappeared. The crisis they face comes not "from without," like some inexplicable plague, but rather from within—from the economic and social contradictions contained within the capitalist system itself.

Role of reformists

But the hopes of the masses for a government that would really represent them have run into a roadblock.

Neither the Social Democratic nor Stalinist leaders want to form such a government, since it would have to challenge the prerogatives and profits of the bosses. And the CP and SP are committed to preserving the capitalist system.

Despite massive support among the workers, the Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders are opposed to forming a CP-SP government. They know that formation of a government without representatives from capitalist parties would immediately raise the expectations of the masses.

Workers would expect—and demand—that such a government take far-reaching measures to make the bosses, not the working class, bear the burden of *la crise*. Refusal of the reformist leaders to implement an anticapitalist program could result in a further leftward shift in the working class and in the masses turning to leaders and parties that would be willing to use

governmental power in the interests of the working class.

One way the French Stalinists and Social Democrats tried to avoid establishment of a workers government was through the formation of the Union of the Left.

Union of the Left

The Union of the Left was an electoral coalition of the CP, the SP, and the Left Radicals, a small capitalist party which from the point of view of votes was insignificant. The Common Program of this electoral front was adopted in 1972. It proposed a series of reforms within the confines of the capitalist system.

Although in order to win the support of the masses, the Union of the Left used socialist rhetoric, including in the Common Program, it was clearly a procapitalist bloc. This was evident not only from its procapitalist program but from the eagerness of both the CP and SP to include the bourgeois Left Radicals in the coalition, despite that party's small size.

For several years both the Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders have used the prospect of a victory at the polls by the Union of the Left as an argument against strike actions and other struggles against the regime's austerity plan. Such struggles, it was claimed, would hurt the chances of the "left" by scaring away middle-class voters.

For the ruling class, however, despite the capitalist program of the Union of the Left, an electoral victory of that bloc was still too risky. The workers would have seen such a victory as a green light for their demands, giving rise to struggles the CP and SP might not have been able to control.

In September 1977 the small capitalist party of Left Radicals walked out of negotiations to update the Common Program, charging that the CP wanted to nationalize too big a section of the French economy. On September 24 the Union of the Left broke up altogether, supposedly because the CP and SP could not reach agreement on the scope of nationalizations to be proposed in the updated program.

Actually, programmatic differences between the SP and the CP had no-

thing to do with the Union of the Left breaking apart. Neither party has any interest in unifying the working class around a program to combat the bosses' austerity drive. Instead, the infighting between them is motivated, among other things, by their mutual desire to jockey for stronger positions vis-à-vis each other, whatever the outcome of the elections.

Rouge, the newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party and French section of the Fourth International) commented on the similarity of the SP and CP programs in its February 23 issue.

"The careful reader of the two texts will see that there is practically no difference in the social measures envisioned . . . relative to the minimum wage, pay increases, increases in national insurance benefits."

Reformist demagogy

Both the CP and SP have based their campaigns on updated versions of the old Common Program, and both rely on an upturn in the capitalist economy—not anticapitalist measures—to give relief to the workers.

Both the CP and the SP insist that they will keep Giscard as president even if they win a majority in the 490-seat National Assembly. And Giscard has pledged to block the implementation of many of the Common Program's more popular social reforms.

Thus, the two big workers parties have no essential differences in this election.

But millions of French workers view the division between the CP and SP as a severe blow to their expectations. Therefore, both of the reformist parties must try to justify to the working class why they will not unite. The division between the largest workers parties, despite the continuing economic offensive of the French ruling class against the masses, is the framework in which the election is taking place.

The Social Democrats have tried to meet the workers' questions by claiming they are for unity and that any disunity is the CP's fault. They say that in any district where the CP leads the SP in the first round of voting

March 12, they will step down and support CP candidates.

(In France, if no candidate wins a majority on the first round of voting—which is usually the case—those with the two highest votes are matched in a second-round runoff. Since this usually pits a candidate of a workers party against a capitalist candidate, it is traditional for the various workers parties to support whichever one got the most votes. In this way the workers parties have the best chance to defeat the capitalist candidates at the polls.)

But the SP's appeal for "unity" is totally demagogic. The Social Democrats are not talking about the unity of the *working class*—they also say they will step down to guarantee the election of capitalist Left Radicals. In fact, the SP has already negotiated an agreement to withdraw some of its candidates in the first round so as to guarantee that the Left Radicals win at least thirty seats in the new assembly.

The Stalinists have tried to counter the pressure for class unity by demagogic appeals to reject the supposedly more moderate stance of the SP. The CP leaders have refused to say whether they will step down for the SP in the second round, although like the Social Democrats they have agreed to step down in the first round for various capitalist allies.

Despite the infighting between the two biggest workers parties, opinion polls show that the SP and CP may still win a majority of the vote.

Still, the breakup of the Union of the Left and the sectarianism of the Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders have raised big questions among rank-and-file SP and CP members. This has created a situation in which the revolutionary election campaign being run by the LCR is getting an attentive hearing.

LCR campaign

The LCR is running 150 candidates in the legislative elections. The election program of the French Trotskyists puts forward a socialist solution for the crisis wracking the country. In contrast, it says, "the Common Program—whether the SP or CP version—maintains the dominance of the capitalist market, ignores the special oppression of women, preserves the army as it is now, accepts the 1958 constitution, and maintains French colonial domination over the overseas territories and departments."

While urging workers to vote for the LCR and its revolutionary program in the first round, the French Trotskyists say, "On the second round, there is no alternative but to call for a vote for the SP and CP alone."

Workers are urged to "give these parties a wide margin of votes, so that they have no excuse for backpedaling and compromising in the face of capi-

talist maneuvers and Giscard's blackmail, no excuse for making a deal with the bosses and their parties. . . .

"The kind of government that the workers must establish is not a Union of the Left government. It is a government of the CP and the SP alone, of which the workers will insist that it meet their demands and respond to their aspirations."

Other groups to the left of the SP and CP are also running in an electoral front with the LCR. One of these, the Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (Communist Workers Organization), does not agree with the call for an SP-CP government.

Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle), a Trotskyist group not inside the Fourth International, is running an extensive campaign of its own. It has not decided its position on the second round. Another Trotskyist group, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Organization), is not running candidates of its own. It is focusing its political activity on the demand that the CP step down for SP candidates wherever these win a majority in the first round.

CP members debate LCR

Alain Krivine, a leader of the LCR, described the impact of the LCR campaign in an interview in the February 21 issue of *Rouge*. Speaking of the mass election meetings being held around the country, Krivine noted:

"There is always a discussion. . . . What dominates these discussions is the following idea: Before, when you made criticisms of the left, we treated you like splitters, but now there is a division between the big parties. What the LCR said deserves to be listened to seriously. Often the discussions begin over the divisions of the Union of the Left."

According to Krivine, the great majority of those coming to the LCR campaign meetings are workers. "CP militants systematically attend. They don't come with instructions to contradict me. They always come in a group. They discuss. . . .

"They know how to defend the party line, they are very coherent. But when there is a real discussion . . . on austerity, on keeping Giscard, on the nuclear strike force [the CP favors maintaining a French nuclear force], the contradictions appear—there is no avoiding them."

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, "The militants of the CP are incapable of explaining why one would leave a seat for the bourgeoisie while refusing to step down for the SP."

This face-to-face debate between members of the mass workers parties and the LCR is a new development, one that indicates the depth of political ferment in the French working class today. Whatever the outcome of the current elections, that ferment will continue.

Maoists twist and turn on Sadat's trip to Israel

By David Frankel

Last July the Chinese government gave its official seal of approval to the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) [formerly the October League] as the party of the American working class. A front-page photograph in *People's Daily* showed "Chairman" Michael Klonsky of the CP(M-L) and Chinese CP Chairman Hua Kuo-feng grinning at each other as they sat side-by-side.

Klonsky joined the illustrious array of international leaders—headed by Richard Nixon—who have been wined and dined in the Great Hall of the People. The CP(M-L) chief had earned this honor—that's the way he sees it—by his unwavering support for every aspect of Peking's policy, no matter how reactionary, no matter how harmful to the interests of the world working class.



Chairman Klonsky & Chairman Hua

Since returning from the Peking banquet circuit, Klonsky has continued to build up credits for another round of dinners. The coverage of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat's trip to Israel by *The Call*, the CP(M-L) newspaper, is a case in point.

First, what was the objective meaning of Sadat's trip? The facts speak for themselves.

Faced with military threats from Israel, economic pressure from world imperialism, and an unstable internal situation, Sadat sought a way out by giving in to imperialist demands. By going to Jerusalem and declaring that he "welcomed" the Israeli state—a state built through the dispossession of the Palestinian people—Sadat stabbed the Palestinians in the back.

Sadat strengthened the position of the Zionist state—including its ability to hold onto the Arab territory seized by Israel in the June 1967 war. This was the reason for the unanimous praise given Sadat by imperialist and Zionist leaders, both during and after his trip.

Some of this reality was reflected in the first article on Sadat's trip in the November 28 issue of *The Call*. Although the CP(M-L) never labeled Sadat's course a betrayal, it admitted that it was a blow to the Palestinian struggle and would not bring peace.

"U.S. leaders, as expected, hailed the visit," the article noted.

The following week, the CP(M-L) paper remained silent on the Mideast, the biggest event in world politics that week. But in its December 12 issue *The Call* ran an article purporting to explain "the significance of this latest twist in the complicated development of Mideast events. . . ."

According to *The Call*, things were complicated indeed. Suddenly, it claimed, Washington was not so pleased with Sadat. "As far as the U.S. goes," *The Call* reported, "evidence has come to light which shows that, despite Jimmy Carter's public endorsement of Sadat's efforts last week, the ruling circles of this country are not

fully pleased with these developments."

While taking note of the opposition to Sadat's betrayal by the Palestine Liberation Organization, *The Call* reminded its readers that the Egyptian president wasn't all that bad. "Sadat, it will be remembered, tore up his country's 'friendship' treaty with the USSR last year, and exposed Soviet ambitions to dominate the Mideast."

An editorial in the January 23 issue of *The Call* again took up "the complicated course of Mideast developments," and this time found something positive to say about Sadat's diplomatic maneuvers.

"While rejecting Sadat's unilateral method of action and his de facto recognition of the Israeli state," the editorial said, "we must also see that, since that time, the unfolding of events

around the peace talks have served to further expose the utter intransigence of Israel and its imperialist backers."

Finally, after three more weeks of silence, *The Call* announced that it stood 100 percent behind Sadat. The declaration came in the form of two reprints from the Chinese press. "Chairman Hua Kuo-feng Supports Egyptian Stand," was the headline on a reprint from Hsinhua, the official Chinese news service.

According to the Hsinhua release, Chairman Hua said of Sadat's negotiating position that "this stand is just and conforms to the interests of the Egyptian, Palestinian and other Arab peoples."

But Sadat's negotiating stand is based on his recognition of the Israeli state—a position explicitly rejected by *The Call* in its January 23 editorial. No public explanation has been given for this discrepancy, nor is any really required. If Chairman Hua Kuo-feng supports Sadat's proimperialist policy, could Chairman Michael Klonsky be expected to do less?

A second article in the February 20 issue of *The Call* consisted of reprints from an article in the Peking regime's *People's Daily*. One paragraph said, "The Middle East question is complicated and the Arab and Palestinian people's struggle for the recovery of lost land and the restoration of their national rights will be protracted and tortuous."

No doubt Klonsky hopes that continually stressing how "complicated" the Middle East is will make it easier for members and sympathizers of the CP(M-L) to swallow Peking's reactionary line.

As for Klonsky himself, perhaps he realizes that by backing Sadat the Maoist regime is helping to make the struggle for justice in the Middle East even more "protracted and tortuous." But such considerations have to be weighed against the prospect of another invitation to dinner in the Great Hall of the People.

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Detroit anti-'Bakke' conference draws 500

By Tom Smith

DETROIT—"People of good will must unite, mobilize, educate, and fight to defend affirmative-action programs. An aggressive program of vast instruction must be taken into the streets to explain to the people what affirmative-action programs are and what their effects are intended to be. Affirmative action is not privilege by race but promotion in spite of discrimination by race. . . . Let us march on until victory is won."

Rev. Charles Adams addressed these remarks to 325 people at a rally in defense of affirmative-action programs. The February 24 rally was sponsored by the Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision (MCOBD) as part of a weekend conference on "The Crisis in Affirmative Action" held at Wayne State University in Detroit. The conference was chaired by Jerry Blocker, executive secretary of Detroit NAACP, and succeeded in uniting a large number of Black, women's, labor, and community organizations.

Speaker after speaker at the rally stressed the need to expose the racist lies surrounding the *Bakke* case.

Rep. John Conyers noted in his keynote address that "reverse discrimination" is a "sophisticated legalism." And Dr. Elizabeth Hood of the Training Institute for Desegregated Education denounced the "scientific racism of 'testing.'"

The chairperson of the Michigan National Organization for Women (NOW), Mary Jo Walsh, also took aim at the "reverse discrimination" myth, calling it "a misnomer from beginning to end."

The speakers also declared their support and that of their organizations for April protests against the *Bakke* decision called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD).

City Council President Pro tem Mary

Ann Mahaffey encouraged rally participants to "organize and mobilize to get the masses of people together." Council member Nicholas Hood read a resolution stating, "The Detroit City Council firmly declares itself in support of efforts by the MCOBD to overturn the *Bakke* decision."

Mark Stepp, international vice-president of the United Auto Workers union, said that "the UAW is very pleased to join together with this coalition. . . . If the *Bakke* case takes a bad turn in the Supreme Court, all the affirmative-action programs we have fought for will go down the drain."

In addition, Fernando Colon, director of Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development (LASED), and Abdeen Jabara of the Arab American Public Affairs Committee in Michigan stressed the need for all oppressed nationalities to join the fight to overturn the *Bakke* ruling.

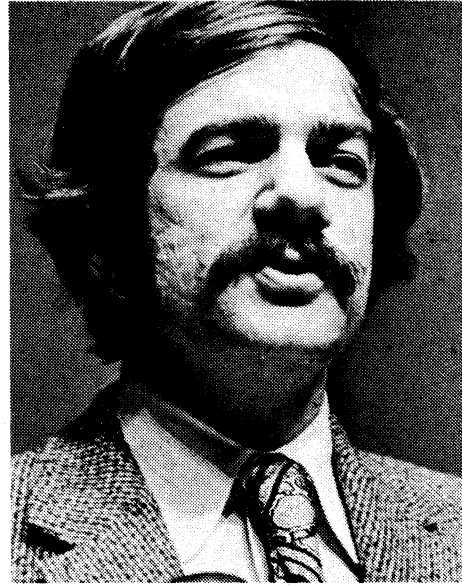
John Conyers summed up the mood of the meeting by noting that "we are the heirs of the civil rights movement."

The conference itself was a big step forward in organizing public sentiment against the *Bakke* ruling. Four hundred and seventy people registered as new members of MCOBD. The workshops on Saturday brought together many organizations involved in the fight to reverse the *Bakke* ruling.

The sixty participants at the labor workshop included representatives of the UAW International Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department; three UAW Local Fair Practices committees; UAW Local 235 Women's Committee; and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Horace Sheffield, president of the CBTU, pledged, "CBTU stands with you foursquare, and we are willing to do everything possible to make this effort a success."

Two sets of workshops were held on the status of affirmative-action programs in employment, education, and



ABDEEN JABARA Militant/Mark Satinoff



JOHN CONYERS

community services, and those especially affecting women. The first brought participants up to date on the attacks on affirmative-action programs. The afternoon session discussed how to organize anti-*Bakke* protests in each area. Conference participants also heard a panel discussion of affirmative-action cases and pro-

grams in Michigan.

The workshops and plenary session of the conference voted overwhelmingly to hold a protest demonstration against the *Bakke* decision in Detroit on April 8. It also voted to endorse the NCOBD call for a march on Washington to overturn the *Bakke* ruling sometime in April.

Unions back conference

DETROIT—Labor participation in the conference on affirmative action here was especially significant. The United Auto Workers Southeast Michigan Community Action Program endorsed the conference and contributed funds to the MCOBD. *Solidarity*, the national UAW newspaper, printed an article in support of the conference.

Endorsements were received from UAW locals 51, 212, and 140,

the executive board of UAW Local 600, and presidents of AFSCME locals 1640, 25, and 312. UAW locals 51 and 600 also established official union anti-*Bakke* committees.

Tom Turner, president of Detroit Metropolitan AFL-CIO, also endorsed the conference. In addition a special resolution was adopted encouraging the formation of more anti-*Bakke* committees by union locals.

—T.S.

Educational meetings discuss 'Bakke' ruling

By Shelley Kramer

The *Bakke* decision's threat to affirmative-action gains was the topic of a series of local educational events during the week of February 19-25.

This week had been targeted by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision as a National Week of Education to publicize the issues at stake in the *Bakke* case.

Militant correspondents from cities across the country reported lively discussions at these meetings.

In Pittsburgh, correspondent Ronnie Cook reported on a two-day educational conference sponsored by the Black American Law Students Association (BALSA) and the Pitt Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), February 21 and 23 at the University of Pittsburgh. Over fifty people attended each day's sessions.

The first meeting discussed the impact of the *Bakke* decision on education.

The "legal and constitutional aspects of the *Bakke* case are not nearly as important for us as the social and political aspects," law Prof. Carl Copper told the audience. "*Bakke* will be overturned in the streets by efforts on the part of those of us here," he added.

The second day's sessions focused on why the women's movement and labor movement should actively oppose the *Bakke* decision. Panel speakers included Tania Shai (SCAR); Martha Munsch, law professor and ACLU member; Steffi Dimike, steelworker and member of the International So-

cialists; and Susan Schiller, Campus National Organization for Women.

"The same people who are anti-ERA, antigay and anti-civil rights are those who are for *Bakke*," Schiller said. "*Bakke* must be stopped to give us a chance to move forward."

In Salt Lake City, Utah, seventy students attended a speak-out on the *Bakke* decision held at the University of Utah on February 24. Sponsors of the meeting included SCAR, the Asian-American Student Association, the Black Student Union, Chicano Student Association, Red American Student Organization, Young Democrats, and Young Socialist Alliance.

Militant correspondent Tony Adams reported that this was the first anti-*Bakke* action held in Utah. The February 25 *Salt Lake Tribune* featured an article on the day's meeting.

Cody Bryan reported that more than fifty people attended a protest rally to demand the overturn of the *Bakke* decision at the Bethlehem Baptist Church in Tacoma, Washington, on February 25.

Speakers included Stephanie Coontz, vice-president of the Washington Federation of Teachers; Tom Dixon, executive director of the Tacoma Urban League; Marsha Dombrosky, a co-coordinator of Tacoma NOW; York Wong, an instructor at Evergreen State College; and Frank Capoean, member of the Student Coalition of Indian Natives at Tacoma Community College.

"The National Education Association believes that the decision of the



Tacoma rally demands overturn of 'Bakke'

Militant/Linda Malanchuck

California Supreme Court in favor of *Bakke*, if affirmed, would constitute a serious setback to this nation's efforts to include minority group members among those who receive a professional education, and to increase thereby the availability of desperately needed services in minority communities," said John Ryor, president of the NEA, in a statement read to the rally.

Correspondent Bruce Lesnick reported that the Kansas City Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision sponsored two events in Kansas City during the National Week of Education.

The first was a community speak-out on February 22 featuring speakers

from the NAACP, Kansas City Medical Society, the Social Action Committee of 20, NOW, Student National Medical Association, Socialist Workers Party, Urban League-Labor Education and Action Program, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The following evening, the local coalition hosted a debate on affirmative action. Speaking in favor of the overturn of the *Bakke* decision were Marty Pettit of the KCCOBD and Jeremiah Cameron, a professor at Penn Valley Community College. Taking a position opposed to affirmative action were Jamie Kelso and Gene Hawkridge of the Libertarian Party.

'Excelsior' ends blackout

Marroquin case is big news in Mexico

By José G. Pérez

After a five-month virtual blackout in the Mexico City press, Héctor Marroquín's fight for political asylum was favorably reported on in a prominent article in the February 19 *Excelsior*. The story was written by Fausto Fernández Ponte, the head of the paper's Washington, D.C., bureau.

The article is a major political breakthrough in efforts to publicize and win support for Marroquín's right to asylum, since *Excelsior* is widely considered to be Mexico's leading daily.

The article is all the more important since *Excelsior* generally supports the policies of the Mexican government. In Mexico it is viewed in a way comparable to the way the *New York Times* is viewed in the United States—as one of the most authoritative and influential press voices of the ruling class.

Publication of the article shows the growing impact of the defense campaign for Marroquín both in this coun-

try and in Mexico. Moreover, it reports other developments that indicate the U.S. government is feeling increasing pressure from the case.

Fernández Ponte reports the first public comment by Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Leonel Castillo on the case. Castillo linked the case to that of José Jacques Medina, another Mexican seeking political asylum in this country. He also claimed the asylum proceedings would take so long that ultimately "I don't believe they are going to be deported."

Castillo's assertion that the activists won't be deported is contradicted by the fact that the INS has so far refused to grant asylum to either Marroquín or Medina. The threat of deportation—and resulting imprisonment, torture, and possible death—still hangs over the heads of the two activists.

Much of the *Excelsior* report focuses on documentary proof submitted by Marroquín that shows he could not possibly have committed crimes attributed to him by the Mexican government.

This stands in sharp contrast to Mexican press reports published at the time of the alleged guerrilla attacks that Marroquín is accused of taking part in.

Marroquín was a student leader in Monterrey, Mexico, who fled to the United States in 1974 after Mexican newspapers sensationalized police claims that he had been involved in killing a librarian at the university where he studied.

Even after he had fled the country, Mexican newspapers continued to feature him prominently in stories with headlines such as "These Are the Subversives That Torment Monterrey!" and "Once Again the Violent Mad Dogs Cause Panic and Fear Among the Monterreyans."

Barry Fatland, coordinator of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, told the *Militant* that the committee would be reprinting and distributing the *Excelsior* story.

"We think it's a real breakthrough," he said. "It will be a great aid in explaining the case to people in Mexico whom we are asking to support Marroquín and to help in gathering evidence."

He also said the article would be helpful in the United States, where many people aren't familiar with the severe repression in Mexico.

"They'll be able to see for themselves that a major progovernment daily in Mexico considers Marroquín's version so credible they simply report it at face value."

Excerpts from article

Following are major excerpts from the article on the Héctor Marroquín case published under the headline, 'A Mexican asks for Political Asylum in the U.S.' in the February 19 'Excelsior.'

By Fausto Fernández Ponte

WASHINGTON, D.C., February 18—It has been officially reported that Héctor Marroquín Manríquez, one of the Mexicans who has asked for asylum in the United States, has submitted to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of this country documentary evidence that he was in Texas when criminal actions took place in Nuevo León that were attributed to him by the Nuevo León police.

The INS confirmed that Margaret Winter, an attorney for Marroquín Manríquez, presented the evidence as an argument for the asylum request made several months ago.

The INS commissioner, Leonel Castillo, said today during a meeting with leaders of Washington's Latin American community that the administrative proceedings in the cases of Marroquín and José Jacques Medina—another Mexican who asked for asylum in the United States—will take so long that ultimately, "I don't believe they will be deported."

"These cases," Castillo said, "are tests of the mechanisms for asylum, both economic and political."

Meanwhile, the INS has asked the State Department for their opinion in regards to Marroquín Manríquez's request.

The INS indicated to the State Department that Marroquín is accused of having fired at two agents of the judicial police of Nuevo León on April 23, 1974, and of having participated together with seven other persons in the robbery of more than 400,000 pesos [U.S. \$33,000 at the time] from a bakery in Monterrey on August 30 of that year.

The case of Marroquín, as well as those of Medina and of citizens of Haiti who have asked the United States for political asylum are the object of an immense debate in academic and judicial circles and in the newspapers.

Their respective cases have been provoking favorable reactions, particularly among intellectuals and legal experts.

The evidence presented by attorney Winter to show that Marroquín Manríquez was in the United States when the above-mentioned actions took place are the following:

- Pay slips . . . of the Harold Farb Construction Company of Houston, Texas. These are made out to one Roberto Zamora, the alias Marroquín used to be able to get a job in this country. . . .

The pay slips are dated from April 23 to May 21 of the same year.

- Medical report of the hospital of the University of Texas Medical Branch dated August 29, 1974, indicating that Zamora was discharged after having been treated for injuries suffered in a car accident in Galveston, Texas. The wounds were identified as fractures of the tibia and the pelvis. The medical report declares Zamora unable to work for 6 to 8 weeks.

On another side, attorney Winter reports that, in addition to the "documentary evidence," she presented to the INS clippings from Mexican newspapers describing what happened to the students of the University of Nuevo León who were accused by the judicial police of having participated in the events of April 23 and August 30, 1974. The clippings speak of tortures, deaths while trying to escape, and disappearances.

Some of these students had been pupils of Marroquín at a high school.

Attached to the documentary evidence were statements by intellectuals in the United States, which affirmed that Marroquín would be tortured by the Nuevo León police and possibly killed if he is denied asylum in the United States and deported to Mexico.

Among the notable declarations is that of John Womack, Jr., the celebrated author of *Zapata*, a work that is considered a classic of its genre of political analysis of history. The work was banned in Mexico during the administration of President Díaz Ordaz but subsequently acclaimed.

'My Story' in Spanish

MI HISTORIA
Por Héctor Marroquín



La Lucha por el Asilo Político en los Estados Unidos

The Spanish edition of 'My Story—the Struggle for Political Asylum in the U.S.' has just been printed. Both the English and Spanish editions of 'My Story' are available for 50¢ each, 35¢ each on orders of ten or more. Order from: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

Soviet dissidents, Davis back Marroquin defense



Among the latest endorsers of Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum in the United States are U.S. Communist Party leader Angela Davis (left) and exiled Soviet dissident Boris Shragin (right). Two other exiled Soviet dissidents, Natalya Sadomskaya and Valentin Turchin, have also endorsed the case.

Hear Hector Marroquin

Héctor Marroquín is conducting a four-month national speaking tour to explain to the American people why he is fighting for political asylum in the United States. Below is information on two major city-wide meetings for Marroquín. In addition, Marroquín will be speaking in Newark March 23-24.

Los Angeles: A *tardeada* benefit. Sunday, March 12, Rudy's Pasta House, 6047 East Olympic Boulevard. Entertainment and speakers from 4 p.m. to 9 p.m.; dinner at 5 p.m.; disco to follow. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Ed Morga, national president, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); Peter Schey, attorney for José Jacques Medina, Mexican activist seeking political asylum in the United States; others. Donation: \$3.50 (includes dinner). Auspices: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

New York City: An afternoon in defense of Héctor Marroquín. Sun-

day, March 19, 4 p.m. at the New York Society for Ethical Culture Meeting House, 2 West Sixty-fourth Street (off Central Park West). Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Roger Baldwin, founder, American Civil Liberties Union; Grace Paley, writer; Annette Rubenstein, writer; Margaret Winter, attorney for Marroquín; State Rep. Edward Sullivan; Boris Shragin and Natalya Sadomskaya, Soviet dissidents; and Algeron Black, Society for Ethical Culture. Donation: \$3. Auspices: U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and New York Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (212) 254-6062.

NY unions need new strategy to fight layoffs & cutbacks

Interview with Ray Markey

Ray Markey has been a member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1930, New York Public Library Guild, since its founding in 1968. Local 1930 represents more than 1,400 library workers in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Staten Island.

Markey is a member of Local 1930's executive board, a delegate to the AFSCME District Council 37 Delegate Assembly, and a delegate to the New York City Central Labor Council.

Within the New York labor movement, Markey is well known as a spokesperson for socialist views. He is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

Last November and December Markey ran for president of Local 1930, losing the official count by fourteen votes. He has appealed the election to AFSCME's judicial panel because of serious violations of election procedures. The following interview was obtained by 'Militant' staff writer Lynn Henderson.

Question. Why did you decide to run for union office against the incumbent president of Local 1930?

Answer. To understand my election campaign you first have to understand the kinds of attacks the municipal employees of New York have been under and how the leadership of AFSCME District Council 37 has responded to these attacks. The incumbent supported the policies that the AFSCME leadership has followed throughout the New York City fiscal crisis.

During the past three years more than 60,000 municipal jobs have been eliminated in New York. At one point the membership of District Council 37 fell from 110,000 to 89,000, a loss of 21,000 jobs in AFSCME alone.

Throughout these attacks, the AFSCME leadership not only accepted the cutbacks without any real fight but in effect cooperated in implementing them.

My opposition to these policies is more than just a question of past mistakes and errors.

This is not a temporary fiscal crisis as Victor Gotbaum [executive director of District Council 37] and other municipal union leaders have constantly told us. Nor can it be solved by temporary sacrifices on the part of municipal workers for the "good of the city" as they also have claimed.

The New York crisis is part of a concerted effort to solve the financial problems of the superrich on the backs of working people and our unions.

This tactic is beginning to be used in every major city in this country. It is also being applied internationally. I saw in the news recently that Tokyo is in a fiscal crisis, which they plan to solve by slashing essential services for Japanese workers.

The policies that AFSCME is continuing to follow will lead to a further deterioration in our standard of living and job security. If followed long enough, these policies could lead to the destruction of our union.

Q. How have the cutbacks affected AFSCME members, and why do you



RAY MARKEY

Militant/Henry Snipper

say the leadership of District Council 37 has cooperated in implementing the cutbacks?

A. For example, the pension benefits of new AFSCME members have been slashed. And the pension funds of all members have been imperiled by the collusion of the AFSCME leadership with Democratic and Republican politicians to use these funds for massive purchases of New York City bonds.

Thirty-five percent of District Council 37's pension fund assets are now in city bonds that the banks and corporations have refused to buy on the grounds they are unsafe.

The leadership of District Council 37 even cooperated with these politicians in passing legislation granting union pension fund trustees indemnification and immunity from prosecution for these illegal investments.

Under our present contract the wages of all District Council 37 members have been frozen for the past three years. This has meant a whopping reduction in real wages—15 percent over five years.

Even though our city-wide contract provides for cost of living adjustments (COLA), the formula used does not keep us even with inflation.

There has been a significant deterioration in working conditions for all AFSCME members in New York. Ironically, Gotbaum and the other municipal union heads have cooperated in turning our COLA clause into a club for achieving this.

Under the city-wide contract negotiated by the leadership of District Council 37 in July 1976, our COLA payments now depend on the introduction of so-called productivity savings equal to the cost of the COLA.

For most city employees—clerks, typists, librarians, hospital workers, and

so on—there are no new advances in machinery or technology that increase hourly output. For us "productivity" means only one thing—speedup.

Under the new contract the union takes responsibility for finding, suggesting, and helping to implement these "productivity savings." This is one of the most dangerous and demoralizing aspects of our present situation. It deforms and debases the very purpose of the union.

For Local 1930 members, library hours have been cut by 30 percent. Originally 30 to 40 percent of our membership was laid off. Subsequently many of them were rehired under the federal CETA [Comprehensive Employment Training Act] program.

Rehiring of laid-off city workers under CETA has occurred not only in Local 1930 but throughout District Council 37. While this has kept these employees temporarily on the job, it sets a deadly trap for our union.

It means that unskilled, long-term unemployed, which CETA was supposedly set up to aid, have been pushed out of the program. This has divided the union from the poor and the communities of the oppressed nationalities, who bear the brunt of the cutbacks in city services and are our strongest potential allies to fight for restoration of these services.

But fighting the Democratic and Republican politicians and their financial bosses for restoration of these essential services is a strategy AFSCME officials have rejected out of hand.

In addition, these AFSCME members rehired under CETA have no job security. The CETA program has to be refunded every year by Congress.

President Carter has already stated he intends to do away with the CETA program by 1980.

In its place Carter wants to substitute a "workfare" program under which those hired would no longer receive prevailing union wages but be paid only the minimum wage. Those applying for welfare would be forced to participate in this program, which will be used to undercut union wages and working conditions.

AFSCME's top leadership enthusiastically endorsed and actively supported Carter's campaign for president. In fact, they promised us his election would go a long way toward ending New York City's fiscal crisis and solving our problems. They told us that Carter would develop a program for a federal takeover of welfare costs that would free funds to aid the cities.

This reliance on Carter and the Democratic Party produced nothing but a welfare plan that is a dagger aimed at the heart of AFSCME and a threat to the entire union movement.

In summing up, the effects of the cutbacks on AFSCME have been two-fold. First, there has been a substantial reduction in the standard of living and job security of our members. Second, the inadequate response of AFSCME's leadership has severely weakened the union.

Q. Getting back to your union election, how did you emerge as the candidate in opposition to these policies?

A. As the attacks against municipal workers escalated over the past three years, more and more members of my local became convinced that the policies of the District Council leadership had to be reversed. On a number of occasions they expressed this opinion in words and deeds.

From the time the cutbacks started, our local stressed the need for all the municipal unions to join together with each other and with community organizations in fighting against all cutbacks and layoffs.

We helped initiate and build a demonstration that we hoped would set a model for united action. But District Council 37 officials did everything they could to sabotage this demonstration, blocking other unions from joining it.

Local 1930 also voted against the disgraceful city-wide contract negotiated by AFSCME officials in 1976.

In the fall of 1975 the city announced it was closing thirty-three of the eighty-two branch libraries in Manhattan, Staten Island, and the Bronx.

Local 1930 refused to accept the closings as a necessary and inevitable sacrifice—the general position District Council 37 officials have consistently taken. Instead, the local joined with community groups in organizing around-the-clock sit-ins at a number of key branches to prevent the closings.

The city was forced to back down and cancel all thirty-three closings.

Even though we are a small local, we openly projected an alternative to the sellout policies of the District Council 37 leadership.

But the incumbent president, Katherine Todd, had a different philosophy. She felt if we just kept our mouths shut and stopped criticizing the policies of District Council 37, things would improve for the local.

If we cooperated more closely with the leadership of District Council 37 they would be more helpful in pursuing our grievances against management,

we would suffer proportionately fewer layoffs and perhaps even get a wage increase.

But keeping your mouth shut and going along with the policies of District Council 37 in New York and AFSCME nationally was looking at it backwards. The defeats had been suffered largely as a result of the policies of District Council 37. We suffered as a local, and our membership suffered not because we were in opposition to District Council 37's policies but because we were not strong enough to change them.

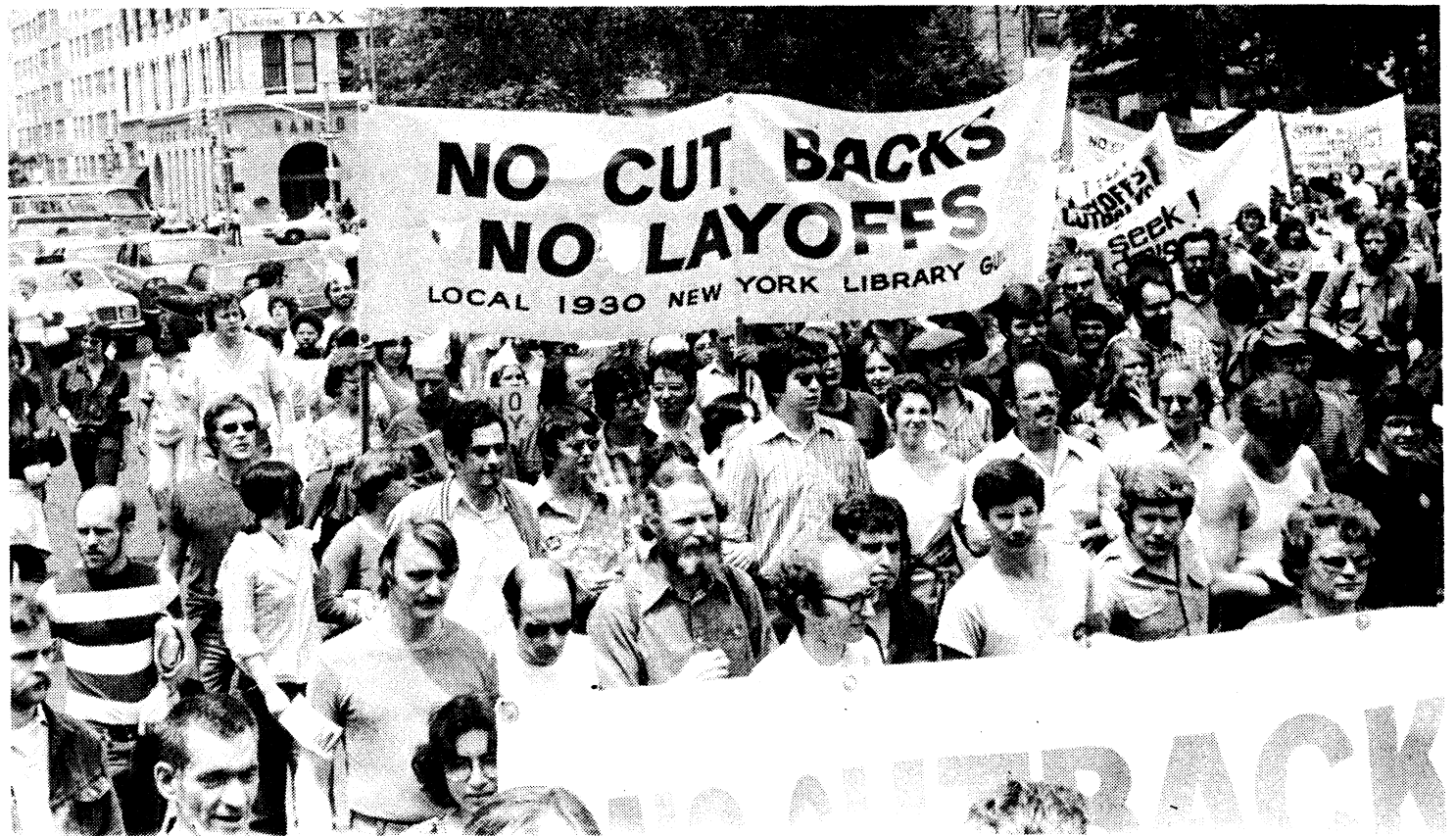
This all crystallized during our local's negotiations for a new contract in the summer of 1977. Library management, the leadership of District Council 37, and the president of our own local, all united in demanding that Local 1930 not only go along with the wage freeze but that it give up *more* in benefits and working conditions than most other locals in District Council 37!

In the drive to find "productivity savings" to offset COLA raises, Gotbaum tried to squeeze a disproportionate share out of the smaller locals—especially our local.

As a member of the negotiating committee, I played a leading role in the fight against the proposed contract.

During the fight the membership threw out the original negotiating committee and elected a new one. With the new committee and the backing of the membership, we were able to defeat some of the worst proposed cuts and come back with a modestly better contract.

It was on the basis of that struggle that many members approached me to run for president.



Demonstration of municipal unions and community groups in June 1975. Top AFSCME officials sought to sabotage the action. Militant/Andy Rose

Q. What issues did you raise in the campaign?

A. I called for a reversal in the policies followed by the leadership of District Council 37.

The problems of Local 1930, or any other local in New York City, cannot be solved on a local basis. We cannot prevent more layoffs or get a wage increase or prevent the erosion of our working conditions by ourselves.

We need to unite all the municipal unions with our potential allies to fight the cutbacks, not cooperate with the bankers and politicians to help implement them.

I opposed the so-called equality-of-sacrifice concept that Gotbaum and the other municipal union heads endorse. What equality of sacrifice means in practice is that when the bankers and capitalist politicians proclaim a fiscal crisis, we are laid off and have our wages frozen while the banks, big realtors, and major corporations get huge new tax reductions.

I opposed the mortgaging of our pension funds to city bonds.

I opposed tying our COLA clause to productivity.

And I opposed pouring District Council 37's money and political resources into the election of Democratic and Republican politicians who then lead the attacks against us.

Reliance on "friendly" capitalist politicians is the touchstone of the AFSCME officialdom's strategy—it has been an unmitigated disaster.

Q. What kinds of issues did your opponent raise?

A. The incumbent president was so discredited that it was impossible for her to run again. But another candidate, Sally Campbell, quickly declared and came to represent essentially the same philosophy—closer cooperation with District Council 37.

Campbell ran on a three-point program:

One, Ray is a red, he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Two, you cannot trust Ray, because socialists have ulterior motives.

Three, what we need is a "reason-

able" leadership that can work more harmoniously with the District Council 37 leadership and not upset the apple-cart.

Q. What do you think is the significance of the large vote you received?

A. At the beginning of the campaign, Campbell and her supporters assumed there was no possibility of me winning the election. They were convinced that a socialist could not be elected president of Local 1930. Their campaign revolved around little more than reminding people I was a member of the SWP.

However, the red-baiting had very little effect, and the election results were a big shock to Campbell and her supporters.

The large vote I received was significant in two ways. One, it was an indication that red-baiting is losing much of its former punch. And two, it was a reflection of the growing opposition to the class-collaborationist policies of AFSCME's leadership.

Continued on next page

Socialist hits NYC 'slave labor' contract offer

The following statement was released March 6 by Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York.

The opening "offer" by New York City Mayor Edward Koch's administration to the public employee unions is a sharp new attack on all workers.

The city demands that the workers forego a general wage increase; give up contractual restrictions on layoffs; give up paid lunch hours, coffee breaks, and time off for union activities; give up time-and-a-half pay for overtime; give up two paid holidays and all paid personal leave; and give up five days annual vacation.

These are slave-labor demands.

The city has declared war on municipal unions, just as the coal operators and the federal government have against the mine workers. In both cases, the wealthy minority that owns and runs America is delivering a simple message to working people: *you sacrifice so we can profit.*

Give up your hard-fought wage gains, the bosses demand. Forget about affordable health care, secure retirement, even minimal job security.

City, state, and federal officials all

claim New York is broke. But the United States is still the richest country in the world. Our resources are squandered, however, and not used for what we need.

When Jimmy Carter was a candidate, he promised to cut war spending. In office he has done exactly the opposite. The war budget now stands at \$126 billion. The cost of a single Trident submarine—\$1.7 billion—is more than enough to cover New York City's projected budget deficit for the next two years.

I call for eliminating the war budget altogether and spending that money on human needs.

The Democratic administration in Albany is equally guilty of putting profits first. Gov. Hugh Carey has proposed *cutting* taxes for business and higher-income taxpayers by \$750 million, while hospitals and day-care centers in New York City are shut down.

While Koch claims that there is no money for these vital social services, the city is paying over \$1 billion every year in interest payments to Wall Street bankers.

The rulers have been able to get away with these attacks because of the unswerving support union misleaders have given to the same Democratic politicians who are carrying out the assault.

Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers, Victor Gotbaum of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and many other union officials have willingly swallowed the argument that city workers must pay for the financial crisis.

So 61,000 municipal jobs have been eliminated. Free tuition at the City University has ended. Hospitals and day-care centers have been closed.

Far from ending the crisis, these attacks have only whetted the appetites of the banks. With the union officialdom collapsing in front of them, the banks and their political servants believe they can force even greater sacrifices from city workers and all city residents who need public services—with Blacks and Latinos suffering the worst.

The Koch administration expects the union tops to continue giving their aid. "We may well be talking about layoffs," Deputy Mayor Basil Paterson told the *New York Times* February 19. "But we have to have union participation in the formulation of those plans so they don't feel we have imposed it."

"I always thought that no union leader would ever accept a layoff. I'm beginning to think that maybe I'm not so right," Paterson con-

cluded.

But the city is running into two problems.

First of all, many city workers are beginning to see through the "bankruptcy" scare. They are asking why they should sacrifice to boost the profits of the banks.

And second, many city workers have been inspired by the fighting example of the coal miners, who have stood up to the bosses and the federal government.

The Democratic and Republican politicians all agree that it is city workers who must pay the price of the so-called New York crisis. Just as they all agree in trying to force the coal miners back to work on the mineowners' terms.

Working people need their own political party, an independent labor party, based on a revitalized, militant union movement.

The coal miners have shown the power of united working-class action. The central message of my campaign for governor will be the need for other working people who are under attack—like here in New York—to follow the miners' example and to carry the fight into the political arena.

That's the way to beat back Koch's and Carey's slave-labor demands.

...Markey

Continued from preceding page

Q. You are presently challenging the results of that election. What is the basis of that challenge?

A. On one level, my protest is based on a technical point—the ballots were mailed to the membership without postage on the return envelope. This was a direct violation of procedures laid down in AFSCME's *Local Union Election Manual*.

The manual lists this requirement and then further warns: "The local may not require a member to purchase a stamp and put it on his envelope as the price for voting."

Many ballots were received late and were disqualified. No ballots were received from approximately 50 percent of the membership.

In the official tabulation there was a difference of only 14 votes out of a total membership of 1,407. It is clear if return postage had been provided, it could have made a difference in the election.

However, this is not a purely technical question. It is even more a political question. The membership has the democratic right to an honest election, and I, as a candidate for union office, have a duty to demand that my democratic rights to a fair election be protected.

The fact that I am strongly opposed to the policies followed by District Council 37 and AFSCME nationally should not mean that the membership of Local 1930, and myself as a candidate, are denied these rights.

I have carried this challenge to AFSCME's judicial panel. If necessary I will take it to the next AFSCME international convention.

Q. What kinds of changes do you think are necessary in the unions to meet and reverse the growing employer attacks?

A. Well, it would be a mistake for trade-union militants and socialists to think that they can change the class-collaborationist policies of the union bureaucrats simply by getting themselves elected as presidents of union locals here and there.

What will make the difference is the building of a real movement among the membership in these unions. The membership has to understand the type of attacks that are coming down,

what the source of these attacks is, and what is politically necessary to fight them.

Key in achieving this is the fight for union democracy. To transform today's unions into organizations that can defend their members, it is first necessary for the membership to win real control over their own union organizations.

This means free and open discussion in the union on alternative policies.

It means the right of the membership to democratically decide what the union policies will be.

It means the right of the membership to directly elect all union officials.

It means the right of the membership to directly vote on all contracts and agreements.

And it means the right of the membership to strike.

Unions also cannot restrict themselves to so-called pure and simple trade-union issues. They have to address themselves to all the major social issues of the day and become the leading defenders of the working class as a whole.

Unions, to defend their members, will more and more have to take their fight into the political arena.

But support to Democratic and Republican politicians is a suicidal course. It means support to the bosses' political representatives.

Unions have to begin to run their own independent candidates and build their own independent political party. That is how working people will get the political representatives who speak and act for them.

Out of the fight for this kind of program, in the day-to-day struggles of the union, will emerge a class-struggle left wing that can transform the unions into organizations that truly represent and defend their memberships.



KOCH: Promises to drive standard of living of New York workers even lower.

...FBI

Continued from page 3

Griesa compared the files with sworn answers that the government previously submitted to the socialists' questions about informers. In one case after another Griesa found the government's answers were "misleading," "incomplete," and at least once "untrue."

In one case, for example, the government claimed that the informer only turned in material "routinely distributed by SWP and YSA to all members and/or public." Judge Griesa said the files showed "a situation where there could well be an overt robbery" involved.

Griesa said that his review of the informer files showed that "what they provided the FBI with was a consistent recital of peaceful, lawful political activities, peaceful, lawful personal activities, and a total absence of any criminal activities or plans of any nature whatever."

Griesa suggested, "It raises a serious question as to why the FBI surveillance of these people and these organizations and these chapters was not discontinued, at least a decade or two decades or three decades ago, if it ever had any justification whatever."

One informer sent in reports about the SWP and YSA lawsuit against the FBI. His reports about the case and about the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the case, continued for at least ten months after the lawsuit was filed.

After the threatened defiance became public, Attorney General Griffin Bell tried to explain it away. "It is the policy of this Department of Justice to obey court orders," he said. But then Bell added, "Any proposal to deviate from the policy of obeying court orders should have my personal attention."

The next day the attorney general added his opinion that "it wouldn't help law enforcement at all if it became law to reveal their sources."

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, told the *Militant*, "The Carter administration finally has just come right out and said that 'law enforcement' comes before democratic rights. That's why they won't give us those informer files."

"I don't even think their main worry is what's in the files—even though the files make the FBI look pretty bad. What they are really worried about is the principle of the thing; the right of



Syd Stapleton Militant/Harry Ring

police spies to operate in total, unbreachable secrecy.

"Justice Department lawyers have obviously gotten their orders: 'Stop at nothing, even jail, to protect the rights of the informers, the secret police.'"

Stapleton added, "We're going to fight them every inch of the way. We don't intend to let the FBI cover up their crimes without a battle. We have a right to a full public trial of the issues in our case. This is a principle for us too—no cops or finks are more important than basic democratic rights."

Political Rights Defense Fund



The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support and raising funds for the Socialist Workers Party's lawsuit against government spying and disruption.

Will you help? To get more information about the lawsuit and to send your contribution, write: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, New York, New York 10003.

Markey appeal to union ranks

The following are excerpts from Ray Markey's formal appeal to the AFSCME Judicial Panel protesting violations of membership rights in the election for president of Local 1930.

The fact that I am strongly opposed to the policies followed by DC 37 in the recent crisis in NYC should not mean that I am denied a fair election.

The fact that I voted and spoke from the floor of the DC Delegate Assembly against the city-wide pact that allowed tens of thousands of DC 37 members to be laid off should not mean that I am to be denied a fair election.

The fact that I voted and spoke against the wage freeze and wage deferral should not mean that I am to be denied a fair election.

Or the fact that I opposed the irresponsible and dangerous mortgaging of our union's pension funds under a phony "equality of sacrifice" rationale.

The fact that I opposed the formula which has tied our COLA increases to "productivity savings" and is turning our union into a policing instrument for the implementation of speedups is no basis for violating the membership's right to an honest election.

The fact that I, as a delegate to both the New York City Central Labor Council and DC 37 Delegate Assembly, have consistently voted and spoken against endorsement of all Democrats, Republicans, Liberals, and Conservatives—the fact that I have called on organized labor to instead devote its energies to beginning the process of building an alternative political party based on the trade unions and committed to a program that would defend our jobs, working conditions, and standard of living, should not mean that I and the membership are denied a fair election.

It becomes clearer every day that the manipulated New York City fiscal crisis has no real end and will continue to be used as a club against our members unless our union adopts an entirely different policy.

This makes the political questions I've raised even more significant and for some even more embarrassing.

But this is no justification for ignoring the election procedures clearly spelled out by AFSCME in the Local Union Election Manual for the protection of the membership's voting rights and my rights as a candidate for union office.

Okla. Iranians framed up

By José G. Pérez

Twenty-one Iranian activists in Oklahoma City are being threatened with deportation as a result of charges stemming from a demonstration that took place at Southwestern College February 14.

According to a report in *Iran Express*, a recently founded weekly published in Washington, D.C., police arrested the twenty-one on trespassing charges. However, most were being held by immigration cops to determine whether they have official permission to be in this country.

The *Iran Express's* transparently one-sided account claims that chairs and tables in the campus cafeteria were "wrecked" during the demonstration, held to demand recognition of an Iranian student organization the paper did not identify.

The *Express* also claims that one cop was hit by demonstrators "as 20 to 30 policemen sought to evict the students from the cafeteria." Officials say six persons will be charged with aggravated assault.

According to the *Express*, "District Attorney Andrew Coats and other top city and state officials are asking for the deportation of any Iranian convicted in connection with the demonstration."

Oklahoma City Police Chief Tom

Heggy sent a letter to the Iranian consulate in Houston asking for immediate deportation of the twenty-one—without even waiting for a trial.

The *Express* also reported the Iranian ambassador to the United States said "the protesters are being encouraged by foreign Communists."

Nemat Jazayeri, national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, told the *Militant*, "If the twenty-one are sent back, that could be their death sentence. People accused of connections with 'foreign communists' at the very least will be imprisoned and tortured, and most likely shot."

He noted the Oklahoma City incident is part of a pattern of attacks by government and campus authorities on Iranian students who oppose the brutal repression of the Iranian government, pointing to the case of the six CAIFI members who recently faced the threat of deportation due to trumped-up charges.

"Our slogan must be, 'An injury to one is an injury to all,'" Jazayeri declared. "We must not allow the political differences that exist between various Iranian organizations to stand in the way of a united campaign to stop the U.S. government from handing over any Iranian dissidents to the shah."

Why 'Guardian' attacks nat'l Latino conference

By José G. Pérez

The *Guardian*, a Maoist-leaning weekly published in New York, has finally broken its silence on the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy held last October in San Antonio, Texas.

Four months after the conference was held, Peter Baird and Ed McCaughan write in the February 22 *Guardian*:

"The only serious attempt to forge national unity among the local [antideportation] coalitions failed last November [sic] during the International Immigration Conference [sic] in San Antonio. This was due in large part to the opportunistic manipulation of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, which tried to use the conference as a springboard for its electoral campaigns."

Baird and McCaughan, both of whom attended the conference as members of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), don't elaborate on this statement or offer any proof. The reason for this omission is obvious to anyone who was at the conference: the account bears no resemblance to anything that happened in San Antonio.

Although you wouldn't know it from reading the *Guardian*, the San Antonio conference was a success—a big step forward for the movement against deportations.

Some 1,500 activists attended, representing virtually the entire spectrum of Chicano political forces—everyone from moderate groups such as the League of United Latin American Citizens, GI Forum, church groups, and Chicano Democrats, to activist groups such as the Raza Unida parties, CASA, and the Socialist Workers Party.

The conference dealt a powerful blow to the government's offensive against "illegals." It spoke with one voice against President Carter's proposed crackdown on undocumented immigrants and demanded immediate, unconditional amnesty for all immigrants.

It is true there were sharp divisions in San Antonio, but they had nothing to do with SWP election campaigns. These were not discussed at all, despite the *Guardian's* claim. Rather, the divisions centered on how to fight the Carter plan.

One strategy put forward at the conference called for putting together a



Militant/Harry Ring

'Guardian' idea of failure: 1,500-strong San Antonio conference, a united show of opposition to Carter's crackdown on undocumented immigrants.

massive protest movement similar to the movement organized against the Vietnam War. Street demonstrations and educational activities were proposed as the first steps toward organizing such a movement.

Counterposed to this perspective were abstract calls for "resistance" to *la migra* (the immigration cops), and lobbying Congress.

But supporters of lobbying and "resistance" didn't present these strategies openly or press for their adoption. Instead some of them tried to disrupt the conference, using parliamentary maneuvering and red-baiting.

Which brings us back to Baird and McCaughan. Because at San Antonio, NACLA members sided with the disrupters—and the article by Baird and McCaughan shows why.

They describe the antideportation movement one-sidedly, giving the most emphasis to "a legislative campaign to stop the Carter plan," that is, lobbying.

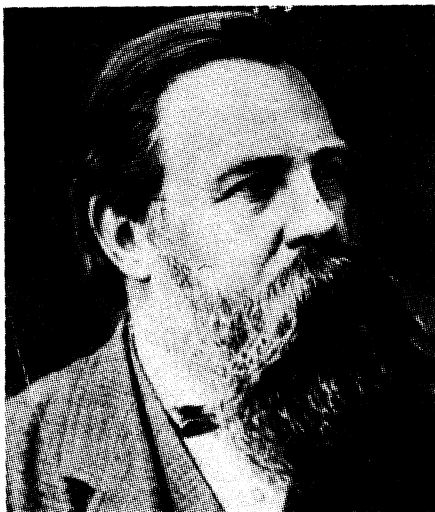
There is, of course, no problem with lobbying as one tactic used by a move-

ment that relies primarily on educational and protest actions. The problem is with lobbying as a strategy—as a substitute for more visible activities that can reach out to masses of people.

Substituting lobbying for protests means relying on the same Democratic and Republican politicians who are responsible for the anti-immigrant witch-hunt in the first place. Instead, the movement should rely on Chicanos, *mexicanos*, and their potential allies—Blacks and other minorities, women, and the working class as a whole. These groups, unlike the capitalist politicians, have nothing to gain from a racist crackdown on immigrants.

Baird and McCaughan's concentration on lobbying as the way to defeat the Carter plan shows they support lobbying as a strategy. And that is why they find it necessary to lie about the San Antonio conference, which is an outstanding example of independent organizing as opposed to reliance on capitalist politicians.

Engels's introduction to Marxism



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...Houston

Continued from page 9

the news conference. But they issued a statement protesting the RCP violence. (See box on page 9.)

Sister Victoria Zuniga of Hermanas, an activist Catholic nuns' organization, as well as Ali Mofarrah of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran also spoke at the news conference.

Premeditated attack

The RCP attack was not an isolated incident.

On February 21, twelve people from the so-called Miners Right to Strike Committee, which is led by the RCP, disrupted a collection organized on behalf of the Stearns strikers by United Auto Workers Local 216 at the General Motors plant in Southgate, near Los Angeles (see March 10 *Militant*).

On January 23, members of the Houston chapter of the ISA-U.S. assaulted four members of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran outside a political meeting. One of the students was badly beaten.

Because of their Maoist-Stalinist orientation, the RCP and the ISA-U.S. oppose democracy within the labor movement. If they cannot convince others of their ideas, they believe it is proper to try to impose their views through violence.

These Maoists had no intention of trying to explain their views on the strike to the audience at the March 3 meeting. None of them tried to enter

the meeting to hear the speakers or to pass out literature.

They came to the meeting with only one aim: to prevent it from occurring and to physically assault any UMWA staff members present.

The day before their attack, the RCP's youth organization, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, distributed a provocative leaflet on campus to prepare their assault.

"Oppose the sellout—Jam the hacks," one headline read. Another exhorted students to "beat back the labor traitors"—by joining the Maoists in picketing the miners' solidarity meeting.

Contract

The leaflet falsely painted the solidarity meeting as an activity to back the contract that President Carter tried to blackmail the miners into accepting.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The solidarity meeting was called before the contract proposal was made. None of the speakers at the meeting—including Mat Miller and Mike Burdiss—were there to sell the proposed contract.

The meeting was one of many such rallies held throughout the country to build broad support for the strikers. These meetings help answer the lies of the coal bosses and the Carter administration. They help strengthen the position of the miners.

The RCYB leaflet also red-baited the UH ad hoc committee. To try to discredit the meeting, the Maoists claimed that the committee is a "front" for the Young Socialist Alliance. In fact, the YSA is but one of a number of groups comprising the committee.

The Maoists go further and claim

that "Y.S.A. pretends to support the miners, but really supports the bosses."

Unfortunately for the RCYB and RCP, this fabrication will not get them very far. The YSA and Socialist Workers Party are well known for supporting the miners.

In Houston, as in many other cities, the YSA and SWP have actively worked with other groups to build miners' support rallies.

The *Militant* and the *Young Socialist*, voices of the two socialist organizations, have campaigned for months to tell the truth about the miners' fight and help them win support. They publicized and supported the rank-and-file upsurge that swept the coalfields after Miller accepted the employers' contract.

Oppose ban

The University of Houston administration is threatening to ban RCYB for their role in the goon assault. On March 6 Julius Gordon, UH dean of students, issued an order temporarily suspending the RCYB as a recognized campus organization. This order prevents them from holding meetings or distributing literature on campus.

On March 8, a board composed of students will decide if the RCYB will be permanently banned from the university.

"We're completely opposed to such action," Jeff Elliott, a UH Young Socialist Alliance leader, told the *Militant*. "Neither the Organizations Board nor the UH administration has the right to tell students what organizations they can have on campus."

"This threat by the administration is

an attack on free speech. It has the same effect as the RCP's attack on the miners' support meeting last Friday.

"The most effective way to stop the RCYB's and RCP's violence against the democratic rights of others is not by taking away their right to exist on campus," Elliott said. "This can be used as a precedent to take away the democratic rights of other groups. It will also unnecessarily win sympathy for the RCP and confuse people who could otherwise be convinced to oppose their violent attack on Friday's meeting."

"The YSA will be actively working to fight this ban."

Plans for support

Activists in the ad hoc committee plan to continue their work to support the strike.

In addition, they are mapping out a campaign to publicize the RCP assault. A statement condemning the attack and the use of violence to settle differences in the workers movement is being drawn up. It will be circulated nationally for signers in the labor movement, on campus, and among activists in the Black and Chicano communities.

The committee is also planning to raise funds to pay the medical expenses of the monitors who were injured, especially the expensive dental work needed by Tom Leonard. These expenses are expected to run into hundreds of dollars.

The committee is asking that contributions be sent care of Dr. George Morgan, Jr., History Department, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

U.S. vs. USSR

Who is to blame for threat of war?

Question from a reader

Your paper opposes military spending and nuclear armaments on the part of the U.S. government, but apparently you don't take the same attitude toward the Soviet government. The headline on an article in the February 10 *Militant* ("Soviet satellite: fallout from U.S. war drive") blames what the USSR does on the "U.S. war drive." What about the Soviet war drive?

The article claims that "In order to defend itself, the Soviet Union

has undertaken its own military buildup." Why should we believe that Soviet arms spending is for "defense," but U.S. arms spending is for war?

If you were really opposed to the nuclear arms race, you would oppose Soviet nuclear weapons—and nuclear-powered satellites—as much as U.S. nuclear weapons.

Alan Catanzaro
New York, New York

David Frankel replies

The crash of a nuclear-powered spy-satellite January 24 was one more incident in an arms race that threatens to turn our planet into a lifeless cinder. Clearly any thinking person must oppose this suicidal course.

How to oppose the arms race and fight against the threat of nuclear war most effectively is another question. In his letter to the *Militant*, reprinted on this page, Alan Catanzaro argues that Washington and Moscow are equally to blame for the danger of war.

"Why should we believe that Soviet arms spending is for 'defense,' but U.S. arms spending is for war?" Catanzaro asks.

This question is best answered by looking at how the current situation came about. Moreover, by looking at the origin of the arms race, we can better see how it can be ended.

Imperialist aggression

The fact is that the Soviet Union was the victim of imperialist aggression from the very beginning. When the working class, led by the Bolsheviks, came to power in November 1917, the new revolutionary government posed no military threat to any other country. On the contrary, its very first action was to publish all the secret annexationist agreements of the Tsarist regime and to call for an end to World War I, which was then devastating Europe.

But the imperialist governments that had been fighting each other over markets and sources of raw materials reacted to the Bolshevik victory with fury. First of all, the triumphant revolution ripped a substantial sector of the world market out of the capitalist system. Billions in direct investment were lost, and a huge arena for further investment was closed off.

Furthermore, the establishment of a workers and peasants government was a deadly political threat to capitalism. It inspired the masses in the rebellious colonies and oppressed nations throughout the world, as well as the workers in the imperialist centers themselves.

Despite the overwhelming support for the Soviet government from its own people, the allied powers that claimed

to be fighting a "war for democracy," joined together in attempting to bring the Bolsheviks down.

About 1 million foreign troops invaded the new Soviet state. Among them was an American force that spent a year and a half fighting in Siberia. The open war of aggression carried out against the Soviet Union was followed by an economic embargo against the new government.

With the consolidation of the counterrevolutionary, privileged bureaucracy led by Stalin, Washington moderated some of its diplomatic hostility, recognizing the Soviet government in 1933. But the underlying hostility of the U.S. rulers to the USSR remained unchanged.

Harry Truman summed up the attitude of the U.S. imperialists toward the Soviet Union in July 1941, shortly after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. He said, "If we see that Germany is winning the war we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany, and in that way let them kill as many as possible. . . ." (Cited in *The Free World Colossus*, by David Horowitz, page 61.)

Military necessity pushed Washington into an alliance with the Soviet Union during World War II. Washington emerged from the war in a position of absolute preeminence in the capitalist world and with a monopoly on the atomic bomb. Thus, the danger of a new war developing out of interimperialist rivalries was eclipsed by the conflict with the USSR and the colonial revolution.

Soviet expansionism?

In March 1946 Winston Churchill gave his famous "iron curtain" speech in Fulton, Missouri. Warning of the "expansive and proselytizing tendencies" of communism, Churchill depicted a threat to civilization, the danger of a new dark age arising from Moscow.

The trumped-up charge that the Soviet regime was planning a campaign of world conquest was used to foster a witch-hunt inside the United States, and as justification for launching a huge arms program. Truman joined Churchill in warning against supposed



Aftermath of a U.S. bombing attack on Hanoi in 1966. If it were not for the USSR's nuclear arsenal, Hanoi would probably have become another Hiroshima.

Soviet "designs to subjugate the free community of Europe," and in 1949 the NATO alliance was formed.

What was the real situation?

Historian Isaac Deutscher gave an indication in a speech on the Vietnam war in 1965. "The United States," Deutscher pointed out, "had during the second world war more than doubled its wealth, its productive apparatus and its annual income. And it held the monopoly of atomic energy. . . . Not a single bomb had fallen on American soil, and the loss of life the American armed forces has suffered was very small indeed. The American colossus, it might be said, returned from the battlefield was barely a scratch on his skin. . . ."

"What a different picture the Russian colossus presented! . . . The most densely populated, the wealthiest, the most civilized parts of the Soviet Union had been laid waste. At the end of the war 25 million people in those provinces had been rendered homeless and lived in dug-outs and mud huts. The list of casualties amounted to at least 20 million dead! . . . For many, many years after the war only old men, cripples, women and children could be seen on the fields of Russia tilling the land." (*Ironies of History: Essays on Contemporary Communism*, by Isaac Deutscher, pages 149-150.)

Between 1945 and 1948 the Soviet armed forces were reduced from 11.5 million to less than 3 million—and

these were the armed forces, and these the exhausted people, who were supposed to be planning the conquest of Western Europe!

War threat—'made in USA'

The real threat of war came from the U.S. ruling class. From the Middle East to Southeast Asia, Washington was replacing Britain and France as the main imperialist power in the world. This pitted it against the unfolding colonial revolution that had begun to sweep across Africa and Asia, and also against the Soviet Union.

Revolution was equated with "Communist aggression" by the imperialist politicians and mass media—as in Vietnam—and talk of "containing" communism soon gave way to the demand that it be rolled back. Armed with the atomic bomb, which they had already proved they would use, the American imperialists were systematically preparing a war against the USSR.

But this perspective could not be carried out overnight. Western Europe, which was on the brink of revolution, had to be stabilized—a task that could not have been accomplished without Stalin's help. At the same time, public opinion in the United States had to be prepared for a new war, and opposition silenced by the witch-hunt.

Fortunately, other factors intervened to upset Washington's plans. In September 1949 the Soviet Union exploded

its own atomic bomb, and in December 1949 the peasant armies led by the Chinese Communist Party were victorious in their final battles against the old regime.

If either of these two events had not occurred, it is very likely that we would have already witnessed World War III. Although sections of the U.S. ruling class, represented by Gen. Douglas MacArthur, openly urged the use of the atomic bomb and the invasion of China during the Korean War, the majority backed off.

Rather than oppose nuclear arms in the hands of the Soviet Union, revolutionary socialists say that this was a *step forward* for peace. It gave the USSR the necessary military force to deter Washington's roll-back schemes.

Behind U.S. policy

One argument commonly made by liberal historians is that the Cold War and the arms race that accompanied it were due primarily to suspicion and misunderstanding—that is, that the conflict was an aberration, an example of irrationality. The same argument is used by the liberals to “explain” Washington's savage intervention in Vietnam. They talk about the arrogance of power, and the irrational fear of communism.

Few would deny that the American ruling class is arrogant, but its fear of social revolution is hardly irrational. Washington acts as a world cop, defending capitalist interests all over the globe, for good reason.

U.S. intervention around the world flows from the fact that the economic foundations of American capitalism do not lie simply within the United States. American corporations invest in copper and uranium mines in Zaïre, in Mideastern oil, Bolivian tin, Chilean copper, and Malaysian rubber.

U.S. companies build textile and electronics plants in Taiwan and South Korea, they invest in bauxite in the Caribbean, and set up automobile factories in South Africa, Mexico, and Argentina.

When the total foreign investments of the U.S. ruling class are added together, they represent *the third largest economy in the world*, after those of the United States itself and the Soviet Union. And year after year, the profits from these investments continue to pour into the United States.

Defense of this economic empire is not merely a matter of policy, something that can be changed by the election of a more liberal administration; it is rooted in the basic structure of capitalism. Imperialism is a stage of capitalist development, a stage that is characterized by the rise of monopolies in domestic industry, the inexorable drive toward extension of that monopolization to the world market, and flowing from that, the export of capital along with commodities.

Protection of existing profits and the



Churchill, Truman, and Stalin

search for new markets, new sources of raw materials, and new areas of investment in order to expand these profits is the basis of U.S. foreign policy, including its wars of aggression and its bloated military budget.

Soviet war drive?

At this point, we can answer another of Alan Catanzaro's questions: “What about the Soviet war drive?”

It is certainly true that the Soviet government oppresses non-Russian nations such as the Ukraine, maintains discriminatory trade relations with Eastern Europe, and has used its troops to suppress workers' struggles in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

But such reactionary policies are determined by the needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy, not by the built-in dynamic of the Soviet economy. In Hungary and Czechoslovakia, for instance, Soviet intervention was due to the fear of the Stalinist regime that a successful workers' revolution would be an inspiration and example to the workers of the USSR and threaten the political rule of the privileged caste.

In contrast to this, the aggressive policies of the imperialist powers, as pointed out above, do not depend on the government in power at any given time. An imperialist country that cannot expand into new markets and new areas of investment faces stagnation and crisis, whether it is under the rule of a Social Democratic labor party, a conservative capitalist party, or a fascist party. As a result, wars are inevitable under capitalism.

The Soviet economy

The Soviet Union is not an imperialist country. The nationalization of industry carried out by the Bolsheviks put an end to the domination of the economy by monopoly capital, and to the competition for markets and the search for profits by competing monopolies.

Since private profit is not the determining factor in whether an industry survives in the USSR, there is no competition for markets between different Soviet enterprises, and between Soviet industry as a whole and foreign industries. Such competition between imperialist powers has already led to two world wars in the past sixty years.

Because it is not governed by the search for profit, the Soviet economy has no built-in drive for expansion. The clearest proof of this is the almost total absence of Soviet foreign investment.

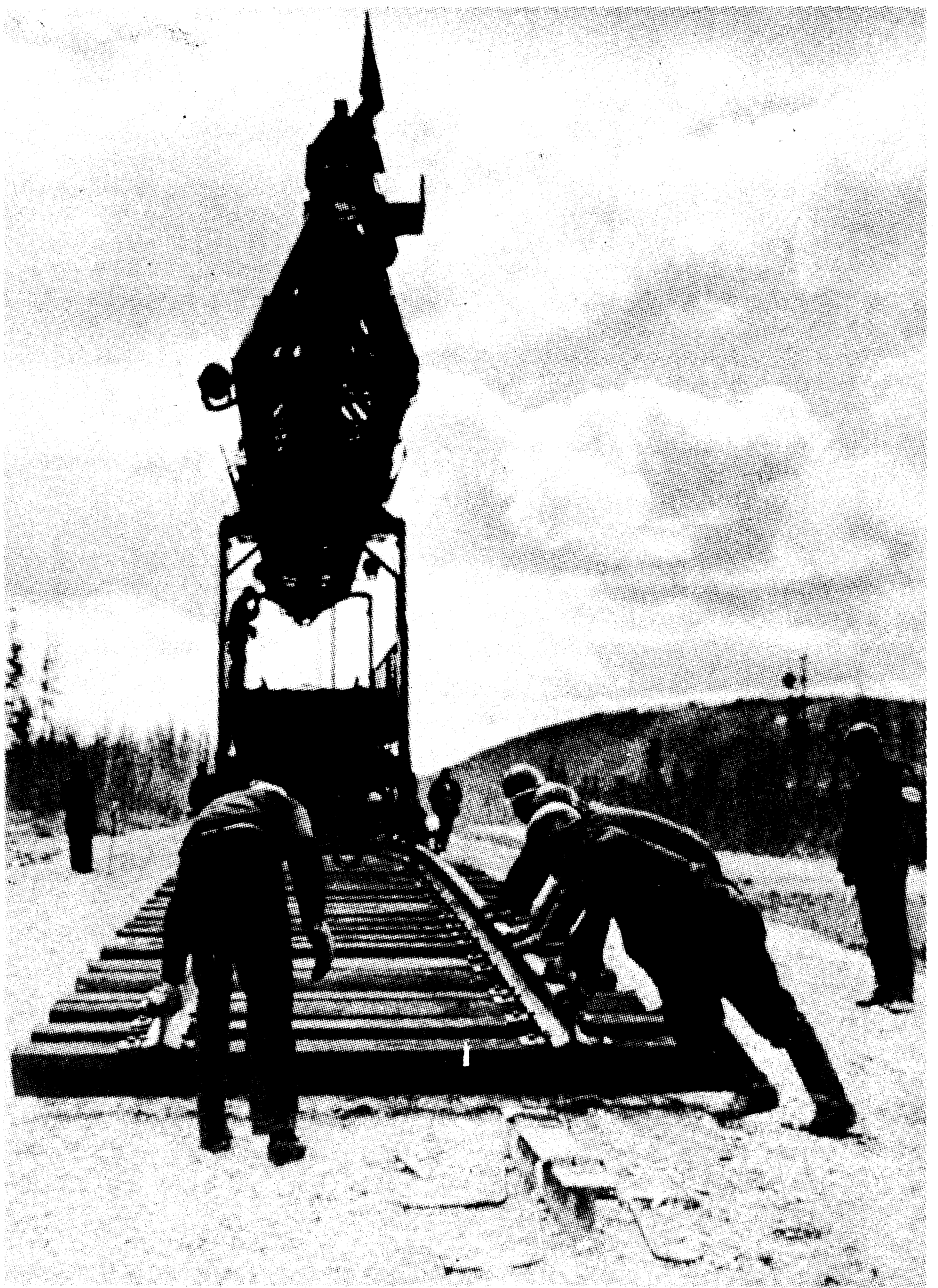
In 1970 the Soviet state operated only *twenty-eight* foreign companies in the whole world. A CIA report released last October said that this number had expanded to eighty-four enterprises by 1977 as a result of the expansion of East-West trade in the intervening years.

Virtually all the enterprises were connected with trade or with sustaining the Soviet fishing fleet. Of the five Soviet companies in the United States, for example, one is concerned with general trade; one markets Soviet tractors; one is a shipping agent; one services the Soviet fishing fleet off the West Coast; and the last is responsible for chartering cargo ships and tankers.

Of the eighty-four Soviet enterprises abroad, twenty-two are shipping concerns, six are fishing ventures, and nine are banks. (Soviet banks and insurance companies abroad concentrate mainly on financing and insuring trade deals.)

Compare this record of foreign economic activity to that of the U.S. ruling class, with its worldwide network of investments. What it all adds up to is the fact that the Soviet government, unlike Washington, has *no fundamental economic interest* compelling it to intervene around the world. The whole history of U.S.-Soviet relations is proof of this point.

The abolition of private property in the means of production, and with it the abolition of the profit system,



Workers build railway in Siberia. Economy of USSR is not based on private profit.

represent the historic gains that still survive from the Bolshevik revolution. These new property relations by themselves, of course, are not sufficient conditions for the establishment of a socialist society. But they mark a fundamental difference between the USSR and capitalist countries, and they will serve as the foundation for future advances.

Defense of the Soviet Union

Leon Trotsky, who led the Russian revolution along with Lenin, and who later founded the Red Army, discussed the combination of the Soviet Union's progressive social base with its reactionary political leadership in a 1939 article on the nature of the USSR. Trotsky said:

“The trade unions of France, Great Britain, and the United States and other countries support completely the counterrevolutionary politics of their bourgeoisie. This does not prevent us from labeling them trade unions, from supporting their progressive steps and from defending them against the bourgeoisie. . . . In the last analysis a workers' state is a trade union which has conquered power.”

Revolutionists unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack at the same time that we call for the overthrow of the Stalinist regime. In the same way, revolutionists defend a trade union against attacks by the capitalist state even though it might have a reactionary leadership that maintains itself in office by methods of gangsterism and collaboration with the bosses.

Failure to understand the contradictory character of the Soviet Union makes it impossible to understand what is happening in the world today.

From the viewpoint of the imperialists, the Soviet Union and the other countries in which capitalism has been abolished represent a potential market and arena for investment that could give their system a new lease on life.

At the same time, the existence of the workers states limits what the imperialists can do to prevent the

spread of social revolution. The possibility that the Soviet Union would retaliate, including with nuclear weapons, was always a calculation limiting Washington's escalation of the Vietnam War.

Or take the example of the Cuban revolution. If it wasn't for the existence of the Soviet workers state, armed with nuclear weapons, U.S. imperialism would have drowned that revolution in blood.

A military defeat of the USSR by imperialism, and the restoration of capitalism on Soviet soil, would mean the opening of a worldwide offensive against the gains made by national liberation fighters from Angola to China during the past thirty years. In the Middle East, it would open the way for a new war of aggression by the Israeli state against the Arab masses.

For revolutionists, defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism is a fundamental principle. *But defense of the Soviet Union and the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy are really two sides of the same task.*

In the final analysis, the survival of the Soviet Union—and the survival of humanity itself—depends upon the extension of the socialist revolution to the rest of the world, and especially to the United States. That is the only way that the shadow of nuclear war can ever be lifted.

But the Stalinist regime—as opposed to the economic foundation of the workers state—is an obstacle to the world revolution. It tries to secure the safety of its power base by deals with imperialism, deals made at the expense of struggles against oppression around the world.

Stalinist propagandists have thought up many names for this policy of betrayal—“collective security,” “peaceful coexistence,” and “détente” are a few. In the end, they all come down to trading support to capitalism abroad in return for temporary—and often illusory—military or diplomatic advantages.

Lenin, Trotsky, and the other leaders

Continued on next page

... U.S. vs. USSR

Continued from preceding page

of the Russian revolution relied on the European working class following their example. A socialist society, in their view, could only be built through the combined efforts of the workers in the advanced industrialized countries.

With its narrow, nationalistic outlook, the Stalinist bureaucracy substituted for the Bolshevik perspective the idea of building a socialist society on the basis of the Soviet economy alone. This reactionary utopia was counterposed to the policies of revolutionary internationalism necessary for the extension of the revolution.

Stalinism vs. Trotskyism

Supporters of the Kremlin, organized in the pro-Moscow Communist parties around the world, identify defense of the Soviet Union with defense of the Stalinist government and its policies.

Moscow itself, as was noted above, relies on the perspective of forging a political bloc with the imperialist powers. The Kremlin is always prepared to subordinate the needs of the class struggle to the search for some slight military advantage or for an agreement with one or another capitalist government.

Thus, the pro-Moscow CPs end up changing their attitude toward capitalist governments in accordance with the shifting diplomatic relations between any particular government and the USSR. For the Stalinists, governments can change from "progressive" to "reactionary" and back again with no alteration in their domestic policies or even their leaders, let alone a revolution.

While revolutionists support the military defense of the USSR, this is subordinate to a revolutionary political defense—the type of defense that can prepare new conquests, new victories of the world working class against imperialism.

As Trotsky explained in 1939: "Mistakes on the question of defense of the USSR most frequently flow from an incorrect understanding of the methods of 'defense.' Defense of the USSR does not at all mean rapprochement with the Kremlin bureaucracy, the acceptance of its politics, or a conciliation with the politics of her allies. In this question, as in all others, we remain completely on the ground of the international class struggle.

"... we defend the USSR as we defend the colonies, as we solve all our problems, not by supporting some imperialist governments against others, but by the method of international class struggle. ...

"We are not a government party; we are the party of irreconcilable opposition, not only in capitalist countries but also in the USSR. Our tasks, among them the 'defense of the USSR,' we realize not through the medium of bourgeois governments and not even through the government of the USSR, but exclusively through the education of the masses through agitation, through explaining to the workers what they should defend and what they should overthrow. ...

"The defense of the USSR coincides for us with the preparation of world revolution. Only those methods are permissible which do not conflict with the interests of the revolution. The defense of the USSR is related to the world socialist revolution as a tactical task is related to a strategic one. A tactic is subordinated to a strategic goal and in no case can be in contradiction to the latter." (*In Defense of Marxism*, by Leon Trotsky, pages 16-18.)

Cosmos 954

What a contrast there is between Trotsky's attitude—the Bolshevik attitude to defense of the USSR—and that of the Stalinist regime. The difference was exemplified following the crash of the Soviet satellite mentioned at the beginning of this article.

Cosmos 954, the satellite that failed, was launched in September. It was put into orbit carrying a nuclear reactor despite the fact that there is a massive anti-nuclear power movement, which has held demonstrations of tens of thousands in France, West Germany, Scandinavia, and Japan.

By ignoring the sentiment of masses of people who have become aware of the dangers of nuclear power and who oppose its use, the Soviet regime was putting its search for minor technical advantages in the arms race before the objective interests of the people of the world. At the same time, it was helping to create an image of the Soviet Union as being no different from the United States—an image that is far more dangerous to the USSR than the lack of any information that could have been gathered by Cosmos 954.

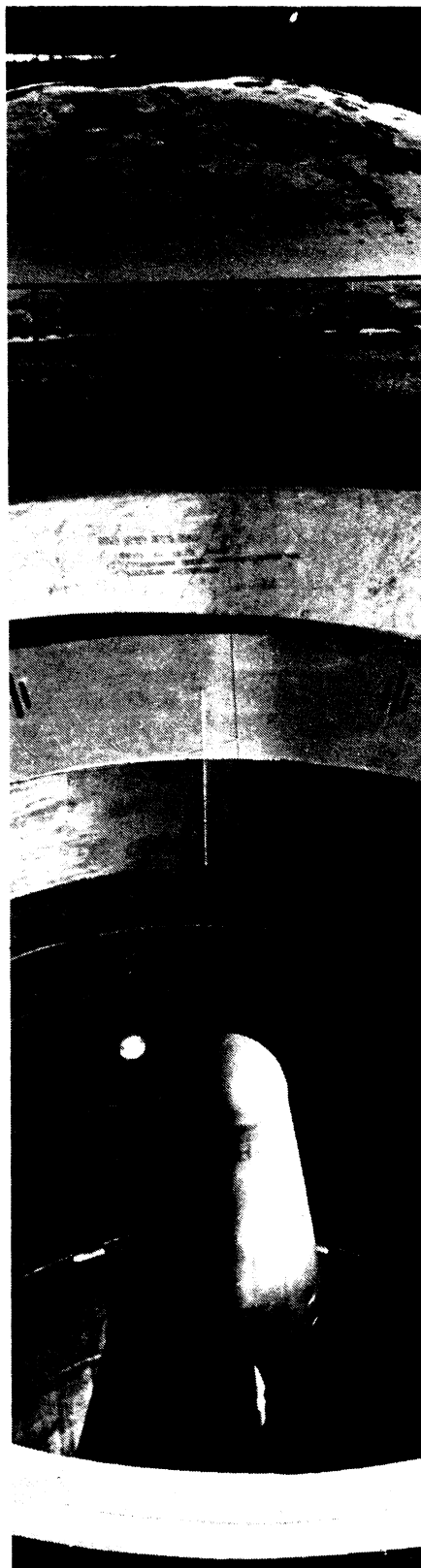
Instead of turning to the world working class and letting it know the facts, the Stalinists secretly communicated with the U.S. government. Once the satellite was down, they minimized the danger of any radioactivity, and in the process covered up for the criminal experiments of U.S. imperialism in this area.

An editorial in the February 1 *Daily World*, the newspaper of the American Communist Party, insisted that "the danger of harmful radiation levels does not exist because of special precautions taken in construction of the satellite, just as in the situation when a U.S. Transit satellite disintegrated in 1964 or when an Apollo-13 lunar capsule burned up during an emergency re-entry."

The editorial went on to denounce "lies about non-existent radiation far from human habitation."

Leaving aside the absurd falsehood about "non-existent radiation," the fact is that the Cosmos satellite could have landed any place—including Moscow. Scientists were unable to even predict what continent the satellite would come down on. Moreover, although the satellite fortunately did land in a sparsely populated area, it was not so "far from human habitation," unless one chooses not to count the Eskimo people and the other residents of Yellowknife as human.

Of course, the U.S. ruling class,



Soviet missile in silo. Development of nuclear weapons by the USSR helped prevent World War III.

which is busy developing its own military satellites, took an understanding attitude toward Moscow's problems. "Senior American officials consider the disintegration of a Soviet nuclear-powered space satellite over northwestern Canada a dramatic-sounding event that should not be a cause of major concern," Daniel Southerland reported in the January 25 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*.

A handle for Carter

The editors of the *New York Times* noted February 2 that "American space officials tend to minimize the dangers of orbiting reactors. Military planners cite the incident as proof that the Russians are leading in the military uses of space and urge a catch-up effort that could send still more reactors skyward."

But the Kremlin's stance of discounting popular concern over the danger of nuclear satellites as merely anti-Soviet propaganda played into the hands of the imperialists. President Carter declared January 30 that he would favor a ban on atomic-powered satellites.

Carter's proposal was an example of pure hypocrisy. Only three days later his secretary of defense testified in Congress for a military budget that would double the amount currently being spent by Washington on weapons in space. But the Stalinists, having let Carter take the initiative, were incapable of exposing his hypocrisy.

How would a revolutionary government respond to this situation?

It would begin by relying first of all on the world working class. When a movement of hundreds of thousands in opposition to nuclear power grows up in the capitalist world, a revolutionary government would encourage that movement and look for ways to express its solidarity and to help inspire it.

A revolutionary government would make its main priority the advance of every struggle against the evils of capitalism, instead of viewing such independent mass movements as merely minor adjuncts to whatever military or diplomatic maneuvers are currently in progress.

Politics before bombs

Such an attitude, which at times might mean accepting slight military disadvantages in the interests of helping to clarify the political issues facing the masses around the world, is in the last analysis the most effective way to defend the USSR.

When the Soviet government broke a de facto ban on atmospheric nuclear tests in 1961 with the detonation of a huge "superbomb," the *Militant* explained in an October 30, 1961, editorial:

"Encircled by an aggressive capitalist world, the USSR has the right and duty to build its military defense. But in a struggle of this kind—a struggle between two conflicting social orders—military defense has effectiveness only to the extent that it is related to the only meaningful defense against capitalist war. That defense is the building of an international, anti-war, anti-capitalist mass movement. ...

"The decision to resume the tests in blatant disregard of popular world opinion is an expression of the narrow nationalist outlook of Khrushchev and his associates. ... Is this the perspective that the heads of a workers' state have to offer the workers of the West? The prospect of destruction instead of the prospect of socialism?

"It is not simply a matter of justice to the workers still living under capitalism. In the hands of these workers there is the strength to stay the hands of the warmakers. Nobody will ever build a bomb more powerful than a progressive social force. Peace will be won not by bigger bombs, but by a victorious socialist movement. Anything that endangers the building of that movement allows the world to slide further down the road to war."

Nothing has changed to make that point any less relevant today.

Books by Trotsky on the USSR

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

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED

Explains the Soviet economy, its differences with capitalism, what Stalinism is, and why it triumphed. Contents include *Socialism and the State*, *The Growth of Inequality and Social Antagonisms*, and *Is the Bureaucracy a Ruling Class?*
314 pages; \$4.95.

IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM

Trotsky's last articles, written in the course of a debate on the nature of the USSR and what attitude to take toward it during a war. Discusses whether the USSR is imperialist and the relation between defense of the USSR and overthrow of the bureaucracy.
211 pages; \$3.95.



LEON TROTSKY: Co-leader of the Russian revolution and founder of the Red Army

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Smith's risky gamble

Rhodesia: far cry from real Black majority rule

By Ernest Harsch

After several months of negotiations, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and three prominent Black figures signed an accord in Salisbury March 3. The document will supposedly result in an end to white political control and in the establishment of a largely Black regime by the end of the year. Also agreed to were the terms for an interim coalition regime, in which Smith will remain prime minister.

The three Black figures who signed the accord were Chief Jeremiah Chirau, a government-backed tribal figurehead, and two Zimbabwean nationalist leaders, Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole.

Smith's decision to bring Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau into a coalition regime and to promise "majority rule" by December 31 represents a significant gamble on his part, made under intense pressure from the Zimbabwean masses and under the threat of an upsurge that could sweep away the entire structure of white domination.

Smith's hope is that the inclusion of some well-known Black figures in the administration will sufficiently disorient the African masses to allow the preservation of many of the white minority's social and economic privileges, even under an eventual "Black" regime. Muzorewa's participation will be especially important in this regard, since he has demonstrated his mass support within the country on a number of occasions.

Smith is likewise seeking to divide and weaken the entire Zimbabwean nationalist movement. Playing on the



Signing accord (from left to right) Abel Muzorewa, Ian Smith, Jeremiah Chirau, and Ndabaningi Sithole.

rivalries and aspirations for power of the main nationalist leaders, he has offered the prospect of significant governmental posts to Muzorewa and Sithole, while excluding Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, who are allied within the Patriotic Front. Smith would like to see nothing better than Muzorewa and Sithole trying to mobilize their followers to defend "their" government from the Patriotic Front guerrillas.

In signing the accord, both Muzorewa and Sithole have made significant concessions to the white minority.

According to the agreement, the interim regime is to be composed of an executive council and a ministerial council. The executive council, which is to decide overall policy by consensus, will be composed of Smith, Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau. Each cabinet post in the ministerial council is to be shared by a Black and a white minister. In the context of a white-dominated civil service, this ensures effective white control over all the cabinet posts, especially the crucial ones overseeing the police and military. At the same time, Smith will

remain in office and the existing white-dominated Parliament will continue to function.

Under these conditions, the elections that are scheduled to be held will hardly be democratic.

The new Parliament that is slated to take power December 31 will include twenty-eight white seats out of 100, giving the whites effective veto power over any amendments to the new constitution, which require seventy-eight votes for passage. The constitution, moreover, is to include clauses providing for prompt compensation for any expropriated white property, as well as other white privileges (the white minority now owns 80 percent of the country's wealth and about half of its land).

If this setup is actually put into effect, it will be a far cry from what the Zimbabwean masses have been fighting for—real Black majority rule and an end to all vestiges of white supremacy and privilege.

Smith's gamble is a risky one, however. The African population may not accept for long his version of "majority rule." And any upsurge of the Zimbabwean masses could easily blow Smith's fragile coalition apart.

These uncertain prospects are the main reason for the caution expressed by both Washington and London toward the Salisbury agreement. So far, they have continued to press for the Patriotic Front's inclusion in any accord, but have at the same time hinted at possible recognition should Smith's scheme appear workable.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

12 die in restaurant explosion

IRA bombing hurts Irish freedom fight

By Gerry Foley

On February 17, a Provisional IRA bombing operation on the outskirts of Belfast went awry. The intention had been to force evacuation of the La Mon House restaurant, which is frequented by pro-British Protestants, and to inflict property damage.

However, the premises were not clear before the explosive device went off. Twelve persons died in a wave of flames. The incident had a particularly strong impact on public opinion, since the restaurant was a family dining-out place, and many children were present. Ultraright proimperialists distributed pictures of charred corpses.

In its February 25 issue, *Republican News*, the Belfast weekly paper reflecting the views of the Provisionals, published a statement in the name of the republican movement. It said:

The Irish Republican Army admits responsibility for the bombing operation in La Mon House in which twelve innocent people died. There is nothing we can offer in mitigation bar that our inquiries have established that a nine minute warning was given to the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary]. This was proved totally inadequate given the disastrous consequences.

We accept condemnation and criticism from only two sources: from the relatives and friends of those who were accidentally

killed, and from our supporters who have rightly and severely criticised us.

The statement, however, defended the strategy that led to the La Mon bombing:

Republican supporters while critical are, however, politically mature and remain solidly behind the armed struggle. . . .

To defeat the might of the interfering British Government the nature of their presence here dictated the method of struggle to be an economic bombing campaign. . . .

Had there been no bombing campaign all those Brits concentrated in city and town centres and manning road checkpoints throughout all suburbs would be redeployed in repressing Republican ghetto areas. In damages the campaign has caused the Brits hundreds of millions of pounds. The death-toll has been high, both among civilians and IRA personnel (over 60 Volunteers have been killed-in-action).

But the political effects of the bombing campaign have . . . made government under British direct rule difficult and often impossible. The world hears about the Six-Counties and knows that it is not normal.

The La Mon House bombing and the reaction to it demonstrated what is fundamentally wrong with this approach. In the framework of such a campaign, accidents of this type are

absolutely inevitable. This is far from the first.

Since incidents of this type can be and have been repeatedly exploited by the imperialist propaganda machine, every time the Provisionals leave a bomb in a public place, they place their political fate in the hands of the imperialists.

The claim that the bombings draw British troops away from the ghettos is simply nonsense. The British have to maintain far less troops in Northern Ireland now than they have in the past, precisely because the political results of the bombing campaign have been to reduce the mass struggle, which is what forced the British to send the troops in the first place.

The world, to be sure, hears a lot about the Provisional bombings. And it does get the message that the situation there is not "normal." But these incidents have not helped arouse international public opinion against the British military occupation.

The mass civil-rights demonstrations and ghetto uprisings of 1968-72 drew much more international attention than the bombings, and unlike them, inspired support for the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland.

The Provisionals' reference to their

casualties is revealing. The tremendous sacrifices made for the sake of the military campaign make it difficult for them now to retreat from it. In fact, the campaign of bombing has the look of a desperate maneuver designed to convince the republican ranks and supporters that the guerrilla war is not fading and was not a failure.

For weeks, the newspapers that reflect the Provisional point of view have featured pictures of masked commandos, and have emphasized statements of groups outside Ireland specifically expressing support for the "armed" struggle. Likewise, they have begun to run direct and indirect attacks on socialist groups that support the anti-imperialist struggle but criticize the tactics of the IRA.

The lessons of the ten-year-long conflict in Ireland are clear. The military campaign of the Provisionals has led again and again to disastrous accidents and to defeats.

On the other hand, the mobilization of the masses of the oppressed people around opposition to imperialist and pro-imperialist repression has led to victories, the greatest victories the Irish people have won since the war of independence.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Statement of Fourth International

Women around world demand equal rights

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International for International Women's Day, March 8.]

* * *

At a Congress of Socialist Women in Copenhagen in 1910, March 8 was designated as an international day of commemoration of the struggle of women for their liberation. The day itself was chosen in honor of a militant march by women garment workers in New York City in 1908, demanding an end to inhuman working conditions and the right of women to vote. It was on International Women's Day in 1917 that female textile workers in Russia rose up and sparked a strike wave that culminated in the overthrow of the tsar.

After years of ritualistic celebration of International Women's Day, primarily by the Soviet Union and other bureaucratized workers states, this day took on a new dimension beginning in the late 1960s with the new wave of women's liberation struggles that has become an international movement. First involving only small layers of relatively privileged women, the movement has steadily extended its impact into every crevice of society in the advanced capitalist countries, while beginning to find expression in the colonial world as well.

On the occasion of International Women's Day 1978, it is clear that the women's liberation struggle is becoming a more and more important aspect of the class struggle as a whole.

Capitalist offensive

On the economic level, the working masses throughout the capitalist world are faced with having to bear the burden of continuing bouts of economic downturn or stagnation caused by the mechanisms of the profit system. Everywhere, the push is on for the imposition or strengthening of austerity programs designed to make working people work harder, tighten their belts, and do without social services so as to boost profit margins.

Women—along with youth, immigrant workers, and workers of oppressed nationalities—are central targets of the bourgeois offensive. They face higher unemployment, greater ghettoization into lower-paying job categories, and cutbacks in child-care centers and medical facilities connected with control of their reproductive functions (abortion and contraception clinics). Charged with management of the household, they are also the ones who feel most immediately the squeeze of rising prices and declining wages. Women are victimized indirectly as well: the burden of the economic squeeze produces frustration and demoralizes some sections of the working class, increasing, among other things, the incidence of rape and beatings of women.

Events in the past year have shown the growing importance of struggles by women as part of the struggle of the whole working class against the austerity attacks. One of the most dra-



Women demonstrate for abortion rights in France

matic examples occurred in Britain, where workers at the Grunwick photo-processing plant—most of them women and Asian immigrants—have waged a year-long struggle for the right to form a union to fight conditions of super-exploitation. The tenacious battle of these workers took center stage in British politics for weeks, with the strikers setting an example for the whole working class in their calls for labor solidarity and mass picket lines, and coming up against the combined onslaught of the police, the courts, the bourgeois press, and the far right—aided and abetted by the trade-union and Labour Party bureaucracy.

'Bakke' case

In the United States, one of the products of the capitalists' austerity drive has been a broad public debate over the issue of "quotas" or affirmative-action programs aimed at reducing discrimination against women, Blacks and other oppressed minorities, in educational and job opportunities. The debate has crystallized around the "Bakke case," which is now before the U.S. Supreme Court. (Allan Bakke is a white man who was refused admission to the University of California medical school for alleged "reverse discrimination" against him because of special admission quotas for Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asians.)

In defending the principle of affirmative action against discrimination, the women's movement has joined the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movements in helping to educate the whole labor movement that a fight against discrimination inside the working class is a precondition for mobilizing the full, united power of the class against the exploiters.

More generally, women in many countries have begun to demand preferential measures to assure them access to the whole range of jobs and educational opportunities, in order to have the possibility of breaking out of the traditionally "feminine" roles and occupations that have imposed on women the lowest-paying jobs and the double day of work in the home.

In Italy, women have been in the forefront of the struggle for jobs, organizing separately—both inside and outside of the trade unions—to fight for their own special needs. And throughout the advanced capitalist countries, women have been in the forefront of resistance to cutbacks in social spending, whether for child-care centers, medical facilities, or education.

On the broader political level, women's struggles have been responsible for bringing to the fore important social and democratic issues. Foremost in many countries continues to be the struggle for the right of women to control their own bodies through the right to safe, financially accessible contraception and abortion on demand and an end to forced sterilization.

In all countries where the right to abortion was liberalized in the late 1960s or early 1970s (such as France, Britain, and the United States), this right is now being cut back—whether through legal restrictions or cutbacks in abortion facilities—as part of the general ruling-class offensive against the rights and standard of living of the oppressed.

10,000 march in London

On May 14, 1977, 10,000 people marched through London demanding an end to restrictions on the availability of abortion. In France, the refusal of the government, doctors, and hospitals to implement the Veil law, which allows abortions, with certain restrictions, up to ten weeks, has sparked broader opposition than ever before, involving the two major trade-union federations and figures from the Communist and Socialist parties. An example was given by the February 5 meeting on abortion organized by the coordinating body of women's groups of Paris and supported by the CFDT and other mass organizations. This meeting succeeded in bringing together more than 2,000 people.

In Switzerland, a hard-fought referendum to eliminate restrictions on abortion was only narrowly defeated (929,239 to 994,677) on September 25,

after an all-out antiabortion campaign by the Catholic Church and certain leading Protestant figures together with Christian Democratic politicians.

In the battle for the right to abortion, women have been in the front lines in answering and mobilizing against the ultraright. The international network of antiabortion organizations is in all countries linked with racist, anti-immigrant, ultraright, and fascist groups. The efforts of the women's movement in politically answering and mobilizing against these groups is important to the whole working class.

Women fight dictators

Over the past year women have also come to the forefront in struggles against certain dictatorships. In the past three months, hundreds of women participated in women's demonstrations and hunger strikes against the military or police-state regimes in Argentina, Bolivia, and Nicaragua, demanding democratic rights and the release of all political prisoners.

In Pakistan, where there is certainly no "women's liberation movement" such as exists in the advanced capitalist countries, 1977 saw the entrance of masses of women into political activity for the first time. According to Islamic tradition, Pakistani women are supposed to stay in the home and not show their faces in the street, much less organize politically. But last spring, during the upheavals that followed the March elections, women spontaneously poured into the streets for the first time in history, protesting the repression and demanding the release of political prisoners.

Women's liberation organizations as such are also spreading to the colonial and semicolonial countries. In Brazil, still locked under a dictatorial regime, several women's liberation groups have arisen, as well as two feminist newspapers and women's centers in a half dozen major cities.

Impact on reformists

The increasing centrality of the struggle of women has also been reflected in the impact of the women's movement on the mass reformist parties (the Communist and Socialist parties) and in the trade unions. In the early years of the most recent rise of the women's movement, the Communist parties generally tried to oppose or ignore it as alien to working-class women. But the spread of feminist ideas, including among working class women, has forced the CPs to be more cautious in dismissing this movement, and in some countries to adapt to it in words so as to be in a better position to lead women into reformist channels. Thus, we saw the Spanish CP campaigning in the June 1977 elections as "the party of women's liberation." But such shifts of position have the effect of creating opposition to the CP's reformist line among women of the party, as the interests of women are in fact sacrificed on the altar of a class-collaborationist austerity pact with the bourgeoisie.

In Britain the betrayal of women by the governing Labour Party has been particularly blatant. Women have seen the Labour Party government and Labour members of Parliament spearheading the attacks on the right to abortion. In addition, the Labour government has presided over a huge increase in unemployment, which has hit women especially hard, and drastic cuts in social services, the major burden of which falls upon women. These attacks, together with the glaringly inadequate nature of the Labour government's legislation on women's rights, has led to a sustained and many-sided fight-back by women.

The widespread interest in socialist

World news notes

Israel feels pressure on Esmail case

An outpouring of protest in the United States has forced embarrassed Israeli authorities to issue a denial of charges that Sami Esmail, a U.S. citizen of Palestinian descent, is being tortured in an Israeli jail. Esmail is a student at Michigan State University in East Lansing. He was arrested December 21 when he arrived in Israel to visit his dying father.

Esmail was charged with being a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. He denies being a member of the organization, which is illegal in Israel.

The National Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail is continuing its campaign for Esmail's freedom. On February 22 the Detroit City Council passed a resolution in support of Esmail. A march and rally will be held in nearby Dearborn on March 12. In New York City there will be a demonstration March 13 at 5:30 p.m. in front of the Israeli Consulate, 800 Second Avenue.

Among those who have endorsed the campaign to free Esmail are Daniel Berrigan, Noam Chomsky, Eqbal Ahmad, and Leonard Weinglass.

For more information, write 1118 South Harrison Road, East Lansing, Michigan 48823. Telephone: (517) 351-4648 or 349-1738.

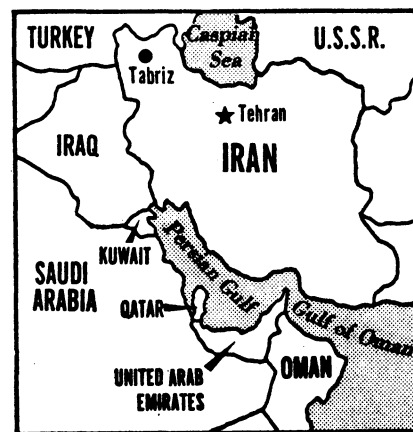
Still no rights in Iran

Despite recent attempts by the shah to soften the brutal image of his regime, a new report by Amnesty International says the human rights situation in Iran has not changed.

The February 28 report includes testimony before a U.S. congressional subcommittee given by Brian Wrobel, a British barrister who made a fact-finding tour of Iran on behalf of Amnesty International.

Iranian military court procedure, Wrobel said, "is such as to deny defendants any possibility of a fair trial." Although unable to verify reports of torture by the Iranian secret police, Amnesty International says such reports are continuing.

The shah's efforts to improve his image came in the wake of three days of protests in Tabriz, which the March 4 *Washington Post* said "bordered on an insurrection." The shah dismissed provincial officials involved in the brutal crackdown on the protests. Official accounts said 9 people were killed and 125 wounded, but other sources told the *Washington Post* that about 100 were killed and more than 300 wounded.



Washington Post

Protests continue in Nicaragua

In the two weeks ending March 5, National Guard troops killed more than thirty people as protests continued against the dictatorship of Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

Protests have taken place in Masaya, León, Jinotepe, and Matagalpa—as well as in Managua, the capital. On March 1, students occupied two private schools in Chinandega. *New York Times* correspondent Alan Riding reported March 1 that on February 25-26 there was "a virtual uprising" of the Indian inhabitants of the Monimbó district. On February 27 the National Guard put down the rebellion, killing at least twenty-two people in the three days of fighting. Guardsmen also killed two students during a February 27 protest at the National University in Managua.

Santiago Carrillo defends Rudolf Bahro

Interviewed on West German television recently, Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, spoke out against the preventive detention of Marxist dissident Rudolf Bahro by the East German government. Bahro was arrested following the publication of his anti-Stalinist book, *The Alternative*.

According to the February 27 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, Carrillo insisted that "Bahro should have the right to freely express his ideas in his own country; the charge of espionage against him is not believable."

The tremendous pressure Carrillo is under from radicalizing workers in Spain is shown by the efforts he went through to take his distance from the undemocratic practices of the East German CP. Bahro's arrest, Carrillo insisted, "shows the gap that separates our concept of socialism from that of the East German leaders. We, we want the freedom of discussion. No one should be persecuted for their different conceptions. Freedom of discussion is essential. Socialism where this is not respected is socialism that has lost the possibility for development and growth."



Militant

Washington, D.C.: Protesting attacks on affirmative action

ideas in the women's movement around the world, manifested in such events as the recent Socialism and Feminism conference of 1,000 women in Manchester, England, demonstrates the great potential that exists to win radicalizing feminists to socialism.

The role of revolutionary socialists in this process is vitally important. In contrast to all the reformist currents in the working-class movement on the one hand, and to the proponents in the women's movement of the struggle of sex against sex on the other, the Fourth International offers a class-struggle strategy for building a mass movement centered on the most burning needs of women of the working class and other oppressed layers.

Women in trade unions

Women are making their needs and demands felt inside the trade unions as well. In Spain, women workers have been a dynamic part of the upsurge of unionization in the post-Franco era, demanding the right to meet separately to discuss their special concerns and to press most effectively that these needs be fought for by the union. In France, the leaderships of both major union federations, the CGT and CFDT, have openly discussed and legitimized over the past year the right of women unionists to form internal women's caucuses.

In Spain, Italy, France, and elsewhere, women have pressed for the unions to take up broader social issues, such as the need for child-care centers, for a shorter workweek and jobs for all, and the right to adequate maternity-paternity leaves.

Trade-union women's formations have also been able to pose clearly the objective need for unification of the trade-union federations in Western Europe, which are divided along political party lines. In both Italy and Spain there have been instances of women forming committees that cut across trade-union lines in order to strengthen the struggle of the women. This points the way to the need for the whole working class to overcome the sectarian divisions between trade unions

maintained by the policies of the reformist parties.

Another salient feature of the women's movement that should be pointed to on this year's International Women's Day is the internationalism of this movement. From the very beginning, the new feminist movement was internationalist. The number of international conferences and rallies, as well as the rapid international diffusion and assimilation of the literature of the movement reflected the consciousness of women that their struggle was international, extending across national boundaries as well as social systems.

The women's movement is an example in this sense to the rest of the working class. Over the past year especially, we have seen growing pressure toward protectionism, expulsion of immigrant workers, and attempts by the ruling classes to blame the effects of the economic crisis on the workers of other countries. In its internationalist dimension, which will be expressed in thousands of rallies and marches on International Women's Day this year, the women's movement points the way for the workers movement as a whole on this key principle, which is necessary for an effective struggle against the exploiters.

Pressing demands

On International Women's Day 1978, these are some of the themes and demands that stand out as most pressing:

- For defense and extension of the right to contraception and abortion on demand, paid for through public health services or medical assistance programs.
- An end to cutbacks in social services such as child-care centers and women's medical facilities.
- The right of women to jobs. No discriminatory firings and layoffs of women.
- Equal rights for women. Down with all discriminatory laws.
- Solidarity of the whole working class movement with the struggle of women!

'Never-Ending Wrong'

The Never-Ending Wrong. By Katherine Anne Porter. Little, Brown and Company. 1977. 63 pages. \$5.95.

During the thirty-nine minutes it took to read this book about the Sacco-Vanzetti case, I kept trying to choose between "apathetic" and "disgraceful" to describe it. In the end I decided the first adjective fits the author, some of whose stories I have enjoyed, and the second fits the publisher, some of whose books I have admired.

The Never-Ending Wrong was published last August on the fiftieth anniversary of the day Nicola Sacco and Bartolemeo Vanzetti were executed by the state of Massachusetts on frame-up charges of murder and robbery. Their

and Vanzetti "were using the occasion for Communist propaganda, and hoping only for their deaths as a political argument. I know this because I heard and saw."

Furthermore, she says, the "putting to death of Sacco and Vanzetti [was] to the great ideological satisfaction of the Communist-headed group with which I had gone up to Boston. It was exactly what they had hoped for. . . ."

Strong charges, but there is nothing in what Porter heard and saw to support them. Nothing with a single exception, a statement she attributes to Baron, which she cites not once or twice, but three times, because it is the sole evidence for her contentions.

At one point, a few days before the executions, Porter remarked to Baron "that even then, at that late time, I still hoped the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti might be saved and that they would be granted another trial."

To which Baron replied, according to Porter, "Saved, who wants them saved? What earthly good would they do us alive?"

Since Baron is dead, there is no way now of verifying whether or not this is the exact reply she made to Porter. (Someone who dates the Russian revolution as 1924 is not the most reliable witness.)

But even if one accepts Porter's account of Baron's reply as accurate (for the sake of argument), it does not at all follow that she has proved her contentions about the CP's policy in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

Before offering my hypothesis about the possible meaning of the statement attributed to Baron, let's recall the historic facts.

No group in this country or abroad played a bigger role than the Communists in mobilizing millions of people to save Sacco and Vanzetti. If they were hoping for their deaths and martyrdom, they could have sat back and avoided these vast and costly efforts. Sacco and Vanzetti themselves greatly appreciated the work in their behalf by the CP-led International Labor Defense (ILD), and most historians agreed that the CP's activities were a significant part of the total defense effort.

Of course the CP made Communist propaganda out of the case—just as the anarchists made anarchist propaganda out of it and the liberals made liberal propaganda out of it and Porter now makes anti-human-anguish propaganda out of it. That's what a united front is—joint action around certain issues agreed on by groups that differ on other issues. But its Communist propaganda doesn't prove the CP hoped and worked for Sacco and Vanzetti's death.

Porter herself describes the "mournful" gathering of the CP and ILD members immediately after the executions. But why would the participants be mournful if the real policy of the CP and the ILD was to hope and work for the executions? Why wouldn't they instead be pleased and happy because their objective had been attained? Porter surely could not argue that they were ignorant of the CP's real policy, because that would mean Baron had



Bartolemeo Vanzetti (left) and Nicola Sacco

confided it to Porter, a nonmember whom she disliked, while concealing it from the CP and ILD members.

I can add some personal testimony that I think is as relevant as Porter's. The first demonstration I ever attended was in downtown Newark, New Jersey, the night of the Sacco-Vanzetti electrocutions. I was only eleven and had been brought by my older sister, a twenty-year-old worker who was secretary of the Newark ILD at the time and a local leader of the fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti.

The demonstration, late at night as news from Boston was awaited, made a deep impression on me. I knew nothing of politics, and it was not until years later that I realized the entire leadership and most of the membership of the CP in the Newark area were present among the hundreds in the crowd. But I did not need to know politics or be older to recognize the grief that swept the demonstration when the word came that Sacco and Vanzetti were dead. No "ideological satisfaction" was manifested, great or small. These were not the tears and curses of people who had been hoping for what happened.

Although Baron's alleged remark does not square with the facts and the attitudes of millions of participants, I can accept the possibility that she actually uttered it without accepting Porter's interpretation in any way.

For example, the words cited may have been spoken in exasperation by a person exhausted and under tension. We all say things we don't exactly mean when we are in that state. Porter's own remark ("I still hoped the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti might be saved") was rather strange in the context—an office staffed by people who had come a long distance precisely in order to help save them—and may have struck the harried Baron as provocatively stupid.

There is another possibility: that Baron actually meant what Porter claims she said. But even that wouldn't prove Porter's point.

Sometimes a distinction has to be made between what a party stands for and what a member of that party

thinks or says it stands for. More than once I have groaned when I heard a candidate or other representative of the Socialist Workers Party saying something about its policies on TV or radio that I know (or think) does not really express its positions.

It might have been something like that with Baron in 1927. At that time there was still quite a lot of infantile sectarianism in the American CP—an infantilism of style more than policy. Many of its members had rather crude or primitive conceptions of how Communists should act or speak. Some had the idea that they had to contradict whatever non-Communists said to them, or else they were not measuring up to Communist standards themselves. Others affected a certain "hardness" or "toughness" in what they thought was the Russian Bolshevik mold, and were fond of exhibiting this in their intercourse with naïve liberals of the Porter type.

So I think it is possible that there were CP members in that period, and even leaders, who may have thought and believed what Porter claims Baron said, whether Baron did or not. But that didn't represent the CP's policy, and in general it is absurd to make such serious charges on the basis of such flimsy evidence.

But, as I indicated above, I blame the publisher more than the eighty-seven-year-old author. Don't they have editors at Little, Brown to check facts and claims? Doesn't anybody there know the year of the Russian revolution? Isn't anybody there interested in the famine ordered by Lenin? Can't they spot an unproven accusation? Or don't they care?

Here is a "book" that in effect accuses the Communist Party of exploiting the Sacco-Vanzetti case. But look who's talking. Very carefully, on exactly the fiftieth anniversary of the electrocutions, they publish a sixty-three-page pamphlet and, after skimping on the most elementary editorial obligations, they have the nerve to charge \$5.95 for it. They probably think that commercial exploitation is morally superior to other types.

—George Breitman

Books

real crime was that they were anarchists and Italian immigrants.

At that time the thirty-seven-year-old Porter spent almost a week in Boston as a volunteer with one of the Sacco-Vanzetti defense committees. A registered Democrat, a convinced liberal, and an early sympathizer of the Russian revolution, she marched on picket lines in Boston, was arrested three times (the fine was five dollars for "vagrancy"), typed letters and wrote press releases, and participated in demonstrations, including a vigil on the night of the executions. She made some notes about her experiences and impressions, which she has now embellished.

The defense committee with which Porter worked in Boston was run by leaders of the Communist Party. Porter was strongly antagonized by the conduct or the style and rhetoric of the CP leaders, especially Rosa (or Rose) Baron. She still smarts over Baron's invective against "political illiterates," which Porter felt was aimed against her.

And yet the present "book," which seems to be Porter's delayed reply to Baron, couldn't have been written by anybody who was politically literate. Here are some of the things it tells us:

That the Russian revolution occurred in 1924; that Mussolini "chased him [Hitler] single-handedly out of the Polish Corridor"; that the "Communists dupe[d] us [the U.S. government] into deserting Republican Spain"; that a "famine took place" in the Soviet Union "under orders from Lenin, who directed a great famine or an occasional massacre by way of bringing dissidence under the yoke"; and other revelations equally new.

Porter is not so much concerned with what the ruling class did to Sacco and Vanzetti as with "the anguish that human beings inflict on each other—the never-ending wrong, forever incurable." From this angle, her chief target becomes the Communist Party, which fought to save Sacco and Vanzetti, not the ruling class, which executed them.

In 1927, she says, "some of the groups apparently working" for Sacco

Women in Revolt

Abortion clinics in danger

What's next: bumperstickers that read "Kill a woman for life"? That seems to be the sentiment behind the spread of violent attacks on abortion clinics—attacks that underscore the emergency nature of the fight to defend legal abortion.

The February 15 attack on the Concerned Women's Clinic in Cleveland showed how vicious the anti-abortion terrorists are. An arsonist threw gasoline right into a lab technician's eyes, poured gasoline around the room, set a blaze, and fled.

At the time there were about twenty people in the clinic, including one woman on an operating table in the midst of an abortion.

According to a study done by the National Abortion Rights Action League, the Cleveland fire was only the most recent of six arson attacks in the past year. Abortion and birth control clinics have been put to the torch in St. Paul, Minnesota; Burlington, Vermont; Omaha, Nebraska; Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio.

In Washington, D.C., and Cincinnati clinics have been hit with chemical bombs and had their win-

dows smashed.

The reactionaries have the nerve to call their groups names like "Right to Life." The Cleveland arsonist certainly had a strange ritual for celebrating his respect for life. So did the thugs who broke into a Fairfax, Virginia, clinic on February 11. They pushed and kicked the clinic staff—including a woman who was six and a half months pregnant.

In Cleveland the head of "Right to Life" protested that the arson attack was "a direct contradiction" to his group's goals.

But where's the contradiction? The anti-abortionists are demanding laws that would drive women to back-alley or home-remedy abortions. They don't flinch when told that if they have their way some eighty-five women a week will be hospitalized for medical complications or five women a week may die because of the laws.

The "respectable" anti-abortionists would mutilate or kill women with restrictive abortion laws. The terrorists attempt the same thing with fire bombs.

Diane Wang



Besides the "Right to Life" groups, the gangs terrorizing women have another, bigger accomplice. From the "life is unfair" White House to the courts to the cops, government officials have encouraged the right-wingers by publicly opposing legal abortion and passing laws to restrict or deny this right of women.

In Fairfax, Virginia, anti-abortion demonstrators have repeatedly occupied the abortion clinic. When brought to trial on charges of trespass they have been acquitted. Judge Lewis Griffith let them off on the grounds that they meant well! On February 10 Judge Mason Grove excused them by declaring the state law permitting abortions unconstitutional.

Is it surprising that the anti-abortionists returned the next day to physically attack the clinic staff?

All supporters of abortion need to unite against these enemies—both the ones at the clinic doors and the ones in the White House, the courts, and the legislatures. A united counteroffensive against the abortion foes can protect not only women's rights, but women themselves.

National Picket Line

'Negotiations' in coal

The Carter administration subscribes to the concept of collective bargaining as defined by federal law and favors the union-endorsed Labor Law Reform Bill that is supposed to bring recalcitrant employers to the bargaining table. The mine strike has revealed more than this about Carter and about government labor policy.

There were never any serious negotiations on the part of the coal operators from the time the 1974 union contract expired on December 6, 1977, until union and management representatives were summoned to the White House on February 15 and told that the impending fuel shortage dictated an end to the strike.

Government intervention on the side of the mine operators did not signal the beginning of collective bargaining either—even though Labor Secretary Ray Marshall undertook to serve as mediator between the two sides, thereby lending the appearance of negotiations in progress.

There are two reasons for the total absence of negotiations in this strike. The fundamental reason is the refusal of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association to enter into negotiations. It takes two sides to bargain and reach a settlement.

The result has been make-believe negotiations conducted by a crew with little knowledge of the

industry and dubious credentials as authoritative representatives of either side.

The "bargaining sessions," as they were called, were supervised from the beginning by Wayne Horvitz, head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Horvitz established his reputation as vice-president of the Matson Navigation Company in San Francisco.

On the union side, UMWA President Arnold Miller sat in. His staff consisted of attorneys and consultants recommended by Horvitz.

For UMWA public relations the firm of Maurer, Fleischer, Zon and Anderson was selected—maybe because it works for the AFL-CIO and managed the campaign of Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride against Ed Sadlowski in the 1977 union election.

Speaking for the operators, Joseph Brennan, a former research director of the UMWA under the old company-minded Boyle regime, announced at the outset that without a firm guarantee of "labor stability" (code for no strikes) there could be no settlement.

The demand that the United Mine Workers agree to become the enforcement agency of the operators against the miners, coupled with the denial of health care and mine safety control previously won by the union, foreclosed any consideration of the

Frank Lovell



miners' real needs.

Brennan also told the union that if the BCOA terms were unacceptable, the operators were prepared to negotiate separate contracts company by company. The intention was to starve out the miners in a long strike until they were forced to crawl back to work.

The scheme collapsed when the miners showed they were still determined, militant, and united after ten weeks of the strike. It was only then that the Carter administration decided to take a hand in the matter.

The aim of the Labor Department was to get the miners back to work and keep them on the job, not to negotiate a settlement of their grievances.

The coal miners have learned from their long battle with the operators that their strike weapon is their only defense.

The intervention of the Carter administration to weaken their strike and force the miners back to work ought to be an object lesson for the union movement that even though "collective bargaining" is the statutory policy of government, their own organized power is the only protection workers have against their employers.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Don't drink the water

The New York State Department of Environmental Conservation reported recently that it had found what appeared to be Mirex, a cancer-causing chemical, in two fish taken from the Hudson River.

A form of Mirex is used as a fire retardant in TV sets and other electrical appliances. Officials speculate the deadly substance reaches the Hudson after industrial dumping.

The discovery of Mirex adds one more to the Hudson's catalog of deadly poisons.

A study released last fall by the Environmental Defense Fund and the New York Public Interest Research Group found that hundreds of poisonous and carcinogenic chemicals were routinely dumped into the Hudson.

A group of chemicals called PCBs, carbon tetrachloride, toluene, and chloroform were among the substances researchers found in the river.

All these poisons are wastes from industrial processes. More than 250 industries and municipalities have permits to dump toxic wastes into the Hudson, but the study charges that hundreds of others evade the law by simply flushing their chemical wastes through municipal sewage systems.

The researchers were critical of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, charging the EPA has "refused to require industry to divulge what chemicals are present in its waste, let alone conduct an analysis of their potential environmental and health effects."

About 150,000 people, mostly in the city of Poughkeepsie, drink Hudson River water.

A New York State study found that Poughkeepsie area residents have had a tenfold increase in the

incidence of cancer in the colon over the past twenty years.

The New England Fisheries Center has found that metallic elements, including PCBs, have entered the food chain in the waters off New York.

Commercial fishing in the Hudson has been banned for two years because of PCBs. Pollution of the coastal waters has nearly destroyed fish life in Long Island Sound and along the New Jersey shore.

Despite the serious threat to human health posed by continued chemical pollution of the Hudson and other waterways, Congress last fall weakened the 1972 clean water rules.

Some industries now have until 1987 to stop polluting—that is, if they aren't eligible for the special "waivers" of the rules the Democrats and Republicans so generously included in the law.

Arnold Weissberg



In Brief

Quote unquote

"In a democratic country, I still think, there should be some limits about, or beyond which, one should not go or allow others to go, because this is no longer democracy then. It is no longer democracy if everyone can do whatever he wishes. There must be a limit to that. It's how I conceive democracy."

—President Tito of Yugoslavia in an interview with James Reston of the "New York Times."

S. AFRICA CONFERENCE

The Northeast Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa will hold a conference at Yale University the weekend of April 1. The committee includes representatives of thirteen campuses and several organizations, including the American Committee on Africa, Student Coalition Against Racism, Young Socialist Alliance, and American Friends Service Committee.

The conference will include panel discussions, workshops, and a Sunday plenary session to discuss proposals for action.

ATTACKS ON WELFARE

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled February 27 that it is legal to reduce the welfare benefits of someone who moves from the United States to Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico was left out of a 1972 law that increased federal welfare benefits.

The law had been challenged

Shut down the Trojan nuke

The Trojan Decommissioning Alliance, an Oregon anti-nuclear power group, will hold a march and rally March 18 to protest the refueling of the Trojan nuclear power plant near Portland.

Nuclear wastes from the reactor are left to pile up on

the site because there is no safe place to put them. Portland General Electric, which owns Trojan, has asked for permission to store even more radioactive waste on the Trojan grounds.

For more information, contact TDA at (503) 231-0014.



Demonstrators at Trojan nuclear power plant

as an infringement of the right to travel.

On March 1, the New York State Assembly passed a bill requiring all employers to submit lists of employees to be checked against lists of welfare recipients. The bill is supposedly aimed at curbing "welfare fraud."

UAW HITS GM PROFITS

The United Auto Workers union has charged General Motors with deliberately misrepresenting its \$3.3 billion profits for 1977.

GM claims the figure—the

largest in its history—is only 6.1 percent of sales, a "decline" from 6.2 percent in 1976, 6.7 percent in 1973, and 10.3 percent in 1965.

However, as the UAW notes, the standard way of gauging profits is to measure them against total corporate investment.

Measured that way, GM's profits represent a 23.2 percent return, the highest since 1965.

The union also noted that GM had set aside \$161 million for bonuses for 6,500 favored executives—an average of \$25,000 each, a sum considerably greater than the average auto worker's wage.

CAN CONGRESS BREAK LAW?

Can U.S. senators and their aides break the law and claim congressional immunity, thereby avoiding prosecution? The Carter administration says yes. Al and Margaret McSurely say no.

The McSurelys were civil rights activists in Kentucky in the 1960s. In August 1967 their home was raided by the state police, their papers confiscated, and they were charged with "sedition."

The documents were turned over to the late Sen. John McClellan, a bitter opponent of equal rights for Blacks. The McSurelys were forced to go to the U.S. Supreme Court to get their papers back.

The McSurelys filed suit against McClellan and three of his aides, charging them with violating the constitutional guarantee against unreasonable searches and seizures.

The federal government has sought to block the suit. In arguments before the Supreme Court on March 1, Deputy Solicitor General Frank Easterbrook admitted the McSurelys' charge was true but contended senators and their staffs could even commit murder and be immune from prosecution!

ATTACK ON BUSING

The U.S. Senate has passed an amendment that could end school busing for the purpose of desegregation. The amendment, sponsored by two Democrats, is now attached to an appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. If the amended bill is passed, HEW will be forbidden to order busing.

"We can't get an effective remedy without using some

transportation," remarked David Tatel, director of the Office of Civil Rights. "The districts are so big and the Black areas are so large that without busing all we can do is desegregate the edges."

Although HEW Secretary Joseph Califano has opposed the amendment, President Carter has yet to make his opinions publicly known. The amendment has been challenged in court by a group of civil rights organizations.

NO LOANS FOR APARTHEID

The United Auto Workers union announced March 3 it would close all its accounts at banks that make loans to the apartheid regime in South Africa. The union said it would also urge banks at which it had accounts to publicly pledge not to make loans to South Africa.

"The government of South Africa continues to brutally suppress Blacks and other non-whites who make up 80 percent of the population," said UAW President Douglas Fraser. "It is a racist society that refuses to allow Black workers even the most basic human rights."

TEXANS PICKET BRYANT

The San Antonio chapter of the National Organization for Women sponsored a picket line February 18 to protest an appearance by antigay bigot Anita Bryant. Seventy people braved record cold to take part, reports *Militant* correspondent Susan Garry.

When Bryant appeared on stage, more than 1,000 people got up and left the auditorium. Bryant's appearance was part of a "Revive America" gathering.

What's Going On

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

DISCUSSION ON MARXISM. Every Wednesday, 7:30 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA

BERKELEY

IRELAND: THE STRUGGLE TODAY. Speakers: Ray McGrath, Irish Northern Aid; Michael McDermatt, Irish National Caucus; Mike Connell, Eirennua; Joe Cole, Socialist Workers Party. Thurs., Mar. 16, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 653-7156.

LOS ANGELES

PICKET LINE IN PROTEST OF BRITISH TERROR IN IRELAND. Fri., Mar. 17, 11 a.m. British Consulate, 3701 Wilshire Blvd. (east of Western Ave.). Ausp: Friends of Ireland.

L.A.: SOUTHEAST

IS BAKKE A VICTIM OF 'REVERSE DISCRIMINATION'? Speakers: Dr. Gordon Brown, psychology department, Pasadena City College; Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state attorney general. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. Do-

nation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SAN DIEGO

THE BRIGGS INITIATIVE VS. GAY RIGHTS. A debate on State Rep. John Briggs's initiative against civil and human rights for gays in California. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-1630.

SAN JOSE

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN LABOR & ITS LESSONS FOR TODAY. Two classes. Speakers: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California. Sat., Mar. 18, 1 p.m. & 3 p.m. 942 E. Santa Clara St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: San Jose SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO

DENVER

PROSPECTS FOR WINNING THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Speakers: Carole Mangan, president, Central Chapter of National Organization for Women; Elsa Blum, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 17, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

EUROCOMMUNISM: A STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISM? Speakers: Mike Taglia, U.C. Boulder graduate student; Skip Ro-

berts, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Mike Collins, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 24, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE

THE NEW MARYLAND DEATH PENALTY LAW. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON: SOUTH END

BLACK MAJORITY RULE VS. APARTHEID: ZIMBABWE & SOUTH AFRICA. Panel of speakers to be announced. Fri., Mar. 17, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Fl. (Kenmore subway stop on Green Line). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT: EAST SIDE

WHO RULES DETROIT. Speaker: Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. House of Representatives, 13th Congressional District; Tom Smith, SWP

candidate for U.S. House of Representatives, 14th C.D. Sun., Mar. 19, 7 p.m. 12920 Mack Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 961-5675.

DETROIT: WEST SIDE

VICTORIA WOODHULL & FREDERICK DOUGLASS: FIGHTERS FOR EQUAL RIGHTS. Speakers: Marty Alston, coauthor of soon-to-be-released book on the topic; Chris Alson, founding member of the United Auto Workers. Sun., Mar. 19, 7 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

MINNESOTA

ST. PAUL

THE STRUGGLE TO UNIONIZE J.P. STEVENS. Film: *Testimony*. Speaker: Maureen Ferrin, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union. Sat., Mar. 18, 8 p.m. Twin Cities Friends Meeting House, 295 Summit Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Peace & Social Action Committee, Twin Cities Friends Meeting, Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY

SYMPOSIUM ON THE CASE FOR UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS. Speakers:

Fr. Antoin Adrien, Haitian Fathers; Enio Carrión, Hispanic Labor Council (AFL-CIO); Rev. Ricard Potter, National Council of Churches; George Vician, New York office, Immigration and Naturalization Service. Sat., Mar. 18, 3-7 p.m. 475 Riverside Dr. (120 St.) Ausp: Committee Against Deportations. For more information call (212) 675-9158.

NYC: LOWER EAST SIDE

CAPITALISM FOULS THINGS UP: INDUSTRIAL POLLUTION AND ITS EFFECTS ON WORKING PEOPLE. Speakers: Michael Baumann, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*; Kendall Green, epidemiologist, NYU. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. 7 Clinton St. (off Houston). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore/Libreria Militante. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NYC: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE NEW SITUATION IN THE IRISH FREEDOM STRUGGLE. Speaker: Gerry Foley, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA

POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speaker: Margaret Winter, attorney for Héctor Marroquin. Thurs.,

Their Government

Compiled by Arnold Weissberg

CARTER RATING: NEW LOW

The latest Louis Harris poll, published March 6, has found that the overall rating of President Carter has dropped to a new low: 58-41 percent negative, from 49-47 percent negative in January.

Carter got a 69-27 percent negative rating on his handling of the economy, a 79-17 negative rating on keeping down the cost of living, and a 65-31 percent negative rating on cutting unemployment.

INDIAN LAND SETTLEMENT

The state of Rhode Island and a group of private landowners announced March 2

they had arrived at an agreement with the Narragansett Indians over an Indian land claim. The tribe had sought the return of 3,500 acres stolen from them. The agreement calls for the state and the private landowners to sell 1,800 acres to a majority-Indian, semigovernmental corporation for \$3.5 million. The money will be supplied by the federal government. Only 200 acres may be developed under the terms of the agreement.

The plan is the first settlement in a series of fourteen Indian land claims that demand the return of more than 10 million acres in the eastern United States.

Landlord vs. Chicano mural

Chicano residents of East Long Beach, California, have rallied to protect a mural painted by community artists.

On February 15, after the owner of a building had it whitewashed, the artists painted a mural depicting the cultural and political heritage of the Chicano people.

The painting depicts three Mexican revolutionary lead-

ers: José Maria Morelos, Emiliano Zapata, and Genaro Vasquez flanked on one side by a brown fist breaking a chain and on the other side by the mythic Mexican feathered serpent, Quetzlcoatl.

Landlord Tom Boswell has been trying to paint over the mural, but resistance from area residents has so far stopped him.



Mar. 16, 218 S. 45th St. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 387-2451.

WASHINGTON SEATTLE

THE IRISH STRUGGLE TODAY.
Speaker: Irene Abbott, Socialist Workers

Party. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. 2200 E. Union. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

REPRESSION IN IRAN. Speaker: representative of Univ. of Washington chapter of Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 2200 E. Union. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

Forums on miners' strike

MILWAUKEE: "The miners' strike & the labor movement today." Speaker: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; slide presentation on Stearns, Kentucky, striking miners. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY: "Coal miners' strike: Taft-Hartley vs. workers' rights." Speaker: Geoff Mirelowitz, member Local 12243, United Steelworkers of America, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

PHOENIX, ARIZONA: "The coal strike and the challenge to the labor movement." Speakers: to be an-

nounced. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH: "The miners' strike: how workers can change society." Speaker: Tony Thomas, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

SAN JOSE: "The coal strike and its impact on American labor." Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California. Fri., Mar. 17, 8 p.m. 942 E. Santa Clara St. Donation: \$1.50. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

A man for all seasons

WASHINGTON—It's a doggone lie, Pennsylvania Rep. Daniel Flood is willing to shout from the rooftops. There isn't, and never has been, any plaque in his office soliciting, "He who pays the piper calls the tune."

Flood says it's another fabrication by those newspaper ree-porters searching for a Pulitzer or some other Holy Grail.

After the Philadelphia hospital shake-down and California trade-school payoff stories, they linked Flood to mob cash for an Interstate Commerce Commission favor. Now, they say Flood got big bucks from a New York Jewish service agency for Labor Department training funds for Soviet Jewish immigrants.

"I, of course, deny any of these preposterous allegations of misconduct or impropriety," Flood says.

His remarks are, as they say politely, disingenuous. There've been too many headlines, too many six o'clock news reports, too many charges lodged against the veteran Democrat for there not to be some truth in it all. But still the denial of "any wrongdoing." And "no further comment" statements flow uninterrupted from his office.

The *New York Times* published a revealing account of how the powerful House Appropriations Subcommittee chairperson had secret ties to Haiti while pushing U.S. aid to that country.

The *Times* found that Flood acted "as an agent of the Haitian Government in Washington," and "held veto power over who received contracts for projects financed by United States aid to Haiti."

Haiti, under the brutally repressive regime of Jean-Claude (Baby Doc) Duvalier, was approached by Flood in 1973. He offered to use his congressional influence to obtain U.S. aid. Before the year was out, a bill was approved offering a \$26 million appropriation to the Duvalier regime, which had been receiving limited U.S. aid for more than a decade because of adverse public opinion.

By January 1974, however, Flood, having received no response from Duvalier, wrote the unelected president-for-life:

"Since the Foreign Assistance Appropriations was passed by both houses of Congress and has been signed into law by the president, the moneys previously discussed are available! Are you?"

"The multitude of business interests await your consideration," he added.



REP. FLOOD

"These interests are for your benefit—not mine!"

Duvalier accepted the aid, and Flood obtained other grants for Duvalier, who used them to buy himself three airplanes, among other things.

"In every instance where a contract was to be let on any project involving United States loans or grants," the *Times* reported, Flood "told the Haitians who should receive the contract."

The *Times* story did not indicate Flood's exact purpose in obtaining aid for Duvalier, but later stories have described how Flood demanded monetary repayment for his efforts in operations similar to the Haitian one.

The general thrust of the capitalist media's treatment of Flood has been to portray him as one lone, unethical, do-anything-for-money elected official. But no Stradivarius among pawn shop violins is Flood: the same money will buy any of them.

Nevertheless, the ruling powers are peeved over the damage to public confidence Flood has caused.

A couple of weeks ago this was evident in a *Washington Post* front-page story about one of Flood's shakedowns. The *Post's* early edition had an accompanying photo that pictured Flood as no more threatening than your corner pet shop operator. A later edition corrected the goof. It had his usual wire-service photo. Complete with carnival barker's mustache and there's-a-sucker-born-every-minute sneer.

—Baxter Smith

The Great Society

Harry Ring



That's a comfort—"No Ice Age Soon, Scientists Say—Stable Climate Expected for Next 20 Years"—Headline in the *Los Angeles Times*.

The silver dioxide lining—The reason there's no ice age immediately ahead, scientists explain, is because the steady buildup of carbon dioxide thrown off by burning fossil fuels tends to trap solar heat, causing a modest rise in temperature.

A query—Food and Drug Administration scientists are divided on whether Red 40, currently the most widely used red food coloring, is a cause of cancer. We may be naïve, but the thought does occur to us: If they're not sure if the stuff kills people, why not stop using it 'til they find out?

Could well be—California officials want to remove the license of an Ingle-

wood nursing home, which they say failed to provide medication and treatments prescribed by doctors, failed to provide care to prevent bed sores, and did not store food properly or maintain sanitary standards. In response, the administrator declared, "We have one of the finest convalescent hospitals."

Endangered product—If you've often thought how nice it would be to dig into some of France's famous crusty bread, you better get over there soon. There are now 100 big industrial bakeries turning out the packaged mass-production pap, and the old master bakers are beginning to count the days.

Sounds reasonable—In 1976, workers with an income of \$7,000 to \$10,000 lost twice as much time because of accidents and illness as did people earning above \$25,000.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Rose Karsner

On March 7, 1968, Rose Karsner Cannon, a founder and leader of American Trotskyism, died of cancer.

The March 18 'Militant' carried an appreciation of Karsner's life and work by Evelyn Reed. Excerpts from Reed's article are printed below:

Rose was herself one of the poor and oppressed. She was born in Rumania in 1890 and migrated with her family to the United States.

Rose started her political life at the age of 18 by joining the New York Local of the Socialist Party. This was in 1908.

A year after joining the Socialist Party, Rose became secretary of *The Masses*, a semi-official party magazine.

The great change in Rose's political thinking, as with so many revolutionists of her generation, came with the first world war and the Russian Revolution.

Toward the end of 1920, as part of the revolutionary left wing of the Socialist Party, Rose went over to the new Communist Party of the U.S. She first met James P. Cannon in 1921 at the Unity Convention of the two rival communist groupings named the Communist Party and the United Communist Party.

Subsequently Rose went to work in the national office of the newly established Friends of Soviet Russia in New York City. When the second "underground" communist convention held in Bridgman, Mich., was raided and some of the leaders arrested, Rose was put in charge of the FSR relief work and was then elected its national secretary.

The bureaucratization of the Soviet regime after Lenin's death in 1923 did not disclose its pernicious features all at once to foreign observers and sympathizers. Despite [Rose's] increasing disquiet, it was not until 1928 that the reasons for the undercover difficulties in the American Communist Party became clear. Rose's flash of illumination came when she read the copy of Trotsky's Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International which J.P. Cannon smuggled out of the Soviet Union.

Together with Cannon, [Max] Shachtman and [Martin] Abern, Rose was one of the charter members of the Left Opposition which became the Communist League of America [forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party] after their expulsion from the Communist Party.

The small but resolutely determined group of pioneer Trotskyists opened headquarters on East 10th Street, New York, with a little print shop in the rear. Here *The Militant* was born and published regularly. Much of the administrative responsibility fell on Rose's shoulders. She organized small crews of voluntary workers and got out *The Militant* with their help.



Trotsky's assassination in Mexico in 1940 and the coming of the second world war were severe tests for the Socialist Workers Party. The war pressures precipitated a split in the party in 1940 which deprived it of almost 40 percent of its members. Then, a year later, Rose's husband, James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP, was convicted under the Smith Act together with 17 other SWP and Minneapolis teamster leaders for their socialist opposition to the second world war. This sequence of events imposed considerable responsibilities upon Rose.

Rose's last official post at the close of World War II was similar to the one she held after World War I. She served as secretary of the American Committee for European Workers Relief.

In facing the facts of life and death, after learning last year that she had cancer, Rose displayed her characteristic courage. "At age 77," she wrote me, "with a full and useful life behind me, I have little to complain about and much to be proud of. At least I did not spend my days in money-grubbing and thinking of myself first. So long as I can continue without pain and crippling effects, I intend to go along as in the past. What more can one ask for?"

Rose did not believe that serving the cause of a socialist future need involve great sacrifices on the part of an individual. On the contrary, as she often said, "the party gives more to the individual than it takes." She felt that its grand perspectives took one beyond the confines of the self and the family to the most creative kind of work—conscious social change.

From 18 to 78, for six decades, she persisted in her dedicated work for a socialist America. She exemplified the finest qualities of a revolutionary Marxist.

Miners' strike

Support of the miners' strike has caused more talk in shops and mills than any other issue for a long time. Some of this discussion is expressed in local union papers. *G.M. Tech. Engineer*, the official publication of Local 160, UAW, is an example.

Ken Wizinski, reporting for the Design Staff unit in the January/February issue, wrote the following:

"Other members ask why we should be involved in the Essex Wire workers problems, the *Oakland Press* strike, or interested in the Coal Miners strike?

"Again the answer is simple, self-preservation. You better believe these strikes will have a definite effect on your lives.

"Today more than ever, the Corporations and the right-to-work groups are out to destroy the power of organized labor. If the Company can destroy organized labor's power to negotiate wages, benefits and safe working conditions, profits can be even greater than they are today.

"The battle today, which will be ours in 1979 negotiations, is over the living standards of all American workers. We cannot ignore these long strikes, with Company hired scabs being brought in to destroy the workers' only weapon, the strike, the withholding of our labor.

"It's our battle, as workers. If we sit by and allow the Companies to defeat the workers on strike today, we could be alone in '79. We better involve ourselves today or we can sit by and watch our living standard continue to go down and unemployment go higher."

That's straight talk, and true. It comes right out of the shop.

Rodger McFadden
Detroit, Michigan

Studying capitalism

After studying capitalism for fifty years and seeing how things can degenerate under its incompetence and corruption, I can't help but think what will happen after there are no more Indian lands to exploit; or lakes, rivers, and wildlife; or timber lands, and the only thing left is 218 million people.

Robert Nott
Salem, Oregon

'Socialism won't work'

I must tell you why the socialist economic system will never work in the United States, in hopes of getting through to those of you with some reasoning ability left after being exposed to a heavy diet of chants and placards for so long.

Optimism is the answer. Admittedly, there are people in the United States who are poor. However, it is an American characteristic to be hopeful about the future. The migrant worker, coal miner, construction worker, yes, even

Letters

the corporate executive, all aspire for a better job.

No working person views his family as locked into a class, "working class" as you describe it.

Pessimism is the basic view of the socialist. He doesn't think he can do any better for himself and consequently doesn't expect the future to be any better for him.

To conclude, I would only urge that the college student supporters among you wise up! When you graduate and are no longer being subsidized by your capitalist parents, you'll do well and get ahead.

Richmond White
Washington, D.C.

Against abortion

I am not renewing my subscription to your newspaper. As a Catholic, I believe that abortion is wrong in all but the most unusual circumstances, and I cannot support a periodical that is in favor of abortion.

However, in most other respects, your paper is far superior to other American daily and weekly journals, particularly in its coverage of foreign affairs and its refusal to mince words about the evil aspects of our present economic and political systems.

If your attitude on the abortion issue changes, I would be interested in taking the paper again.

Frederick Lewis
Canadaigua, New York

Enjoys 'Militant'

I have just begun to get the *Militant* amid this badly war-torn prison and am enjoying every page of it. I have been waiting a long time to receive this, and my time of waiting has been well rewarded. There is much information in the paper, and the most illiterate can understand the texts.

I just wrote this letter to let you know that I truly enjoy your paper, and that I would like to continue getting it. I also try and share it with those who cannot afford it like myself, and so it is well used.

A prisoner
Arizona

'Jewish Question'

Fred Feldman omitted mention of Abram Leon's brilliant book *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation* (Pathfinder Press) in his helpful review of several pamphlets and books dealing with Israel and Zionism. [See "Learning About Socialism" March 3 *Militant*.]

Leon's book explains the roots and origins of anti-Semitism. He wrote that anti-Jewish prejudice was spawned by the unique role Jews played, as a people as well as a class, in the world economy since the majority of them left Palestine before Roman imperialism conquered the area some 2,000 years ago.

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The coal strike and nationalization

Socialists oppose private ownership of industry. Does this mean that government seizure of the coal mines, such as President Carter has threatened in the miners' strike, would be progressive?

Absolutely not. Carter's threat is not aimed against the operation of the mines for private profit. It is only one more way of marshaling the power of the government to break the strike.

But what about a genuine nationalization?

The demand for nationalization of industry has a long history. In *The Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels raised this concept as one of the things a *workers government* would do *after* a socialist revolution.

Socialists have also raised the demand for nationalization of specific industries under *capitalist* governments to popularize the idea that the resources and industry of a country should be used for the benefit of all, not the private profit of a tiny minority.

With the growth of the working-class movement and the increasing irrationality of capitalism, demands for nationalization of industry became so powerful that in some countries the capitalists were forced to make concessions. This was the case in Britain after World War II, when the British Labour Party was swept into power.

The Labour Party government nationalized important sectors of industry, including the coal mines. The workers in these industries won important gains—more job security, higher safety standards, and better wages.

But the Social Democratic leadership of the Labour Party saw nationalization as a reform that could make capitalism work better rather than as a vehicle for raising the anticapitalist consciousness of the working class and pushing forward the struggle to abolish the profit system.

In fact, the reformist Labour leadership turned nationalization into a disguised subsidy of certain sectors of the British ruling class. The nationalized industries were frequently burdened with debts and antiquated machinery. Yet the Labour government paid dividends to the former owners at a far higher rate than they would otherwise have been able to obtain.

Since the government operated the nationalized industries within the context of the profit system, it was more and more compelled to run them at the expense of the workers. As a result, today there is little difference for British

workers between the bosses in nationalized industry and the bosses in private industry. British coal miners, for example, have won decent wage settlements in recent years only through militant strike action.

But what the Labour government did—trying to nationalize industry *as an alternative* to the abolition of capitalism—has nothing to do with the socialist concept of nationalization. To the contrary, revolutionists raise the demand for nationalization as part of a system of demands leading to the establishment of a workers government that would do away with the capitalist profit system.

During the "energy crisis" in late 1973 and early 1974, for example, the Socialist Workers Party raised a series of demands around the theme that working people—the vast majority of the population—have the right to control society.

These demands included the right of the workers to know the facts about the energy crisis. These facts could only come out if the giant energy monopolies were forced to open their books. How else could the workers learn how much gas and oil was really available, what role the trusts had played in provoking the crisis, and what to do about it?

The SWP also demanded nationalization of the energy trusts. These huge corporations deeply affect every part of our lives. Energy is required for heat, light, transportation, and production, but its supply is dependent on the decisions of a handful of capitalists whose only concern is profit.

The Democratic and Republican parties will never lead a fight to open the books of the corporations and nationalize them under democratic control by the workers. These parties represent the ruling class. Therefore, socialists explained the necessity for working people to break with the ruling-class parties and form their own party—a labor party with a program for doing away with the profit system.

Yes, socialists are for nationalizing the mines. But we're not for Carter running them in the interests of the giant corporations he and his party represent. We're for the working class running them democratically, in the interests of the whole society.

—David Frankel

For further reading: *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*, Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. \$3.95.

Socialists have had and will have no prouder moments than in the battle against racism, including anti-Semitism.

Leon's book is an acquisition for our arsenal. But only if it's read.

Michael Smith

New York, New York

Dr. Isadore Feinberg

A valued supporter of the socialist cause, Dr. Isadore (Tex) Feinberg, died of a heart attack on January 29 at the age of fifty-five. He had read Jack London's book *The Iron Heel* in 1940, while attending the City College of New York, and that helped translate his previously amorphous identity with the oppressed into a conscious anticapitalist outlook.

Although he never joined the Communist Party, which was then predominant on the left, he remained sympathetic to its policies for many years. He became disillusioned with the CP after the Khrushchev revelations and definitively broke with it in the late fifties.

One little-noticed byproduct of the youth radicalization of the sixties was the regeneration and reorientation of parents who had been disenchanted with left politics as a result of their experiences with Stalinism. Their children, who were organizing antiwar activities and being won to the program of Trotskyism on the campuses, brought fresh ideas and new hope to some among the older generation. That was the case with Dr. Feinberg whose son Richard, now in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Kent State, had joined the Young Socialist Alliance through his participation in the Berkeley antiwar and student movement in 1967.

Isadore accompanied Richard to a Militant Labor Forum in Manhattan in the summer of 1968. There I first met him and his wife Rose. We became friendly from then on. He greatly appreciated the work of the SWP and gave ready financial assistance to its antiwar, civil liberties, and socialist endeavors.

Many busy professionals become so wrapped up in their careers and private preoccupations that they have no time to spare for attending to the fundamental and pressing problem of transforming society for the betterment of all humankind. Isadore was a rare exception and our movement is poorer for his absence.

George Novack

New York, New York

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

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Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 973 Page St. Zip: 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

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GEORGIA: East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 17821. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 688-6739. West Atlanta: SWP, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040. Zip: 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, North Side: SWP, 1870 N. Halsted. Zip: 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811. Chicago, South Side: SWP, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 10 N. Cicero. Zip: 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 233-1270. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway. P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621. Boston, Fenway-South End: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620. Roxbury: SWP, 612 Blue Hill Ave. Zip: 02121. Tel: (617) 288-0753.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave. Zip: 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160. Detroit, West Side: SWP, 18415 Wyoming. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436. Detroit: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Grand Rapids: YSA, 1423 Milton SE. Zip: 49506. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 176 Western Ave. North Zip: 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Albany: SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 220-222 Utica Ave. Zip: 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731. New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 60-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

NEW YORK: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 861-4166. Columbus:

YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 3928 N. Williams. Zip: 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

PENNSYLVANIA: Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, Germantown: SWP, 5950 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 844-2874. Philadelphia, West Philadelphia: SWP, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Philadelphia: City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Bob Hill, 733 W. College Ave. #2. Zip: 16801.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station. Zip: 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston, Northeast: SWP, YSA, 2835 Laura Koppe. Zip: 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543. Houston, East End: SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza). Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1317 Castrovilla Rd. Zip: 78237. Tel: (512) 432-7625.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Adams-Morgan: SWP, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7706. Washington, D.C., Georgia Avenue: SWP, 700 1/2 Barry Pl. NW. Zip: 20001. Tel: (202) 265-7708. Washington, D.C.: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99201. Tel: (509) 326-2468. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Akron: new attack on abortion

By Lorraine Sockaci

AKRON, Ohio—This city has become a national target for the enemies of women's right to choose abortion. On February 28 the city council here passed one of the most restrictive abortion ordinances in the country. The following night, buoyed by their victory, anti-abortion vigilantes set fire to the Akron Women's Clinic, where abortions are performed.

Abortion opponents here have vowed to see that versions of Akron's anti-abortion legislation are passed in other cities. Their legislative campaign, combined with the growing national pattern of violent attacks on clinics, represents a dangerous escalation of the reactionary crusade against women's rights.

The Akron ordinance pretends only to require "informed consent" for abortions. But in reality its

FOR FURTHER COVERAGE SEE:

- Editorial on emergency for women's rights, page 2;
- Special feature on international women's movement, page 24;
- Abortion clinics in danger, page 27.

purpose is to harass and intimidate every woman seeking an abortion in the city. The new law "regulates" abortions by:

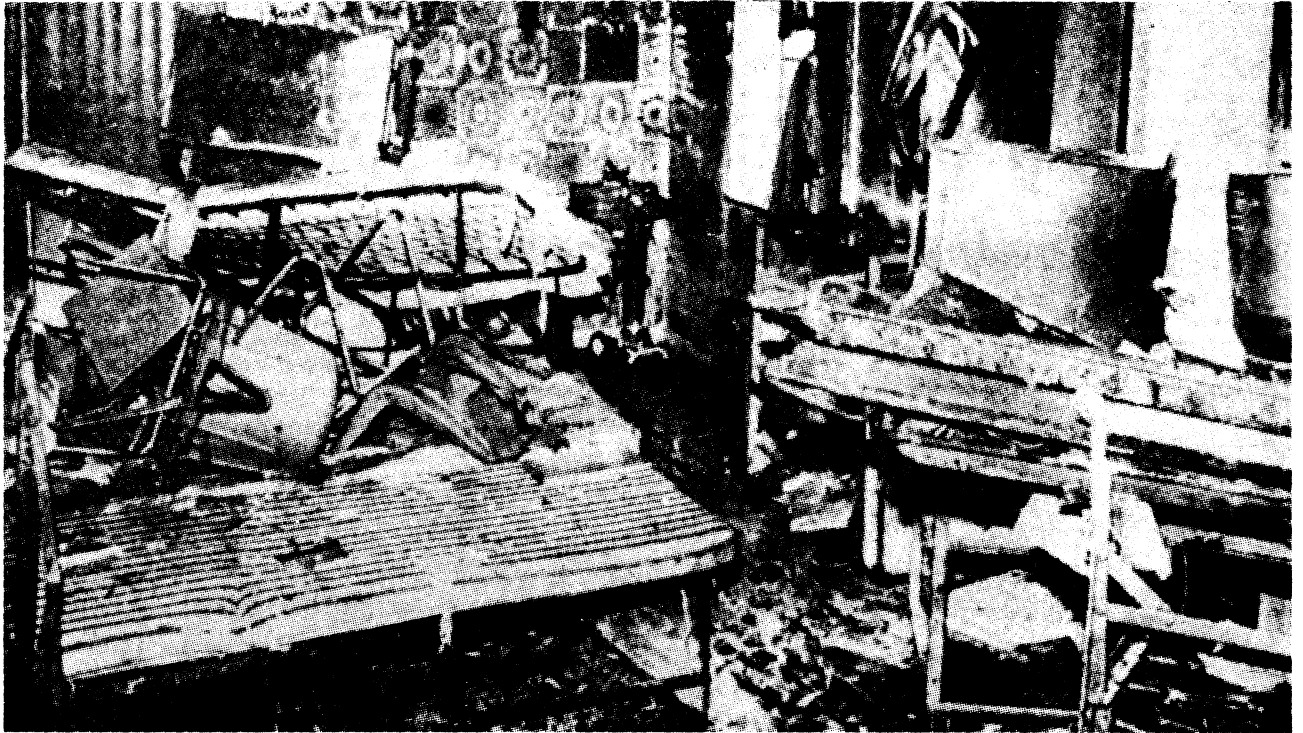
- Requiring that preabortion counseling include a religious description of fetal development. The physician must tell the woman that the fetus is "an unborn human life from the moment of conception" and that it may be capable of surviving outside the womb after twenty-four weeks.

In addition, counseling must include ominous warnings about the "potentially grave physical and psychological complications which can result" from an abortion, such as "depression, guilt, or suicide."

- Mandating a twenty-four-hour waiting period after counseling before the abortion can be performed.

- Requiring that the clinic inform the husband of the woman's request for an abortion. If a woman is under eighteen, her parents must be notified. For a patient under fifteen, parental consent must be obtained.

The law's intent is underscored by its sponsors. It was drafted and submitted by members of the Citizens Committee for Informed Consent, a splinter group of the anti-abortion Greater Akron Right to Life Society. Marvin Weinberger, the committee's chairman, boasted that eight of the most prominent constitutional lawyers in the country assisted in drafting the legislation.



Concerned Women's Clinic in Cleveland after February 18 arson attack. Several Ohio abortion clinics, including the Akron Women's Clinic, have been hit recently.

Akron abortion clinics have decided to challenge the constitutionality of the ordinance and will seek an injunction to prevent its enforcement while their suit is pending.

Weinberger, meanwhile, informed the city council that the national Right to Life organization would provide the city with legal and financial support to meet any court challenge.

So far, Akron Mayor John Ballard, who has said in the past that he believes abortion is a matter between a woman and her physician, is attempting to straddle the fence. There is speculation that

instead of vetoing the ordinance, he may allow it to become law without his signature so that responsibility for the ordinance will fall to the courts.

Akron women's organizations are organizing to defend local abortion clinics against further attacks and to prepare an active response to the right wing's challenge.

These efforts deserve the support of abortion rights forces around the country. An outpouring of protest against the anti-abortion law here is needed to block further attacks on women's rights nationwide.

New anti-abortion bill

By Shelley Kramer

On March 1 the House Education and Labor Committee amended a pregnancy disability bill to allow employers to deny women workers medical and sick-leave benefits for abortions.

The bill will soon go before Congress. The Senate has already passed a similar measure.

The legislation's original purpose was to reverse last year's Supreme Court ruling and include pregnancy and related conditions under the coverage provided by medical insurance and

disability benefit plans. Currently, almost all plans that include pregnancy-related expenses also cover abortion.

But anti-abortion politicians seized this opportunity to strike another blow against women. Their intentions are clear. Last year's Hyde amendment, which denies poor women medical funds for abortions, was only the first step in the government's drive to abolish abortion rights for all women.

500 defend right to choose in Maryland

By Debby Woodroffe

ANNAPOLIS, Md.—In a spirited show of strength supporting a woman's right to choose abortion, 500 Marylanders rallied here March 6 outside the state house.

The state legislature is considering two anti-abortion bills. One would eliminate public funding for abortion. The other would call for a convention to amend the U.S. Constitution to once again make all abortions illegal.

The protest was called by Marylanders for the Right to Choose, a broad coalition formed to defend Medicaid funding for abortion.

Demonstrators represented nearly all of the seventy-two organizations that make up the coalition. These groups include Planned Parenthood of Maryland, Baltimore Welfare Rights Organization, AFL-CIO (Baltimore

Metropolitan Council), Maryland Commission on Women, Baltimore Urban League, Catholics for a Free Choice, YWCA of the Greater Baltimore Area, National Organization for Women, and the Socialist Workers Party.

They traveled to Annapolis on seventeen buses chartered by the coalition. Three of the buses departed from housing projects in Baltimore's Black community. Another, organized by Baltimore Welfare Rights Organization, made several stops in the Black community surrounding the Johns Hopkins Hospital. WRO had arranged child care so that women could attend.

Feminists at Goucher College also had a bus, and students at a number of area high schools were prominent in the crowd.

As the demonstrators poured off the buses, they formed a mass picket line

that circled the capitol mall. "Right to choose," they chanted, and, "Not the church, not the state, women must control their fate."

Sixteen-year-old Gwendolyn Turner from the Edmondson Village housing project told the *Militant* that "it felt good to be out here shouting for something that's important to me."

Of the 6,000 Medicaid-financed abortions in Maryland in 1977, 40 percent of the women were under nineteen and 74 percent were Black.

In its coverage of the action, WBAL-TV noted that "there have been many anti-abortion protests this session, but this was the first full-scale proabortion demonstration."

Delegate Arthur Murphy, chairman of the Maryland Legislative Black Caucus, pointed out to the rally, "It simply is not fair to allow one portion

of society the right to choose because they can afford it but then deny that right to poor women." He urged demonstrators "to keep on coming back here with these signs."

State Sen. Rosalie Abrams drew prolonged cheers from the crowd when she said, "Continue to march. This is not a one-night issue. Our opposition has been working throughout the years. We're here tonight because there is a crisis. The rights we have can slip away so easily if we're not vigilant."

After the rally the demonstrators moved into the lobby of the state house. There they encountered a handful of anti-abortionists maintaining a vigil. Those few opponents were quickly swallowed up by the confident, jubilant crowd.

As one woman put it, "Tonight the majority had its say."

Protest apartheid in Nashville March 18!