

THE MILITANT

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

STOP U.S. AID TO ISRAELI TERROR

Carter welcomes Begin, butcher of Lebanon

—PAGE 5

Bloody toll of Zionist land-grab

1,200 murdered,
300,000 homeless



Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese Arabs have been driven from their homes by ruthless Israeli invaders. Page 6.

**'The coal
miners are
fighting for
all of us'**

• Speech by
Fred Halstead
—PAGE 16

• News coverage
—PAGES 8-11



CASTILLO

MARROQUIN

**Marroquin
confronts
head of
'la migra'**

—PAGE 7

Carter & arms race

On March 17 President Carter gave a major speech on foreign policy at Wake Forest University in North Carolina. It was a strident, saber-rattling attempt to justify Washington's latest escalations of the arms race.

Carter's speech bristled with cold-war demagoguery. He complained of "an ominous inclination on the part of the Soviet Union to use its military power to intervene in local conflicts. . . ."

Coming from the imperialist power that devastated Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos; that invaded Korea (1950), Lebanon (1958), and the Dominican Republic (1965); that used the CIA to overthrow governments from Iran to Chile; and that bankrolls and arms dictatorships in South Africa, Argentina, and dozens of other countries around the globe, such remarks are ghoulish doublespeak indeed.

During his 1976 election campaign, Carter sought to win votes from the millions of Americans who are appalled at the danger of nuclear holocaust and who oppose the mammoth squandering of U.S. resources on armaments. He pledged to cut military spending.

In office, Carter has raised war spending to the highest level in history—\$126 billion in fiscal 1979. Meanwhile he insists that there is "no money" to fulfill workers' demands for jobs, health care, education, and other social needs.

Yet in his North Carolina speech Carter dismissed as a "myth" the idea that "our defense budget is too burdensome and consumes an undue portion of our federal revenues."

The heart of Carter's speech was his claim that an "increase in Soviet military power" is requiring Washington to deploy such horrible new means of destruction as the Trident submarine, the cruise missile, the neutron bomb, and the M-X missile system.

The truth is that from the first use of atomic bombs—the incineration of more than 100,000 civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki—up to the present day, American imperialism has *always* held a commanding lead in nuclear weapons. The U.S. rulers have been the first to take each and every step on the road to Armageddon.

Washington exploded the first hydrogen bomb in 1952. Moscow followed in 1953.

Washington deployed the first intercontinental ballistic missiles in 1960. Moscow followed in 1964.

Washington began launching nuclear-missile-carrying submarines in 1960. Moscow followed in 1967.

Washington introduced multiple warheads (MIRVs) in 1970. Moscow followed in 1976.

It's the same script today. The American imperialists escalate, forcing the Soviet Union to respond in self-defense. Washington then justifies its escalation by pointing the finger at the Soviet response.

Even such a staunchly pro-imperialist voice as the *Christian Science Monitor* could not help noting the meaning of Carter's weapons program when it was unveiled last year. "The Carter administration gives every evidence of intending to go ahead into a whole new generation of weapons which the Soviets could not at present duplicate and might not be able to duplicate for a long time. . . ." the paper wrote. "The three new American weapons [neutron bomb, cruise missile, M-X] together would shift the strategic balance enormously to American advantage."

The facts give the lie to Carter's claim that he wants to "enhance peace" and "prevent nuclear war."

The only force on earth that can ensure peace and prevent war—by disarming Carter and the entire pack of atom-maniacs—is the American working class. And the only way the workers can do so is to take power away from the capitalist minority that rules today.

Farmers & miners

The delivery earlier this month of truckloads of food by striking Missouri farmers to striking miners in Central City, Kentucky, was an important display of solidarity with the United Mine Workers union.

The 150 farmers represented much more than themselves. They were acting on behalf of the whole American Agriculture Movement, which had organized farmers in twelve states to donate food.

They also represented a changing attitude on the part of working farmers. Under the impact of their own strike and the miners' battle against the coal operators, more and more working farmers have come to view the labor movement as an ally.

They see that they and the miners face common enemies. That the same capitalists who sweat profits from miners underground rob farmers of a living on the land.

Farmers also see that they and the miners are engaged in a common struggle, and that a victory for the miners would be a victory for them as well.

In response to the farmers' gesture of solidarity, nearly 10,000 miners turned out for a rally—both to accept the farmers' aid and to demonstrate support to the farmers' strike. The labor movement as a whole should respond in kind to this act of solidarity by working farmers.

Common action of this sort would lay the basis for an alliance between working farmers and trade unionists in the political arena, through an independent labor party that could organize all working people and their allies against the representatives of big business—the Democrats and Republicans.

N.Y. executions bill

By a ninety-four to fifty-one margin, the Democratic-controlled New York State Assembly ratified a death penalty law March 20. It had already been approved in the Republican-dominated Senate. Gov. Hugh Carey has pledged to veto the bill.

But the threat of the death penalty remains. Unlike New York, most states have already retooled their legalized murder machinery.

As of February 15, there were 443 people on death rows across the country. Of those whose race was known, more than half were Blacks or members of other minority groups. And all are poor.

Just a few weeks ago, an Alabama Black came within three days of being executed. He won a stay—this time. But the only way to ensure that no one is executed in this country is by winning the majority of the American people to our side. We must mobilize them to force the government to abolish *all* executions.

The arguments are simple, clear, compelling. The death penalty is barbaric. Innumerable studies have shown that executions don't deter crime. Capital punishment is not a tool of justice but of race and class oppression.

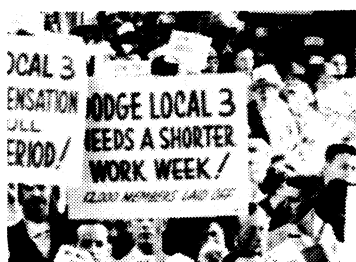
The task of death penalty foes is to take these facts to the American people.

Militant Highlights This Week

- 4 French election results
- 7 Marroquin case
- 10 Case for a labor party
- 11 Scotia: 2 years later
- 12 Attack on affirmative action
- 13 Women's rights emergency
- 14 Texas socialist campaign
- 20 Students protest apartheid
- 15 As I See It
- 26 In Review
- 27 Their Government
By Any Means Necessary
Women in Revolt
- 28 In Brief
What's Going On
- 29 The Great Society
Union Talk
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage
Letters
- 31 Learning About Socialism
If You Like This Paper . . .

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 21 Record of Mexican 'democracy'
- 22 Shift in Chinese politics
- 23 World News Notes



For a shorter workweek

Robin Mace, Detroit auto worker and socialist candidate, speaks out on fight for jobs. **Page 15.**

Panama Canal treaties

Senate vote bares U.S. imperialist aim. . . . Panamanian socialist debates Democrat, Reaganite. **Pages 4, 18.**



A 'thaw' in China?

Why is Peking regime junking Mao's policies? How long will the 'thaw' last? **Page 22.**



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Socialists set sales drive goals

By Nelson Blackstock

MARCH 22—We are currently in the first week of the national *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* sales campaign.

As you can see from the accompanying chart, Socialist Workers Party branches in cities have taken quotas for the drive.

Two cities have not yet adopted *Militant* quotas. And a number of additional cities will be taking *PM* goals.

We'll be reporting returns on this week's sales in the next *Militant*.

The focal point of the drive now is to get out the story of the miners' strike.

Reports coming into the *Militant* sales office indicate broad interest in the strike.

Last week Kansas City socialists sold thirty-eight papers in four separate sales at plant gates.

In a matter of minutes fifty-six copper miners in Miami, Arizona, bought the *Militant* last week. As they left the mine they saw a large banner proclaiming, "Read the Miners' Side of the Strike."

The copper miners, members of the

Steelworkers union, were clearly behind the coal miners. "We've got to support our brothers," is the way one put it.

The team of socialists from Phoenix, sixty miles to the west, had also brought the *Militant* to the mine the previous week, when they sold forty-five papers.

As we've been reporting, coal miners appreciate the support they get from the *Militant*.

"I read all the miners' stories," one coal miner who subscribes to the *Militant* told us last week. "It's the way I've been thinking all my life, and I'm glad to see it in a newspaper."

New York City socialists have been aiding the push to get the *Militant* into coal miners' hands.

Two weeks ago a team of four workers recently laid off from the Brooklyn Navy Yard spent three days in West Virginia. They sold 206 papers and forty-three subscriptions.

And last week a team of six from New York sold 120 papers, plus a few subscriptions, in one day. In one small mining town with only seventy houses, they say they sold thirty-five papers.

Weekly sales quotas

CITY	TOTAL	MILITANT	PM
Albany	60	60	
Albuquerque	125	115	10
Atlanta	300	300	
Baltimore	100	100	
Berkeley	*		
Boston	*		
Chicago	295	277	18
Cincinnati	75	75	
Cleveland	150	150	
Dallas	125	115	10
Denver	*		
Detroit	300	300	
Houston	300	270	30
Indianapolis	100	100	
Kansas City	100	100	
Los Angeles	500	400	100
Louisville	100	100	
Miami	100	90	10
Milwaukee	125	125	
Minneapolis	100	100	
Morgantown	100	100	
Newark	150	150	
New York	650	575	75
New Orleans	125	125	
Oakland	150	150	
Philadelphia	250	250	
Phoenix	85	75	10
Pittsburgh	125	125	
Raleigh, N.C.	75	75	
Salt Lake City	100	90	10
St. Louis	200	200	
St. Paul	40	40	
San Antonio	110	100	10
San Diego	125	100	25
San Francisco	235	220	15
San Jose	125	115	10
Seattle	150	150	
Tacoma	100	90	10
Toledo	75	75	
Washington, D.C.	250	250	
TOTALS:	6,175	5,832	343

*Cities that have not yet adopted a quota.



Militant/Nancy Cole

Striking miner uses 'Militant' as placard during picket of White House. Special sales teams have sold hundreds of subscriptions to miners.

Phila. sales: reaching workers on the street

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—"They're fighting for the same things we are," the young bus driver, a member of the Transit Workers union, said as he paid his fifty cents for the *Militant*.

A government worker in his thirties, a member of the American Federation of Government Employees, expressed his support for the miners' strike in the same way. "I hate my boss, even if it is the government. I'm a militant," he said.

"We are watching the miners' strike," a middle-aged member of the Boilermakers union said as he bought the *Militant*. "Our contract runs out soon, and what happens to them is going to happen to us."

"I hope the miners get twenty dollars an hour," a fortyish woman said,

waiting for change for a dollar from the *Militant* salesperson. "No one should have to go down into those mines."

"My father worked in the mines," a salt-and-pepper-haired man said. "They deserve everything they want."

What do these five people have in common? All of them are Black. All of them were attracted by the *Militant's* banner headline reading "Unite behind the miners." All of them bought the paper from socialist hawkers on a balmy Saturday in Philadelphia during the most successful sales day here in more than a year.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance fanned throughout the city and outlying areas on March 11, selling more than 220 copies of the *Militant*, their best weapon in explaining the truth about the mine workers' fight.

The sales effort included dispatching a team to Coatesville, a small city two hours away, whose main employer is a big steel plant. Sales to steelworkers and community residents at supermarkets and on street corners met with the same success as in Philadelphia.

The big majority of the fifty working people who bought the paper were Black. "We had political discussions with these people," team captain Hank Scheer said. "It turned out we didn't bring enough papers and simply ran out. People who bought the paper earlier in the day would come up to us

Readers respond generously to 'Militant' fund appeal

Militant readers have responded enthusiastically to our appeals for funds to get the *Militant* into the coalfields during the miners' strike.

So far, they have answered with contributions totaling \$790.

This includes one \$200 contribution from a reader in Long Beach, California, and \$175 from a Chicago reader. Many smaller donations have come in from all over the country. Two readers in Mansfield, Ohio, for example, sent in \$25.

The sentiment behind the donations was probably best expressed in a note sent by a reader in Montpelier, Vermont:

"Enclosed is a contribution to get the *Militant* to the coalfields. With the capitalists conducting a media blitz, my donation can only be too small. Workers need a good newspaper."

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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Sales to Arabs

BROOKLYN—Socialists here took last week's *Militant* to Brooklyn's Arab community, where the paper's Mideast coverage received a warm response.

"Defend the Palestinian People," said the large banner hanging over a literature table stationed on a street corner Saturday morning.

In all, forty-eight papers were bought.

Panamanian protests demand new plebiscite

Senate bolsters troop threat in canal pact

By José G. Pérez

On March 16 the U.S. Senate made totally clear that the purpose of the new Panama Canal pact is to continue American domination of Panama forever—if necessary through the use of U.S. military might.

By a better than three-to-one margin, the Senate adopted a rider to the "neutrality" treaty introduced by Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.). DeConcini explained that his motion gave the U.S. an open-ended "right" to send troops against "labor unrest or strikes, the actions of an unfriendly government, political riots or upheavals," or anything else the United States believes "interfered with" the canal.

'Canal treaties: the debate the Senate didn't have.' Panamanian revolutionary Miguel Antonio Bernal debates Democratic Sen. Alan Cranston and Reaganite Donald Dozer. See page 18.

The Senate ratified the so-called neutrality treaty later that day. This was the first half of the pact signed by President Carter and Panamanian dictator Gen. Omar Torrijos last September.

The recorded vote was sixty-eight to thirty-two, just one more than the two-thirds needed. The big-business-controlled media depicted the session as "high drama." But "charade" would have been a better term.

Despite repeated news reports that the final outcome was a toss-up, the final roll call was—with one exception—the same as the one taken on a test procedural motion weeks ago. And the Senate majority leader an-

nounced that "three or four" senators who voted "no" would have changed to "yes" if that had been necessary for ratification.

Obviously, protreaty senators who ended up voting "no" didn't want to unnecessarily antagonize their right-wing supporters. But they would have made the sacrifice if push came to shove, because they know that the powerful financial interests who rule this country want the treaties ratified.

The U.S. ruling class wants the new pact to disguise continuing imperialist domination of Panama, hoping thereby to defuse nationalist sentiment in that country.

But the provisions of both treaties are clearly pro-imperialist.

The treaty now coming up for Senate ratification says the United States keeps control over the canal and U.S. bases in the Canal Zone until the year 2000.

The treaty just ratified provides for the canal's "neutrality" after that date—by which it means privileged treatment for U.S. warships and guarantees of the U.S. government's "right" to send the marines if that's needed to enforce imperial prerogatives.

Given the need to defuse Panamanian anti-imperialist sentiment, Carter and Torrijos made the original text of the treaties purposely vague.

Torrijos then used his absolute control over his country's mass media to sell the treaties to the Panamanian people as a big step toward ending U.S. domination. Almost two years before, Torrijos had exiled many prominent opponents of U.S. domination.

Even with these precautions, opposition to the U.S.-imposed treaties was so widespread that Torrijos claimed only 66 percent approval in last October's referendum, rather than the 90 percent plus he had promised.

With Panama's plebiscite out of the way, many U.S. senators wanted to make even more explicit that the diplomatic language of the pact does not mean an end to U.S. domination.

That's what was behind the amendments concerning the U.S. "right" to "defend" the "neutrality" of the canal. This was finally said openly in the DeConcini reservation.

President Carter was reportedly upset with the embarrassingly frank language of DeConcini's motion. He sent Torrijos a note saying nothing "substantive" had changed.

"This was true enough in a practical sense," *Newsweek* commented, "since in an emergency the U.S. clearly means to keep the canal open by any means necessary, and leaders of both nations have understood this intention all along."

Nevertheless, Torrijos let it be known he was "furious" with the Senate for so brazenly spelling out what he had peddled under false pretenses to the Panamanian people. And he immediately moved to limit his political losses by tightening censorship.

The situation in Panama could become explosive as more and more people there realize that the Carter-Torrijos treaties are a swindle.

U.S. newspapers already report growing demands for a new referendum, as well as antitreaty student demonstrations, held despite the fact that schools are now on vacation.



Young Panamanians burn U.S.-imposed treaty outside American embassy.

How CP and SP lost in French election

By Steve Clark

The seeds of working-class disunity sown by the French Communist and Socialist parties during the recent election campaign bore bitter fruit in the second round of voting March 19.

As of this writing, a full breakdown of election results is not available. But the *New York Times* reported March 21 that the parties making up the capitalist government of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing won 291 seats in the National Assembly—well above the 246 needed for a majority.

Two hundred seats were won by what the *Times* called the leftist parties—the Socialist Party, Communist Party, and small capitalist Left Radical Party. These three parties had made up an electoral coalition called the Union of the Left, until the break-up of that coalition last fall.

Of these 200 seats, the Left Radicals appear to have won 10, with the remaining 190 divided between the SP and CP.

Because of gerrymandered districting, the popular vote was much more evenly split, with the government parties winning 50.71 percent of the tally, to 49.26 percent for the opposition parties. According to the *Times*, the popular vote for CP candidates was 4,744,868, with 7,212,916 for SP candidates.

"The victory of the Government forces . . . was taken almost unanimously as a simple and resounding rebuff to Communism and to the Socialist strategy of alliance with the Communists," said Flora Lewis, the senior European correspondent for the *Times*.

The truth, however, is just the opposite. It has been clear for several years that a majority of the French population want far-reaching social, political, and economic change. It was the factional infighting between the CP and

SP during the campaign that fostered confusion and disunity inside the French working class, sabotaging those aspirations.

Not until the very eve of the first round of voting March 12 did the CP make clear its intention to step down in the second round and support SP candidates where those candidates had come in ahead. This raised the specter of dividing the working-class vote in races against a single bourgeois candidate.

Although the SP said all along that it would withdraw in favor of CP front-runners, it also extended this policy to bourgeois Left Radical candidates. In fact, the SP withdrew some of its candidates in the first round to ensure the tiny Left Radical Party a respectable representation in the National Assembly. (This accounted for a large percentage of the Left Radicals' votes.)

The CP also withdrew from several first-round races in deference to capi-

talist candidates that it labeled "progressive."

This fits in with the class-collaborationist strategy of both the CP and SP. Neither party wanted a clear-cut victory in the election for the working-class parties alone. They feared that this would raise expectations among French workers that a CP-SP government would decisively reverse the austerity drive aimed at shoring up profits for French capitalism.

Under this belt-tightening drive, wages rose only 8.7 percent last year, while prices climbed 9.5 percent. And unemployment hit the highest levels in more than twenty years at the end of 1977.

Neither the CP nor the SP had any intention of seriously challenging the bosses' profit drive. That was clear both from their procapitalist programs and from their eagerness to cooperate with bourgeois politicians and

parties—even relatively insignificant ones.

Now that the CP-SP disunity has taken its toll in the second round of voting, the Left Radicals are repaying the SP's generosity by wooing a spot in Giscard's government.

According to Flora Lewis, Left Radical leader Robert Fabre hinted "that he would give favorable consideration to an invitation from President Giscard d'Estaing to transfer allegiance to the majority group."

Clearly the election results did not represent a repudiation of the idea of a government of the two largest working-class parties.

Instead, it was the unwillingness of these parties to unite French workers to fight for a CP-SP government—with no Left Radical or other capitalist ministers—that was responsible for squandering the commanding lead these two parties held months prior to the election.

First-round results of other parties

In the first round of voting, five groups identified as being to the left of the CP and SP got almost a million votes, or 3.34 percent.

The centrist Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist Party) got the largest vote in most cases.

Lutte Ouvrière (LO—Workers Struggle), a French Trotskyist group, ran 471 candidates and got an average vote of 1.7 percent.

The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party and French section of the Trotskyist Fourth International, participated in an electoral agreement with two other groups. In all, these three

groups put up 250 candidates. In general, the districts were divided up, and each group ran on its own program in those districts.

The March 14 issue of *Rouge*, the LCR daily paper, reported that the candidates of the three groups got an average of 0.9 percent of the vote in the districts where they ran.

In the same issue of *Rouge*, the LCR called on all revolutionists to join in a campaign to mobilize the support needed to assure an SP-CP victory in the second round. The LCR had raised the slogan of a CP-SP government as a central part of its campaign. One of the two groups cooperating with the LCR opposed

the call for a CP-SP government, however.

A third Trotskyist organization, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI—Internationalist Communist Organization), called for a vote for only the SP and CP candidates in both rounds.

Among other candidates running in the first round were the so-called ecology candidates, who got 2.14 percent of the total vote; a number of candidates appealing to minority nationalities inside the French state—particularly Brittany; a few candidates running on a single-issue abortion rights slate; and some candidates run by a homosexual rights organization. —S.C.

Carter greets butcher of Lebanon

By David Frankel

Hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees were fleeing Israeli bombs and high explosive shells in Lebanon.

The toll of Arab dead—90 percent of them civilians—was near the 1,200 mark, and showed no sign of stopping.

Israeli troops—acting in “self defense,” according to the Zionist regime—had occupied virtually all of Lebanon south of the Litani River.

Meanwhile, in Washington, D.C., President Carter rolled out the red carpet and ordered an honor guard for Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

By greeting Begin in Washington, Carter gave his official seal of approval to the butchery in Lebanon.

This has been purposely obscured by the capitalist media. Wide publicity has been given to frictions between the White House and the Israeli regime, while U.S. responsibility for the Mideast events has been glossed over, and even denied.

‘Balance of power’

In reality, it is Washington, and Washington alone, that enables the Zionist regime to carry out its murderous military adventures. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and the Zionists’ refusal to withdraw from other Arab territories, are based on Israel’s decisive military superiority over its Arab neighbors.

Maintaining this “balance of power,” as Washington euphemistically calls it, is at the center of U.S. policy in the Middle East. Thus, while Carter sheds crocodile tears over the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, he is sticking by plans to sell Begin another ninety of the Pentagon’s most advanced warplanes.

Carter clearly knew beforehand that Begin was planning military action against Lebanon. But he refused to speak out. After the invasion, the White House deliberately chose not to criticize it.

Instead, a White House statement echoed the Israeli justification, claiming that “the presence of Palestinian military units in southern Lebanon has posed a threat to Israel’s security.”

James Wieghart reported the attitude in Washington in the March 17 New York *Daily News*. “There is no anger here over the massive Israeli thrust into Lebanon,” Wieghart said. “. . . the Israeli retaliatory raid was anticipated and understood by President Carter and his advisers. . . .”

In fact, the slaughter “won secret admiration in some quarters” for its “magnitude and daring.”

Carter, of course, has reasons for publicly taking



an arm’s length from Begin’s savage attack. The slaughter of civilians in Lebanon has not gone over well with the American people. Carter doesn’t want to sully his image as a man of compassion and a supporter of human rights.

Carter shows compassion

Having provided Begin with the Phantom and F-15 jets used against the people of Lebanon, Carter felt a gesture to the victims was cheap enough. The administration announced March 20 that it would airlift tents and blankets to aid some of the 300,000 homeless refugees forced out of southern Lebanon.

Another consideration for Carter is Washington’s diplomatic stance toward the Arab regimes. The success of American imperialism in posing as a benevolent arbiter in the Mideast conflict—while

continuing to arm the Zionist military machine—has been a major gain for the U.S. ruling class. Washington has greatly increased its margin of maneuver and its influence in the Arab world, while isolating the Kremlin.

On one question, however, real differences between Washington and Tel Aviv did become public after the Israeli invasion. The issue was the proposal for a United Nations force in southern Lebanon. As usual, the differences were played up in the capitalist media. Headlines about friction with Begin are useful in nursing the illusion of U.S. impartiality.

UN resolution

A U.S.-drafted resolution calling for the replacement of Israeli forces in Lebanon by a UN force passed in the UN Security Council March 19.

Begin made no secret of his displeasure. He told reporters on leaving Israel March 19, “All Israelis have a great many doubts about the solution of deploying a UN force.”

The Carter administration replied that it had actually helped Israel diplomatically. According to *New York Times* reporter Bernard Gwertzman, “. . . Administration officials insisted that if they had delayed, radical Arabs would have pushed for a resolution condemning Israel and demanding its withdrawal without any linkage to a United Nations force, and it would have been hard for the United States to veto such a resolution.”

But the Israeli regime remains dissatisfied. Having grabbed another piece of Arab land, it doesn’t want to give it up to *anybody*—even to a force whose aim would be to keep the Palestinians out.

A dispatch in the March 20 *New York Post* reported that “Israeli officials explained privately that a UN force might not be zealous enough in patrolling against guerrilla movements and it

Continued on page 11

‘No U.S. aid to Israel!’

Although President Carter was willing to roll out the red carpet for Menachem Begin, not everybody in Washington, D.C., felt the same. A demonstration of 250 protesting the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and demanding an end to U.S. aid to Israel took place March 21.

The demonstrators marched from Dupont Circle to the Capitol building, where Begin was lunching with senators. One picket sign said, “Israel uses U.S. cluster bombs for mass murder in southern Lebanon.”

In Houston, 220 people picketed the Israeli consulate the same day. The demands of the pickets were “Israel out of Lebanon,” “No U.S. aid to Israel,” and “U.S. out of the Middle East.”

A picket line of 200 people was held outside of the Israeli consulate in New York March 17. The picket, an emergency response to the inva-

sion of Lebanon, also demanded Israeli withdrawal from that country and an end to U.S. aid to Israel.

Although protests against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon have not been massive, there are growing indications that support for the Zionist state in the United States is being eroded. A recent Gallup poll found that the percentage of Americans who said their sympathies were “basically with Israel” had fallen from 48 to 33 percent.

An opinion poll conducted by the *Daily News* March 6-8 found that 52 percent of the people in the New York area were opposed to U.S. arms sales to any country in the Middle East. When asked about plans to sell more U.S. planes to Israel, 44 percent were opposed and 42 percent approved.

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1,200 Arabs dead, 300,000 homeless

The bloody toll of Zionism's land-grab in

By David Frankel

Advancing behind a screen of high explosives and lies, Israeli troops had seized almost all of Lebanon south of the Litani River by March 20. Lebanese authorities estimated the death toll at 1,168—and it was rising rapidly.

As Israeli forces moved closer to the 30,000 Syrian troops stationed in Lebanon—and closer toward a general Mideast War—they ruthlessly drove out the civilian population of the conquered region.

By the third day of the invasion, which began March 14, *Time* magazine correspondent Dean Brelis reported: "the exodus of Lebanese from the area was both enormous and pitiful. As many as 200,000 people fled their homes, clogging the roads heading north toward Beirut."

The refugees had good reason to flee. Israeli forces were systematically blasting them out of their homes. In the case of Tyre, the largest city south of the Litani River, the Israelis shelled and bombed the city and the surrounding refugee camps until one witness called them "an inferno."

According to Brelis, "The bombardment seemed to have been indiscriminate, both from the air and from ships offshore. Except for one Palestinian antiaircraft gun on the outskirts of town, no military targets had been hit. The port remained undamaged. What had been hit, and hard, was the civilian dwellings. Was this deliberate counterterror on the part of the Israelis? It certainly looked that way."

Zionist forces purposely left the main road going north from Tyre open. The message to the 80,000 people living in and around the city was clear: *get out or die*.

Israeli 'precautions'

Nor was Tyre an exception. Describing television coverage of the invasion shown inside Israel March 19, *New York Times* correspondent Moshe Brilliant said the news programs "showed the [Israeli] armored forces shooting their way through villages. A correspondent with the northernmost column said villages were softened by artillery as a precaution before the column entered."

"Every suspicious-looking building was blasted by cannon and raked by machine-gun fire, he said."

It will probably never be known how many innocent families perished while their villages were being "softened," nor how many were blown to pieces along with their "suspicious looking" homes.

Meanwhile, in a statement issued March 20, the Israeli cabinet had the gall to claim that its invasion of Lebanon was intended to "insure the well-being and normal way of life of the citizens of Israel and the residents of southern Lebanon."

Equally cynical are the Israeli statements denying any intention of keeping Lebanese territory. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, for example, insisted March 15 that "the army of Israel was not sent to southern Lebanon to stay there."

Begin described the invasion of Lebanon as "an act of legitimate self-defense." He added: "I want to stress we want peace more than any nation on earth."

While Begin talked peace, his army continued to make war. As Israeli forces consolidated their first gains, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman echoed his boss, saying his troops did not aim to "hold on to or remain in southern Lebanon." Weizman said that



Israeli armor moving into Lebanon. Zionist leaders have made it clear they intend to stay.

"nobody sees south Lebanon as part of Israel—never did and never will."

Such assurances would carry more weight if it weren't for the Israeli record in similar instances. Thus, after the 1967 Middle East war, the Zionist regime declared its readiness to withdraw from the conquered West Bank of the Jordan River in return for recognition by the Arab regimes and a treaty with them. Today, however, Begin insists that the West Bank is "liberated" rather than occupied, and must remain under Israeli rule.

In the case of the Sinai, the Begin regime acknowledges that the area is part of Egypt. But Begin demands the right to maintain permanent Israeli settlements and military bases on this Egyptian territory.

Begin is willing to give similar lip-service to Lebanese sovereignty over the area south of the Litani River. At the same time, however, he insists on effective Israeli control.

This includes the demand that "terrorists" be barred from returning to the area. In practice, the Israeli regime defines the entire Palestinian population as "terrorists." It will demand that the mass of refugees be barred from returning to their homes.

Eliahu Ben-Elissar, one of Begin's foreign policy advisers stated the real Israeli attitude when he said that worldwide disapproval would not force an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. He asked, "Is public opinion going to give us our security guarantees?"

What is happening today in southern Lebanon is nothing new. The Zionist state was established in 1948 by precisely these methods of military con-

quest and expulsion of the Arab population.

In 1948 about 750,000 Palestinian refugees were expelled from their homes and their native land. They were never allowed to return.

The expulsion of the Arab population was implicit from the beginning in Zionism. How else could a Jewish state be established in a country where the majority of the population was Arab?

But having established a colonial-settler state at the expense of the Arab masses, the Zionists had to continue ever further on the same road. Homeless and destitute Palestinian refugees, robbed of their land and their possessions, resorted to desperate acts of terrorism. Israeli reprisal raids would create new refugees, until finally the Zionist regime found another pretext to expand and establish more "secure" borders.

During and after the June 1967 war, Zionist expansion created another 500,000 Palestinian refugees. Anyone driving past the West Bank town of Jericho, for example, can still see mile after mile of empty huts that housed tens of thousands of Palestinian refugees until the 1967 war. These refugee camps were attacked by Israeli planes on the second day of that war. The sole purpose was to drive out the Palestinians.

It is estimated that as many as 300,000 new refugees—10 percent of the population of Lebanon—have been created by the latest Zionist aggression. But from the point of view of the Israeli regime, the important thing is that it *has taken a giant step toward establishing the Litani River as its de facto northern border*.

Threat of wider war

Annexation of southern Lebanon has been a long-standing ambition of the Zionist regime. In an article in the February 16, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, this writer noted: "Intervention in Lebanon holds out the multiple lure for Israel of a chance to grab more Arab territory, a chance to attack the Palestinian organizations in the one country where they have freedom of action, and a chance to attack Syria and by defeating it relieve the pressure for territorial concessions."

The Zionists have grabbed more Arab territory, and they have attacked the Palestinians. And they may yet find a pretext for extending their war in Lebanon into Syria, despite the ceasefire declared to coincide with Begin's visit to Washington.

But how long can the Israeli state go on posing as a beleaguered little democracy, surrounded by aggressive enemies? Even supporters of the Zionist state are beginning to question this image, as they watch Israeli warplanes pounding defenseless civilians, and as hundreds of thousands of new Arab refugees flee before yet another Israeli invasion.

Columnist Jimmy Breslin wrote in the March 19 *New York Daily News*: "It is chilling to be in New York and see people automatically arise and laud the Israelis for their counterattack. No mention was made that the counterattack included the bombing of women and children."

"Apparently, a dead woman in Lebanon is not worth as much as a dead woman in Israel."

Zionist racism

New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis took up the same theme, just before the Israelis began pushing further into Lebanon. Lewis said:

"At least 700 people were killed by the Israeli military operations, according to United Nations officials, and 160,000 made homeless. Is that a 'justified' reprisal for 35 deaths? It can be only if Arabs are less human than the rest of us. The callous acceptance of such disproportion is reminiscent of Gen. William Westmoreland's argument that life is cheap in Asia."

Of course, that is precisely the point. As far as the Israeli regime is concerned, Arabs are less than human. Without such a racist ideology, the Zionists would have found it impossible to justify their treatment of the Palestinian people.

And the longer the Israeli colonial-settler state exists, the greater the atrocities it will have to commit to maintain itself.

The Zionist program of a separate Jewish state on the land of another people is a trap for the Jewish masses, as well as a nightmare for the Palestinians. It can only lead to endless bloodshed.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has proved that once again.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon provoked a wave of protests in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In

Books on the Mideast conflict

Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?, by Maxime Rodinson; 128 pp., \$1.75.

Israel and the Arab Revolution: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism, by Gus Horowitz; 64 pp., \$1.00.

Self-Determination in the Mideast: A Debate From the Pages of the 'Militant' and 'Daily World', by David Frankel and Tom Foley; 30 pp., \$.60.

Roots of the Mideast War: Selections from the 'International Socialist Review'; 46 pp., \$.75.

War in the Middle East: The Socialist View, by David Frankel, Dick Roberts, and Tony Thomas; 31 pp., \$.60.

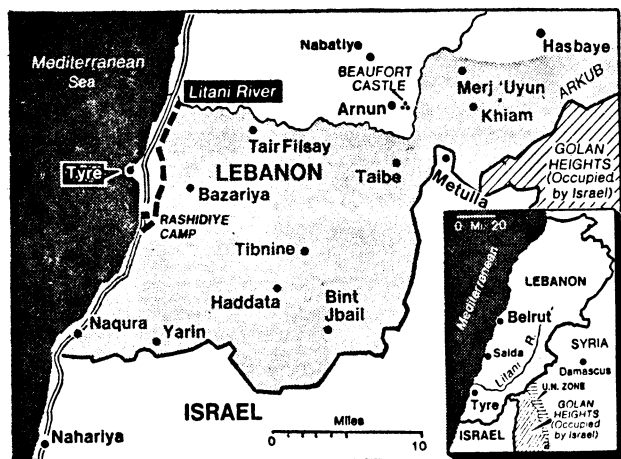
The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation, by Abram Leon; 170 pp., \$2.95.

How Can the Jews Survive? A Socialist Answer to Zionism, by George Novack; 22 pp., \$.25.

Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism: An Answer to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, by Peter Seidman; 31 pp., \$.60.

Order from PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 WEST STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014.

Lebanon



Shaded area was seized by Zionist forces

the Gaza Strip town of Khan Yunis, three Palestinian students were injured when Israeli troops opened fire on a protest March 19.

Dozens of youths were arrested in demonstrations in the West Bank towns of Nablus, Hebron, Kalkilya, Ramallah, Tulkarm, and East Jerusalem.

'The sight was ghastly'

Israeli troops have "strict, almost holy orders, not to shoot at civilians, children and women."—Israeli consul-general Uri Ben Ari.

"The jets did their job perfectly, leveling restaurants, bakeries, service stations and houses for five hundred yards. The cement-block walls crumbled, and families eating lunch were buried in the ruins. As Red Cross workers scrambled through the rubble, a girl rounded the corner. Suddenly, she screamed so loudly that she lost her breath and collapsed. She had come to check her own house—and found herself looking into a 10-foot deep crater, filling slowly with water from a broken pipe. . . .

"Later in the week, the Israelis claimed that the PLO had its radio station in Uzai, as well as a base where they trained the guerrillas who took part in the bus attack outside Tel Aviv. We were in Uzai half an hour after the raid and went through every building that still stood. We found nothing that looked like a radio station, or the remains of one. And it would be an unlikely place for a training base. Uzai was a squalid line of little houses, shops, and the fish restaurants that were its main attraction—a very public place. The only difference now is that half of it isn't there any more."

William E. Schmidt and Tony Clifton in the March 27 issue of Newsweek.

"From the road, it was obvious that any pilot that bombed that neighborhood had to know that some innocent people would die."

Pete Hamill in the March 17 New York Daily News.

"At Aadloun, a town well north of the Litani River, two Mercedes taxis packed with families fleeing the fighting were ambushed by an Israeli reconnaissance party; men, women and children—14 in all—were slaughtered by machine guns and rockets. . . . The sight was ghastly: flesh hanging out of windows, bullet holes gouged in the doors, a child's charred arm on the road."

Dean Brelis in the March 27 issue of Time magazine.

"Palestinian officials said the killing occurred at Aadloun, 12 miles north of Tyre. First a Mercedes taxi packed with sixteen men, women and children was stopped by a group of soldiers in uniform. Suddenly, one of the soldiers fired a rocket-propelled grenade into the car, and the others opened fire with their automatic rifles, killing thirteen of the occupants. Then another taxi drove up. 'We stopped, too, and the men started firing at us,' Fatima Dakrub said later from her hospital bed in Sidon. 'There were seven in our car and two of us lived. They just kept on firing and firing.'"

Newsweek magazine, March 27, 1978.

Marroquin, supporters confront INS chief Castillo

By Arnold Weissberg

WASHINGTON—In a face-to-face meeting March 21 with Mexican political refugee Héctor Marroquin and a broad delegation of people supporting his request for political asylum, Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Leonel Castillo refused to admit there was any possibility that Marroquin might be persecuted for his socialist views if he were deported and forced to return to Mexico.

Accompanying Marroquin to the meeting were representatives of Rep. Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.) and Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.); Frank Shaffer-Corona, a member of the D.C. School Board; Frank

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra is on tour for the Marroquin Defense Committee. Initial stops on her tour are New York City, March 27-29; Philadelphia, March 30; and Phoenix/Tucson, April 1-6.

Viggiano, president of the National Student Association; and Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, head of the Mexican Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled. Several members of the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, including Margaret Winter, Marroquin's attorney, also attended.

Castillo, who was accompanied by INS General Counsel David Crosland, told the delegation he would not use his influence to give Marroquin asylum.

Marroquin explained to Castillo that the Mexican government was after him because he had been a student activist at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey. A member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, Marroquin was active in a Teamster organizing drive in Houston after coming to this country.

"I am seeking political asylum in the United States because I fear that if I am deported back to Mexico I will be jailed, tortured, kidnapped, or murdered. The Mexican government has accused me of conspiracy and terrorism.

"I am totally innocent of all these charges. I, like thousands of others in my country, was active in fighting for democratic rights and student-faculty control of the Mexican universities. I do not believe, and have never believed in individual terrorism, and I am strongly opposed to it," Marroquin said.

Evidence of repression in Mexico was provided by Ibarra de Piedra, who described how workers, students, and peasants are regularly kidnapped and tortured by the Mexican police. Her own son was arrested and tortured in April 1975 and hasn't been heard from since. Jesús Piedra Ibarra and Marroquin were both accused of murdering a university librarian in January 1974.

Defense committee coordinator Roger Rudenstein explained how Marroquin had been tried and convicted in hysterical articles in Mexican press.

Castillo answered that he didn't believe everything he read in the papers anyway. While admitting that Mexico is "not as open as the United States," he said he would not characterize it as "repressive." The commissioner asked Marroquin if he had been tried on the charges against him. When Marroquin explained that he had fled Mexico because he knew he would be tortured or murdered, Castillo asked him skeptically if he thought the entire Mexican judicial system was repressive.

Shaffer-Corona replied that Castillo could believe Marroquin would be persecuted without necessarily believing that the entire Mexican judicial system was repressive.

Castillo, however, didn't see it that way. "I lived in Monterrey," he said, "and I have different perceptions" of the Mexican government.

Castillo counseled allowing the "system to take its course."

"I think it will be resolved properly," he said.

Several members of the delegation pointed to the U.S. government's double standard for asylum. Rudenstein noted that the U.S. attorney general had often used his legal discretion to allow anti-Castro Cubans and South Vietnamese entry into the country. Bob Brauer, speaking for Dellums, expressed the same concern.

Castillo could only repeat his confidence in the fairness of the INS and the courts. "I guess I have more faith in the judicial system than some other people," he said.

"While Castillo refused to admit that Marroquin's life is in danger," Rudenstein told the *Militant* after the delegation left Castillo, "just the fact that he met with us shows the impact of public opinion on the INS. We're not going to let them bury this case.

"This shows that the winning of endorsements and petitioning for Marroquin, which defense supporters are doing, has paid off. It will yield even greater results if we keep it up and increase it," Rudenstein said.



At D.C. news conference (from left): Eldridge Spearman, representing Rep. Walter Fauntroy; Rosario Ibarra de Piedra; Roger Rudenstein; Héctor Marroquin; Margaret Winter.

WASHINGTON—At a March 21 news conference here called by the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, defense coordinator Roger Rudenstein read a message from Rep. Ron Dellums declaring: "I am pleased to join the effort to provide justice for Héctor Marroquin. Héctor is clearly a political refugee. . . . I call upon the Immigration and Naturalization Service to promptly grant Héctor Marroquin political asylum."

The featured speaker at the press conference was Rosario Ibarra de Piedra.

Ibarra de Piedra spoke movingly of the plight of the 367 Mexican mothers, fathers, and wives whose loved ones have been kidnapped by the Mexican government and have disappeared. "I am one of 300 Mexican mothers crying," she said, "asking the Mexican government for their sons or daughters."

Ibarra de Piedra said she was appealing to the American people for support, because the Mexican government is very sensitive to U.S. public opinion.

Also speaking at the press conference were Héctor Marroquin; his attorney, Margaret Winter; Frank Shaffer-Corona; and Eldridge Spearman, representing Rep. Walter Fauntroy.

Shaffer-Corona hit the "contradiction in U.S. policy that kept Marroquin out but let in former South Vietnamese government officials involved in killing."

Marroquin's is "the clearest imaginable case for political asylum," Winter said. "We can prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that Marroquin is innocent of the Mexican government's charges."

—A.W.

Strike shows working-class power

Miners discuss third contract proposal

By Nancy Cole

MARCH 22—Coal miners are voting on the third proposed contract March 24, the 110th day of their nationwide strike.

Whether the final tally is thumbs down or ratification, the ranks of the United Mine Workers can take credit for blocking the union-busting plans of the coal bosses.

And with them, the employers of other industries, the government, and the courts—all those enemies of labor who thought the miners union would be the first domino in a victorious antilabor drive—have suffered a setback.

This coal strike has already provided the most dramatic example in thirty years of the power of the industrial working class in this country.

Even federal Judge Aubrey Robinson, Jr.—who heeded Carter's request for a temporary back-to-work order March 9—was forced to admit that Taft-Hartley doesn't mine coal.

On March 17, Robinson refused to extend the order, whining that the miners are "not paying attention to what I do anyhow."

The 160,000 striking UMWA miners had openly defied the judge's order and kept the nation's union mines closed.

Robinson scheduled another court hearing for March 28 so that if the contract is rejected, Carter can have another go at arguing for a full eighty-day Taft-Hartley injunction.

Carter and the judge are clearly hoping that will not be necessary. But as the *Militant* goes to press, reports from the coalfields show that response to the contract ranges from unenthusiastic acceptance to loud opposition.

"If you read the contract, you'll see you lost a lot of things," a miner told a rally of nearly 400 strikers in Fairmont, West Virginia, two days before the vote.

"And anybody who votes yes is not doing so because they like it or because



Only mine foreman made rounds as miners defied Taft-Hartley back-to-work order

they think it's good. It's because they were starved into it."

The proposed agreement falls far short of the miners' demands for full restoration of health care, equalized pensions, and the right to strike to enforce safety and other job rights.

But the contract as it stands now is also a considerable step back from what the coal operators had in mind when they provoked this strike to tame the "unruly" UMWA.

Back in October when negotiations began for the three-year agreement, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association refused even to discuss the miners' demands. Instead it presented a list of industry proposals, amounting to a sweeping attack on miners' rights and previous contract gains.

The coal industry wanted an explicit no-strike guarantee, backed up with

financial penalties and the right to fire or suspend strikers.

The coal bosses wanted an end to the elected safety committees' authority to close dangerous mines and an end to helpers—miners who assist operators of the mining machines.

The coal operators wanted seven-day workweeks, disciplinary programs to curb absenteeism, and a combination of personal days with vacations.

Miners have forced the industry to back down on every single one of the above demands.

But there is widespread opposition to the contract because it takes away what miners know is their right: free health care. Under the proposed agreement, working miners would have to pay up to \$200 a year for doctors' care and medicine. That's down from the top of \$700, including hospitalization

costs, under the proposal rejected by miners in February.

"Full health care is a must," Maidsville, West Virginia, miner Terry Wyer told *Militant* correspondent Tom O'Hara. "It must be the same [as it was in past contracts] before I'll vote for it."

That sentiment was expressed in meetings across the coalfields as UMWA locals discussed the contract. In several places, miners burned copies of the contract.

The contract's failure to equalize pensions is another major bone of contention. And many miners strongly object to the addition in this proposal of incentive plans subject to approval by each local.

"There's going to be some people killed. The men will be pushed," West Virginia striker Don Jones told the *Militant*.

In western Pennsylvania, Fred Uzelac said, "It's a little better than the last one, and I think it's going to be close. There's not near as much hollering about it as the last one. If we send it back, what will we get? Is it worth two or three more weeks out just to come back with the same stuff?"

In Harlan County, Kentucky, however, local president Mickey Messer argued that "if we accept this we're selling our union down the river."

Whichever view prevails, the miners have set an inspiring example for all working people.

Kentucky striker Arthur Smith spent some of his time during the past three months writing and recording a tune called "Trouble in Coal Country." It's a popular song with coal miners, and it's easy to see why. It begins:

"There's trouble in coal country, boys; hard times are on the way. They're going to do their best to break the UMWA. It's time to stand united, for divided we're going to fall, but if we stick together now, we'll overcome it all."

W. Va. strikers: 'Union is stronger now'

By Bob Schwarz

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Reactions among miners here are mixed as they prepare to vote on the third contract offer from the companies.

Miners criticize the proposal because it eliminates previously free health cards, preserves unequal pensions, and does not guarantee the right to strike. But even some miners who are dissatisfied are prepared to vote for the contract.

Everyone is predicting a close vote.

Paul Runyan, a miner for twenty-nine years, was recently disabled. "I'm against it a whole lot," he told the *Militant*, but he may vote for it. His main opposition is to the lower pension for miners who retired before 1976. Those retiring later get nearly twice as much.

But Runyan is not sure a longer strike will really benefit pensioners, who have not received anything at all since February. He said he'll wait until Friday, the day of the voting, to make up his mind.

Gene Taylor from Winifrede, West Virginia, a miner since 1945, doesn't think this contract will be ratified. He too is concerned about the pensioners. "They should get the same as the rest of us. They made the union what we've got today."

He also doesn't like the abolition of the health cards that used to guarantee miners and their families free medical



Strikers carefully studied contract offer

care. He feels that approval of this contract would be "going backwards."

Health benefits are also the main issue for Woodrow Lowe, a Cannelton miner. "I don't know what I'm going to do if we don't get the [health] card back," he said. Lowe has not been to a hospital, seen a doctor, or been able to get medicine for his hypertension since the strike began December 6. He can't afford it.

Some miners fear that a longer strike

with a lack of national leadership may lead to company-by-company settlements.

Hobart Day, head of a mine committee in Local 5922 at Omar, was quoted in Charleston's *Daily Mail* as saying, "People need to stop and think. This could be the fall of the union if we don't go back to work. If we go to individual negotiations, it could be the end of the UMWA."

Whatever their opinions on the present offer, every miner the *Militant* talked with agreed on the importance of the right to strike and picket. All are pleased that penalties for wildcat strikes had been removed from this offer.

Jerry Walker, a student in mine engineering, who worked in the mines a year, thinks that penalties for striking would be "taking away the first freedom—the right to choose whether to cross a picket line."

Another miner said, "You don't have the right to strike, you don't have a union."

But Paul Runyan warned that this question is not settled. Citing a court ruling that an arbitration procedure in a contract is an "implied" no-strike clause, he said, "The companies are going to use that arbitration board against us."

Whatever the outcome of the vote it is clear that most miners are carefully

studying the contract proposal and weighing its effect on themselves and their union. And they seem much less concerned than "labor experts" in the media with charges about "hotheads" and "anarchy" in their union.

One veteran of forty-three years in the mines denied that there is anything wrong with young militants in the union. "I believe the union is stronger now than ten years ago," he said. "All we need is leadership."

Lessons from history

Books by Farrell Dobbs, Teamster leader during historic 1934 Minneapolis strikes:

Teamster Rebellion, 192 pages, paper \$3.95
Teamster Power, 255 pages, paper \$4.45
Teamster Politics, 256 pages, paper \$4.45
Teamster Bureaucracy, 304 pages, \$4.45

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

'Coal miners have a dream too'

Detroit

By Tom Smith

DETROIT—"A few years ago Martin Luther King said that he had a dream, a dream that Black people would climb the mountain to freedom. I want to say today that coal miners have a dream too. The coal operators better get off that mountain, because we're coming up."

Jim White's words brought the crowd of 250 people to their feet for a standing ovation.

They were attending a rally to support the coal miners, held at Wayne State University on March 18. It was called by the Detroit Union Committee to Support the Miners, with the backing of the Michigan AFL-CIO and a wide range of local labor leaders and organizations.

The rally capped a two-day tour of

Detroit by eight miners from West Virginia and Ohio. Their trip received prominent coverage in the local news media. The Detroit City Council presented the miners with a resolution of support.

Jim White and Bill Bryant are both mine safety committee members. At a news conference before the rally, they said they had come to thank the working people of Detroit for their support during the strike.

"The current strike is nothing but a battle in a whole war," White said. "If they could have broken us, they would have broken other unions."

Richard Webster, recording secretary of United Auto Workers Local 51, told the news conference: "Auto workers feel that the fight being waged by the mine workers is part of our own struggle, because we have had strikes and the government has intervened on the side of management."

"The miners have set the stage for everyone around the country," Webster said, "that you don't have to accept conditions you don't want. You can stand up and be counted and vote it down."

Chicago

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—Leaders of the steel and auto unions in the Chicago area blasted Carter's strikebreaking against the coal miners March 15 as they sent off a caravan carrying \$35,000 worth of food to miners in southern Illinois.

United Auto Workers Region 4 initiated the caravan, which also drew support from the Steelworkers, Clothing and Textile Workers, Meat Cutters, Teachers, and Government Employees unions.

"If the president or whoever thinks they can starve out miners and beat this strike, they are badly mistaken," said Bob Jonston, UAW regional director, at an impromptu rally to launch the caravan.

Jonston said he was "worried" that the auto companies in 1979 bargaining would seek medical benefit cutbacks like those the coal operators have demanded from the United Mine Workers.

Jonston said there is "no way" the UAW will accept such rollbacks of benefits. He pledged continued support to the miners if they reject the contract.

Earlier in the day, Steelworkers District 31 Director Jim Balanoff told a news conference that "the lines have been sharply drawn. If the steel and oil corporations—those that make up the who's who of the BCOA [Bituminous Coal Operators Association]—can roll back the hard-won rights of a great industrial union like the UMWA today, the rights of steelworkers are surely in peril tomorrow."

On March 16 Steelworkers Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, voted to donate \$5,000 to the miners, matching the sums already contributed by half a dozen other steel locals in the area.

He added, "Our problem is not only with the government and big industry but also with our leaders, who are far removed from what the rank and file are thinking."

"The previous contracts have been rejected for just one reason," Corcoran said, "the rank and file is sticking together and holding tight."

The next night at the Militant Forum Mark Williams, a member of UMWA Local 1993 at the Renton mine, predicted that miners would vote down the new contract. "We're not going to put out one dime for health care," he said, referring to the contract's imposition of fees for previously free medical services.

Williams said miners would hold firm under government pressure, either Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction or government seizure of the mines.

Williams spoke on a panel of unionists that also included Pat McMahon, who was representing Steelworkers Local 7097 President Chuck Leonard.

Mark Zola, secretary of the Sub-District 4 Council of Steelworkers, spoke for the Socialist Workers Party. He said the strike had shown that the government is made up of "representatives of the employers, whose goal is to ram through a procompany contract."

"Working people must rely on our own power, our unions, and build our own political party—an independent labor party," Zola said.

He voiced support for the idea raised by miners here that the coal bosses should open their books to public scrutiny. But Carter has no such intention if he seizes the mines, Zola warned.

"Only mass action of working people can force open the books," he said, "or win nationalization of the mines under workers control."

Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE—More than 300 unionists and other supporters of the striking coal miners gathered here March 19 for a rally and fund-raising benefit sponsored by the Milwaukee Coalition to Support the Miners.

The rally was hosted by District Council 48 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Four striking miners and two leaders of the Brookside UMWA Women's Club came from Harlan County, Kentucky, to address the rally.

"We've been out for over 100 days," said Carl Noe, a member of UMWA Local 1974, "and we're willing to stay out another 300 days if necessary to win the contract that we want and need."

"Brookside miners voted down the last two contract proposals," Noe said. "We'll vote this one down too."

Calif. unions back miners



From left: Matt Miller, UMWA; Fred Decker, UMWA; William Robertson, Los Angeles AFL-CIO.

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor is organizing a mine workers support rally for March 30.

The rally will be held at the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Hall at 2316 West Seventh Street.

Speakers will include William Robertson, executive secretary of the county labor body, Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers, and Fred Decker of the United Mine Workers.

Full support to the embattled miners was announced by Robertson at a March 15 news conference. Participating with him were Matt Miller and Fred Decker, UMWA representatives who came here to help organize moral and financial support for the strikers.

"The mine workers are a proud people, and they wouldn't personally come and ask for help," Miller told the news conference. "But the situation has become grave, so grave that we're here asking for that support."

He noted that in addition to the 160,000 miners who have been without pay since the strike began, there are 81,000 pensioners who haven't received a check since January 1 and 41,000 widows who have also been cut off.

Fred Decker assailed Carter's use of Taft-Hartley. "I've heard and read all the talk about human rights all over the world," he said. "But where are the human rights here? Where does the federal government get the right to punish millions to satisfy a few fat cats?"

UMWA representatives have also been touring the Bay Area and Seattle, where they have spoken to meetings of unionists, women, and students; held news conferences with local labor leaders; and helped organize fundraising.

Planning meetings of the Miners' Strike Labor-Community Support Coalition in San Francisco have been attracting more than 200 unionists. The coalition has called and April 1 benefit for the miners at ILWU Local 10 hall.

Pittsburgh

By Kipp Dawson

PITTSBURGH—Striking coal miners took their cause to recent meetings at the University of Pittsburgh and the Militant Forum here.

Joe Corcoran of UMWA Local 2399 is head of the mine committee at the Vesta 4 mine. He told fifty supporters at the campus meeting March 15, "The best help you can give us is to get the press to report the real reason miners are upset . . . the medical problems and the closing of our clinics."

W. Va. workers: 'We've got to stick together'

By Miguel Pendás

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—There is widespread support among working people in this area for striking coal miners. One reason is that so many people have friends and relatives in the mines. They know from first-hand accounts about the hardships miners face.

Greg Barnett is a young worker at the Beaumont Glass Works in Morgantown. "They shouldn't go back 'til they get what they want," he told the *Militant*. "If they're forced to go back under Taft-Hartley the mine operators won't negotiate."

Barnett's father and four uncles are coal miners. They have had to struggle to get benefits due to them for black lung. "You practically have to be dead from it to collect," he observed.

Lonnie Squires, another glass worker, was not so enthusiastic about the strike. He felt that "one organization shouldn't have the power to shut down the whole country."

However, Squires was also somewhat sympathetic to the plight of the miners. "The companies have

been screwing coal miners for the last twenty years," he said.

Like other workers in the glass works, Skip Albertazzie and Bill Lipscomb have had their hours cut 30 percent because of energy cutbacks blamed on the miners. This did not seem to diminish their support for the strike.

"The miners risk their lives," said Albertazzie. "They ought to get what they want." Lipscomb added, "If we use less electricity, the companies will jack up prices anyway."

Workers at a large Westinghouse plant in Fairmont, organized by the

International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), voiced similar opinions.

One woman who remembers participating in a strike at the plant for several months in 1955 said, "They'd be crazy to go back now without getting what they want. They've lost too much already."

Judy Garlitz, a relief operator, said, "If they break the miners union, they'll break ours too and all unions. We've got to stick together." Her father is a disabled miner who had his pension cut and her husband is a striker.

By Frank Lovell

The coal strike was exactly three months old to the day when Carter announced he would seek an injunction under the Taft-Hartley law to force the miners back to work.

He said, "My responsibility is to protect the health and safety of the American public. . . . As president, I call on the mine workers, the coal operators, and all Americans to join in a common effort under the law to protect our country, to preserve the health and safety of our people, and to resolve fairly the differences which have already caused so much suffering and division in our land."

These seem to be noble sentiments. But they are contradicted by the actions of the Carter administration during the entire course of the strike. And this raises some basic political questions. Does Carter "protect" the American public as he claims or is he the representative of the employers?

And what about Congress? Not a single member of the House or the Senate, in either the Democratic or Republican party, has said or done anything to help the miners.

How did these people get elected to their high-paying jobs, all claiming—like Carter—to represent the American public? Most are Democrats. Some are Republicans. They disagree about how they should "protect all the people," but there is solid agreement among them that profits are sacred and strikes disruptive.

Represent majority?

The present elected officials—Carter and all members of Congress—claim they were elected by a majority of voters. None were. But even if this were true, how can the government represent "all the people" when the workers, who are the vast majority, have no one in government?

Why are there no coal miners, auto workers, truck drivers, machinists, or others from the union movement in public office to stand up for the needs and interests of the working class?

The Republican and Democratic parties choose lawyers, insurance agents, business executives, and bankers to run for public office. How can workers get in government?

Should the union movement organize a labor party that will put working men and women in office who will administer the government for the majority of people?

These questions are prompted by the way the power of the government is being used against the miners. A closer look at how this is done will show how it can be checked now and prevented in the future.

The mine strike began last December 6, when the Bituminous Coal Operators Association refused to negotiate a new contract with the United Mine Workers of America.

The operators demanded that union officials pledge to help discipline the miners and sign an agreement making the union legally responsible and financially liable for any work stoppages. Only after this commitment was made, said the operators, would they discuss wages, mine safety, health care, and pensions.

Before the previous contract expired, the operators cut medical payments, claiming the funds were depleted. They announced their intention to dismantle the UMW health and retirement funds, transfer health coverage to private insurance companies, and impose "deductible health costs" on the miners under the new setup.

Their plan was to starve out the miners and break their union.

Government role

Carter's Labor Department was actively engaged in "mediating" between the mine-owners and the union from the beginning. But its professed "neutrality" in all this was always on the side of the operators, even when it pretended to help the union negotiating committee.

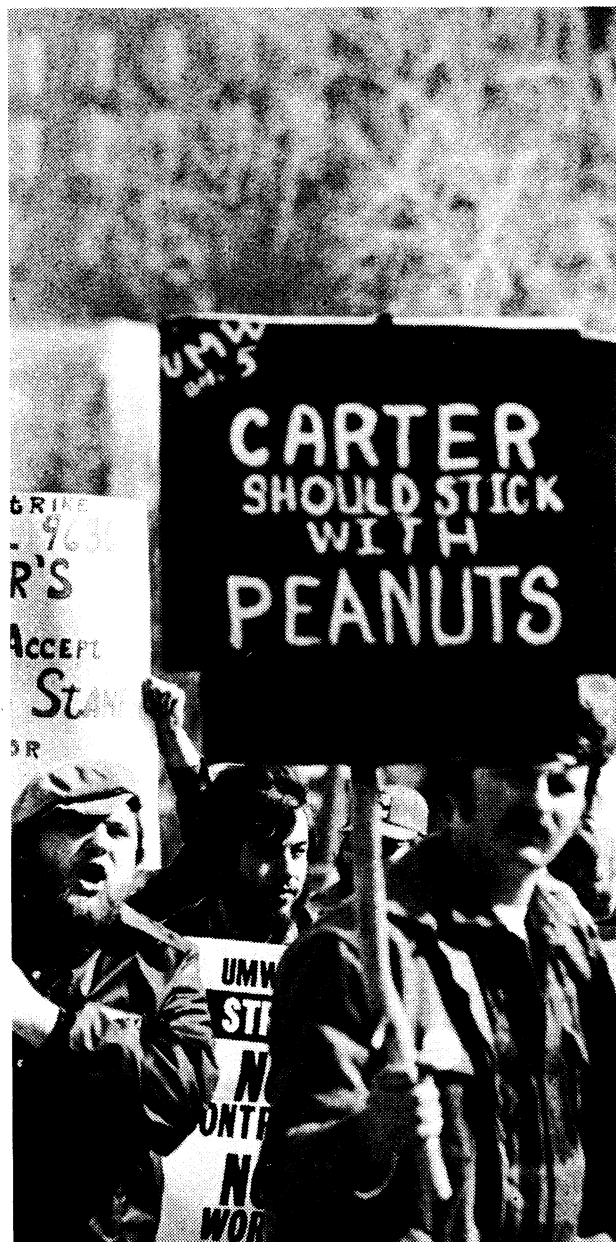
Wayne Horvitz, head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, helped UMW President Arnold Miller find a staff of "experts," all sympathetic to the operators. They advised Miller . . . at union expense.

Contrast this with what would have happened if there were representatives of the working class in Congress or if a labor party based on the union movement were organized to challenge the Democrats and Republicans.

The party of the workers would not have been silent throughout the mine strike as were the parties of the employers. A labor party representative in Congress would have demanded to know why the operators were refusing to negotiate, why they had brought about the closing of the mines, and why the modest demands of the miners for health and safety were being denied.

Coal strike

The case for a labor party



Militant/Nancy Cole
Miners demonstrate in Washington against Taft-Hartley injunction.

Labor party representatives would be chosen by the majority of people, unlike the Democrats and Republicans, who are picked by big business. They would pry open the books of the coal companies to find out how the mining business is run and who benefits from it. They would join with the miners in demanding that the economic policy of the government serve the needs of working people, not corporate greed.

The capitalists who own the coal mines, oil companies, and utilities habitually violate those few laws won by working people to protect safety and health or to preserve the environment. The present government condones such illegal and antisocial behavior. It defends the profiteers and helps plunder the nation's resources.

A labor party would campaign for the nationalization of the entire energy monopoly—and for the

mines to be operated under the control of the miners.

The miners' health and pension benefits, now under attack by the employers, were won in strike battles more than thirty years ago. Then as now, they were seen as necessary because the government fails to "protect the health and safety of the American public" by providing socialized medical care or adequate retirement benefits.

As one miner expressed it while picketing the White House March 15 against the Taft-Hartley injunction, "Congressmen get \$50,000 pension, miners get \$3,000. Why?"

The reason why is that the Democrats and Republicans—from the Roosevelt administration and its predecessors up through Carter—squander tax monies on wars, weapons, and hidden subsidies to the superrich.

Medical care and a secure retirement should be basic human rights. A labor party—unlike the Democrats and Republicans—would campaign to make these rights a reality for all working people. It would lead a fight for free, universal health care and for genuine social security for the retired and disabled.

Lawbreaker in the White House

After the United Mine Workers Bargaining Council—under strong pressure from the union ranks—turned down a contract offer that included all the operators' demands and nothing for the miners, the Carter administration took a more aggressive stand against the strike. A settlement was necessary, the government said, because coal stockpiles were dwindling. Plans were announced to move scab coal under military guard.

The Labor Department actively promoted company-by-company bargaining in the hopes of breaking the national strength of the union and sparking a back-to-work movement. This gambit failed.

Finally, after the miners voted down by a more than two-to-one margin a second employer-dictated contract, Carter invoked Taft-Hartley.

Carter's appeals for "law and order" under the strikebreaking injunction are crude disguises for the lawbreaker in the White House. Carter knows that Taft-Hartley specifically states that "nothing in this act shall be construed to require an individual employe to render labor or service without his consent. . . ."

Carter pretended that his injunction was an order to all strikers to return to work, otherwise they were "violators of the law." This was a lie. No striker was obliged to go to work.

Carter tried to put a further squeeze on the strikers by taking away their food stamps, even though he had no legal authority to do so. It is clear Nixon wasn't the last crook in the White House.

As the government attack on the miners escalated, sympathy and support for the miners spread. Support meetings were organized at universities and in union halls. Money was collected in work shops and at plant gates. Some unions in cities near the coal fields started sending trucks of food and clothing to the strikers.

This support was more than the ordinary token contributions that come to unions on strike. It showed the growing realization among many workers that the Carter administration serves the union-busting employers and that the miners are not the last victims of the government's antilabor policy.

If the miners are able to hold out against the pressure from Carter and the employers, they will receive increasing amounts of financial, material, and moral support. They will also get political support, most important of all, in the form of more rallies, meetings, caravans, and other demonstrations.

These are the kinds of actions that can force the ruling class to back away momentarily from its head-on drive against the union movement.

The unions have stood up before to similar attacks and turned them back. That is what happened in the 1945-46 strikes, when millions of workers were out in most of the basic industries. The employers backed down—only to devise legislative measures against the labor movement.

The 1947 Taft-Hartley law and other union-busting legislation have worked well since then to undermine the independence of the unions and to take away many of the social gains that were won earlier.

That is the price workers have paid for the failure of the union movement to organize a labor party. The growing awareness of this fact—sharpened by the new attacks from the employers and their political agents in the Democratic and Republican parties—will prompt new moves for the organization of a labor party by sectors of the union movement.

Two years later

Scotia: grim reminder of coal bosses' crimes

By Nancy Cole

It happened two years ago this month, but it's fresh in the memory of many.

March 9, 1976. An explosion at the Scotia mine in Oven Fork, Kentucky, killed fifteen miners. Two days later, a second blast took the lives of eight more miners and three federal inspectors.

Miners at the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky—one hundred miles away—closely followed the tragedy and its aftermath. Three weeks later they voted to be represented by the United Mine Workers. Their employer was the Blue Diamond Coal Company, the same outfit running the nonunion Scotia mine.

Stearns miners are still on strike today for a union and a contract that can help them avoid a similar disaster. They remember Scotia.

The widows of the first fifteen miners killed in the 1976 explosion buried their husbands and grieved. Then in October 1976 they filed a \$60 million lawsuit against Blue Diamond for murdering their husbands.

Last September, their case was dismissed by a federal judge. He is so openly on the side of the coal operators that he still refuses to allow the federal Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA) to release its report on the disaster.

In December the widows appealed their case. They remember Scotia.

Last month the Scotia mine reopened. A mine worker there recently told the *Mountain Eagle*, "They're up to the same old tricks, playing with men's lives."

Another miner, this one a mine safety official, also dropped by the Kentucky newspaper's office to say, "They keep it up, there's going to be another explosion at Scotia. It could kill a hundred or more if it comes when there's a full shift on."

He added, "The state won't do anything. MESA won't do anything. Even if they tried, the courts wouldn't let



Scotia, March 1976—Families and friends of miners await word on their fate

Mountain Eagle/Helen Winternitz

them. That's one thing we've learned." They remember Scotia.

Two events marked the second anniversary of the Scotia tragedy. On March 8, MESA finally cited Scotia for seventy-two mine safety violations based on its investigation of the 1976 explosions. Twenty-eight of the violations were of such a serious nature they were "closure orders." That means that had they been found before the blasts and had MESA done as the law requires it to, the mine would have been shut down until the violations were corrected.

If the maximum fines were assessed for these seventy-two crimes, it could cost Blue Diamond \$720,000. But based on the average fines usually handed out by MESA, they'll probably be closer to \$100,000. Somewhere around \$3,800 per death.

From 1970 until the 1976 disaster, Scotia was cited 1,250 times by MESA. The company was assessed \$164,335, but it paid only \$49,978. That's about \$40 for each violation that threatened miners' lives every day and finally claimed twenty-six.

The second "anniversary event" occurred March 9 when the government began implementing the revised federal mine safety law. "Scotia's legacy," it's been called, because it was born of the public horror and pressure on Democratic and Republican politicians after the mine disaster.

The law provides for more training for miners, streamlining of the penalty procedures when companies violate the law, and shifting MESA from the Interior Department to the Labor Department.

But as with the 1969 mine safety act, the problem remains how to get the coal operators to obey the law.

The move from the openly pro-industry Interior Department to the Labor Department is supposedly aimed at beefing up enforcement. But as Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall has demonstrated during the nationwide coal strike, miners cannot depend on the "neutrality" of the Labor Department.

Safety laws and contract terms have been enforced when the miners through the strength of their union made it happen. Miners know that and that's why they demand the right to strike.

Scotia is a sad reminder of what miners are fighting for—and against.

Maoist attack won't silence UMW A supporters

By Jeff Elliott

HOUSTON—Supporters of the striking coal miners have refused to be silenced by a March 3 physical assault against a strike support meeting.

More than seventy professors, student leaders, and political activists on the University of Houston campus—where the meeting took place—have signed a statement condemning the attack by Maoist thugs.

The Houston Committee to Support the Mineworkers Strike, which is circulating the statement against violence, has called another strike support meeting to be held March 31 at 7:30 p.m. in the Pacific Room at the University of Houston.

Featured speaker will be Mike Burdiss, deputy director of the United Mine Workers Legislative Committee.

The award-winning film *Harlan County, U.S.A.* will be shown.

Because of the miners' urgent need for relief funds, the meeting will be held whether or not the strike has been settled by then.

In addition to providing crucial aid to the miners, the gathering will demonstrate that supporters of the coal strike have the right to meet in Houston without fear of disruption or violence. To that end, the committee is soliciting broad endorsement for the meeting and is encouraging unions and campus groups to help monitor it.

The earlier strike support meeting was attacked by about fifty persons organized by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, with the participation of members of a faction of the

Iranian Student Association. They assaulted meeting monitors with heavy sticks, metal furniture, and fists.

Falsely claiming that the meeting was intended to promote the contract offer then up for a vote by coal miners, the Maoists took it upon themselves to try to break up the meeting and assault the United Mine Workers representatives present.

The statement now being circulated calls this "a serious attack on democratic rights that must be repudiated."

Among the recent signers of the statement are Yvonne Williams, UH Coalition Against University Investments in South Africa; Lindolfo Martinez and José Alvarez of UH Concilio; John Dickerson, Youth Against War and Fascism; Lori Korleski, president

of UH Women In Communications and editorial board member of the *Daily Cougar*; and Vicki Sorrells, president, UH Organization for the Handicapped.

Also signing are UH Professors Paul Alessi, John Hart, Francisco A. Rosales, Donald Quataert, Thomas O'Brien, and Louis Kesterberg.

Six monitors at the March 3 meeting were seriously injured and required emergency hospital treatment. Tom Leonard, a steelworker and union militant for more than thirty years, lost four teeth and needs hundreds of dollars of dental work.

Contributions to help pay these medical expenses can be sent care of Dr. George Morgan, Jr., History Department, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

...Lebanon

Continued from page 5

might have difficulty distinguishing between guerrillas and ordinary civilians."

Of course, Zionist forces have solved that problem by not bothering to distinguish at all.

It is clear that a continuing Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, with no buffer between the Israeli and Syrian armies, poses a very direct threat of a general Middle East war. The Israeli regime would welcome such a war. A new war and a defeat for the Arab regimes would relieve—at least in the short run—some of the pressure on Israel to withdraw from the territory it occupied in 1967.

Washington, on the other hand, has nothing to gain at the present time from a conflagration in the Middle East. Its diplomatic standing in the Arab countries is high, and any war could end in the downfall of friendly regimes, or even a social revolution. Moreover, the threat of a Mideast war also raises the threat of a U.S.-Soviet confrontation and escalation into a nuclear showdown.

If there are tensions between Washington and Tel Aviv on this account, it would not be the first time that the U.S. imperialists had difficulties in retraining their client. During the October 1973 war, only the direct threat of Soviet intervention stopped the Israelis from breaking a cease-fire in order to destroy the encircled Egyptian III Corps.

In any case, one thing is certain: the Zionist regime will do its best to hold everything it now

occupies, and to delay even the smallest concessions or withdrawals.

"All the first signs that we have seen elsewhere have begun already," said one Lebanese official quoted by John Cooley in the March 22 *Christian Science Monitor*. "Just as it was in Jordan, Sinai, Gaza and the Golan Heights, they first talk about a 'security belt.' The Army starts providing for civilian needs. Then they set up a military government and start confiscating land. The land eventually becomes civilian settlements."

An Egyptian official quoted in the March 27 issue of *Time* voiced the same fears. "In the old days we were demanding that Israel return to the 1947 partition frontiers," he said. "Then we were calling for a return to the 1967 frontiers. Now we have to argue about getting them back to the 1978 frontiers."

Divide-and-conquer guidelines

Gov't prepares new attack on affirmative action

By Omari Musa

The Carter administration is preparing yet another attack on affirmative action in employment. This time it centers on proposed changes in U.S. Department of Labor guidelines for minority employment on federally funded construction projects.

The proposed changes would base the goal for hiring minority workers on their percentage in the work force of a central city, its suburbs and, in some cases, its exurbs.

Previous regulations based the goal solely on the percentage of Blacks, Latinos, and Asian-Americans in the central cities where they are concentrated. If approved, the new guidelines would drastically reduce the number of minority workers construction firms must hire in order to comply with the law.

For example, Gerald Dunbar, attorney for New York City's Office of Contract Compliance, says the goal for hiring Black, Latino, and Asian-American workers on federally funded construction in New York City jobs is now "about 33 percent." This goal, he says, has never been reached. The real percentage of minority workers on these projects is "about 20-25 percent."

Under the new guidelines, however, the goal would be reduced to 17.5 percent. The real percentage, of course, would be lower.

In Boston, where Blacks constitute about 20 percent of the population, the new guidelines would reduce the goal on federally financed construction to 3 percent!

This new attack comes at a time when Black, Latino, and Asian-American communities are experiencing depression-level unemployment.

Official government statistics place Black unemployment at around 14 percent. A more realistic picture was given by the National Urban League in its State of Black America-1978 survey.

In this report the NUL estimated

Black unemployment at 25.3 percent and that for Black youth at 39 percent.

The unemployment picture facing Puerto Ricans is even worse.

John Kifner, writing in the March 11 *New York Times* says that the new guidelines "were drawn up in connection with a plan to extend affirmative action to women in the construction trades."

Just how far these new guidelines will go in promoting that end remains to be seen. But the government's intention is transparent. By attaching guidelines that restrict minority hiring to a set of guidelines that reportedly promote the hiring of women, the government hopes to pit these two groups against each other.

The latest move by the Carter administration is one more proof that opponents of equal rights for minorities are lying when they claim that the government is fostering "reverse discrimination" against whites by promoting affirmative-action job quotas.

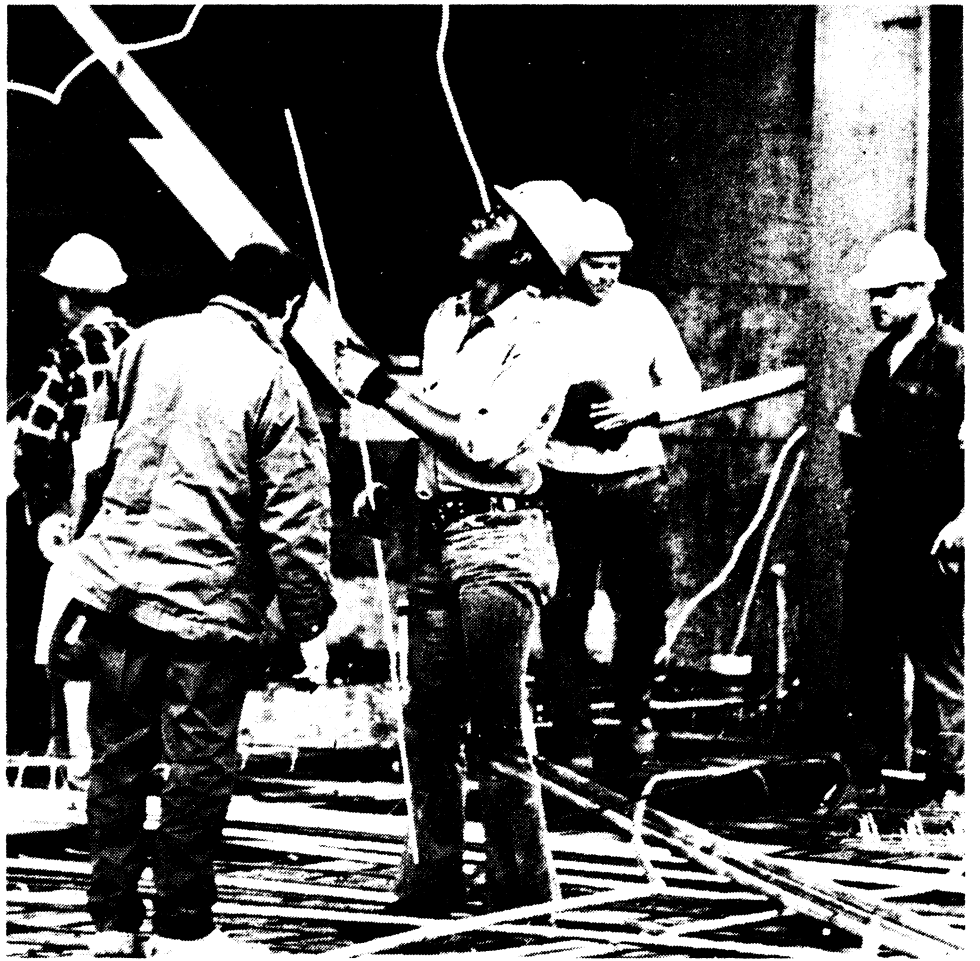
In fact the proposed guidelines show just the opposite—that Washington is 100 percent behind the drive against quotas and other measures designed to combat racial discrimination.

Opposing quotas and other affirmative-action measures is simply the reverse side of the Carter administration's real job—promoting and protecting the profits of the ruling rich.

Racial discrimination is highly profitable to the employers. For example, Black workers in 1976 made about 62 percent of what white workers made. Twenty percent of this difference, it is estimated was the result solely of racial discrimination. All of the difference, of course, went into the pockets of the bosses.

The new divide-and-rule guidelines fit neatly into the perspective of the ruling rich—driving down the standard of living of all workers.

If the union bureaucrats in the construction trades act as they have in the past, they will welcome and go along



New guidelines would restrict minority hiring in construction industry

with the new guidelines. They have consistently opposed affirmative-action hiring programs and have done nothing about discriminatory layoffs.

But the truth is that white workers in the building trades and other industries have lower wages and higher unemployment today than they would if the labor movement were united to fight the real enemy—the employers and their representatives in government.

This is especially graphic in the construction industry where nonunion outfits are more and more capturing a larger share of the industry, driving up

unemployment and holding down wages for all union workers.

Given the record of the building-trades unions in collaborating with the bosses in discrimination, the unity needed to effectively fight the employers can come about only through uncompromising support of the just demands of minority workers for full and genuine equality.

A good place to begin would be opposing the government's new divide-and-rule guidelines and demanding instead real affirmative-action hiring programs for women and minorities.

'Reverse bias' Kaiser ruling hurts all workers

By Victor Haywood

NEW ORLEANS, La.—A recent ruling by a three-judge federal appeals panel here may have as far-ranging implications for all workers—Black and white, male and female—as the *Bakke* decision will for students seeking admission to college.

In a two-to-one decision the court overturned special provisions to ensure Black enrollment in a training program for skilled jobs at Kaiser Aluminum's Gramercy plant near here.

The program had been agreed to by the United Steelworkers of America and the aluminum industry during their last negotiations.

Before the establishment of the pro-

gram Kaiser had required that anyone seeking a skilled job have five years industrial experience. This unnecessary requirement effectively eliminated all Blacks and women as well as the majority of white males.

For years the USWA pressured Kaiser to open training programs. In 1974 the aluminum industry finally agreed—after such programs were established in the basic steel industry through an affirmative-action consent decree.

In Louisiana, where several Kaiser plants are located, this program established one-to-one parity between Blacks and whites. According to Warren Morrell, subdistrict director for

the New Orleans-area District 36 of the USWA, "Without that program it would be many, many years before any Blacks got into skilled positions."

Kaiser's operations in Louisiana center on the Chalmette Works, three miles from New Orleans. The plant was established in 1952. For a long time it was the largest aluminum production plant in the world.

It was there that Black workers led a successful struggle in 1967 to eliminate the segregation of facilities and Kaiser's policy of hiring Blacks as laborers only.

The new training program had just begun to be felt in this area when it was challenged by Brian Weber, a white employee at Kaiser Gramercy, thirty miles west of Chalmette.

Weber, as an elected union negotiator for his plant at the 1977 Aluminum Industry Contract Negotiations, decided to fight the training program's special provisions for Black workers. However, he received no support from other union negotiators.

Weber then decided to file suit in federal court, claiming that he had been discriminated against under the training program. Once in court, however, Weber admitted that if there had been no training program, no Blacks or whites would have been trained for skilled jobs. He also admitted that he had been directly helped by the program.

Despite this admission the court upheld Weber's false claim and ruled

against the union and Blacks—overturning the special provision. They cited as their chief evidence testimony from the head of industrial relations at Kaiser Gramercy.

This management official testified that to his knowledge Kaiser had never discriminated against Blacks. He did not explain why only 16 percent of the work force at Gramercy is Black when the population in the area is more than 40 percent Black.

Since the court handed down its decision, Kaiser has "held up" all training programs—so both Black and white workers have suffered as a result of Weber's racist suit.

The union has reappealed the decision to the fifteen-judge court of appeals here. According to Morrell, "All hell will break loose" if steelworkers lose this battle. It would lay the basis, he says, for the destruction of all affirmative-action programs the union has agreed to.

Unfortunately the USWA leadership here has not educated the membership on the broad implications of this case. This could be seen in the recent election of Weber as chairperson of the grievance committee of Local 5702 at Gramercy.

If steelworkers are to reverse the reactionary steps taken by Weber and his associates they must be told what is at stake. Once informed about this they will be able to play a major part in this fight to eliminate discrimination in the workplace.

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Emergency for women's rights

NOW discusses how to win ERA, extension

By Willie Mae Reid
and Diane Wang

Chapters and state meetings of the National Organization for Women (NOW) have been meeting during the past month to discuss the state of emergency for the Equal Rights Amendment declared by the NOW National Board at its February meeting.

The Declaration of A State of Emergency instructs NOW members to "turn all our resources to the ratification effort and to extension of the deadline for ratification an additional seven years."

It proposes that NOW chapters organize an intensive letter-writing and lobbying campaign to pressure Congress to extend the deadline for ratification to March 1986. That, they hope, will show that women are organized and will be organized to vote only for pro-ERA Democrats and Republicans in elections.

At a special meeting on March 18 and 19 in Washington, D.C., the national board discussed how to carry out the Declaration of a State of Emergency.

Women eager to act

NOW members have been receptive to the declaration of emergency, eager to go into action for the ERA and extension.

At the same time, however, many do not want to give up the fight for abortion rights or against the *Bakke* decision. How can fighting for these women's rights be a diversion from winning equal rights? And is letter-writing enough?

The Washington, D.C., chapter passed a resolution rejecting an ERA-only focus. NOW is a feminist organization that must lead the struggle on all fronts, members there explained. That resolution passed unanimously, with one abstention.

In New York City, the chapter proposed that national NOW call a demonstration for the ERA. Members also discussed how to continue work for abortion rights. NOW members in Newark; Allentown, Pennsylvania; and Morgantown, West Virginia, expressed similar concerns when discussing the emergency.

The New Jersey state conference voted to increase its efforts to win both the ERA and abortion rights. The state meeting sent the national board a proposal for "a massive, visible action" to be held along with the NOW national conference.

Democrats ignoring women

Despite majority support for the ERA, both the Republicans and Democrats are refusing to ratify the ERA or even vote for extension.

House Resolution No. 638, the bill to extend the ERA deadline, was introduced into Congress last fall. But the Democrats who control the Judiciary Committee have buried it in a subcommittee.

In addition, the Kentucky legislature voted on March 16 to rescind that state's approval for the ERA. (Fortunately the bill was vetoed on March 20 by Kentucky Lt. Gov. Thelma Stovall.)

In the course of the Kentucky debate four Democratic legislators who had previously supported the ERA switched sides to vote against it. NOW board members were forced to conclude that the blow against the ERA in Kentucky had been done with



1970 women's march. Power of emerging women's movement won congressional passage of ERA. Women need to use that power again.

the obvious approval of the Democratic Party leaders.

It is clear that the Democrats do not feel accountable to women. As one board member put it, the Democrats are putting their mouths where their money is.

NOW leaders said that President Carter needs to be embarrassed, just as President Woodrow Wilson was by the early suffragists. Carter should have to confront questions: What has Mr. Human Rights Carter done for women's rights? Why can't the "party in power" even get the ERA deadline extended?

Despite the Democrats' betrayals, however, the board chose to continue focusing its ERA campaign on building a pro-ERA political machine to back friendly candidates.

But there was also a lively discussion of the New Jersey action proposal. The board voted to call a march on Washington for the ERA. It chose July 9, the first anniversary of Alice Paul's death. Alice Paul was author of the ERA.

The vision of hundreds of thousands of ERA supporters marching to demand the ERA is an inspiring one. That is how the civil rights movement won change, how the Vietnam War was ended, how abortion rights were won.

After discussing whether the women's movement is ready to do the same thing, the board decided to hold a July 9 procession in which participants will be asked to wear white, the uniform of the suffragists' efforts.

ERA and other issues

As pointed out in the Declaration of A State of Emergency, "those who oppose the ERA are the same people and forces that oppose every other advance for women."

This is seen most clearly in the emergency facing abortion rights. The failure to win the ERA has strengthened anti-abortion forces, who have renewed their attacks.

In just the last month a restrictive abortion law was passed in Akron, Ohio; public funding for abortions was voted down by the Maryland legislature; and an anti-abortion amendment was added to the pregnancy disability bill in the U.S. Congress.

The NOW National Board voted to clarify its decision on turning all its resources to ERA work, explaining that the organization would respond to crises that occur on other issues.

The board also passed a resolution declaring that NOW will not support a pregnancy benefits bill or any other that has an anti-abortion amendment attached.

Philadelphia grievance

A three-member grievance committee reported its decision on a dispute in the Philadelphia chapter. NOW members who are in the Socialist Workers Party had been accused by resigning officers of disrupting the chapter.

The committee ruled that poor accounting, mismanagement, and the "perception" of an undefined "SWP faction" had been the source of tension in the chapter. But the committee also concluded that all members in Philadelphia NOW had been acting "in good faith," for feminist goals.

The committee's written report is to be distributed.

Facing the emergency

Can women get the ERA ratified? Can they get the deadline extended? How? Can ERA be separated from a fight for all women's rights? Those are the questions NOW members are grappling with.

At the heart of the discussion is the question of who wields the power to protect and win women's rights.

NOW leaders have answered that that power belongs mainly to the politicians who hold or seek office. They propose that women seek some of that power by threatening to get even at the polls.

But at the same time the national board was meeting there were 8,000 people demonstrating at the White House for freedom of the Wilmington Ten; 4,000 in Nashville, Tennessee, protesting South Africa's apartheid; thousands of farmers on strike; and 160,000 striking coal miners who successfully defeated Carter's back-to-work order.

NOW members should look at those models for a real answer to the question of who wields power. The women's movement itself has the power. It must be mobilized to win.

Chicana immigration counselor beats frame-up

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—A federal jury here took just four hours to find Delia Gonzalez innocent of "inducing aliens to immigrate illegally to the United States" March 13.

Gonzalez, an immigration counselor in Del Rio, Texas, was also cleared of charges of falsifying federal documents. She might have received up to eighty years in jail and a \$36,000 fine.

Gonzalez and her husband Mike are well-known leaders of the Chicano community in Del Rio, a border town of 21,000 people 150 miles west of here. Mike Gonzalez is a member of the city council, and Delia Gonzalez was a delegate to the 1976 Democratic national convention.

Federal prosecutor Robert Bennett tried to prove that Gonzalez violated the law by telling Mexicans they could enter the United States with seventy-two-hour local border-crossing cards and then avoid deportation by filing an I-130 form. The I-130 is a petition for residency on the basis that you have a relative who is a U.S. citizen.

Gonzalez's advertisements in Mexican newspapers, while not illegal, indicated her plan to "induce alien immigration," Bennett said.

One of Bennett's star witnesses was Immigration and Naturalization Service District Director Joe Staley. The following exchange between Staley and defense attorney Warren Burnett

revealed the fabricated nature of the charges:

"You've explained four times in two hours that it's permitted to cross the border with a *mica* [border-crossing card] to file an I-130," Burnett said. "If we circulate the transcript of this testimony in Mexico, just by telling the truth you'd be inducing hundreds of Mexicans to cross the border, right?"

"Yes," answered Staley.

"Is that a crime?"

"I'd have to research that. In my opinion, if you tell someone to come up and file an I-130, I'm not sure you're violating the law."

"You mean to tell me that the district director of the INS doesn't know if that's a crime?" Burnett demanded.

"Right," admitted the embarrassed Staley.

Staley also admitted that 90 percent of the I-130 applications in his district had been filed by *mica* holders. But Delia Gonzalez has been the only immigration counselor prosecuted.

The government's lack of a case was so transparent that the defense found calling witnesses unnecessary.

The verdict was a setback for the government's drive against Mexican immigrants. The outcome will encourage immigrants to pursue their legal rights.

Gonzalez said she had been singled out "because we have always fought for equal protection under the Constitution for all the people."

Texas socialists open state campaign

By Ruth Getts
and Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—"Carter's actions against the striking miners tells you something about democracy in this country," Miguel Pendás, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, told a statewide news conference in Austin March 7.

"The miners voted democratically to reject the contract demanded by the bosses and continue their strike. Carter ordered them back to work. It seems Carter's one vote counts more than the decision of 160,000 coal miners. This 'friend of labor' has turned out to be a strikebreaker.

"If ever there was a lesson that labor needs its own party, this is it."

Sara Jean Johnston, SWP candidate for governor, added that by invoking Taft-Hartley, Carter made clear he is on the side of the operators.

The Texas SWP launched its 1978 campaign with a series of rallies and press conferences in Austin, Dallas, Houston, and San Antonio during the first week of March. About 175 people came to the rallies and donated \$4,500. (See box for full slate.)

Carter's intervention in the miners' strike, Johnston told the *Militant*, shows he and the capitalists behind him would like "to cripple the main institutions working people have to defend ourselves—trade unions."

The small group of oilmen and bankers that run Texas, she said, have already taken a step in that direction by getting a "right to work" law on the books.

"It's laws like this that keep Texas labor cheap and unorganized, and it's the Democratic Party that passed and enforces this law," Johnston told a campaign rally in Dallas March 5.

"To change such laws," Pendás told the rally, "the labor movement can learn something from Texas Chicanos. The Raza Unida Party is an independent Chicano party. The RUP has held important posts in Crystal City for several years and has been able to institute programs that improved the lives of Chicanos.

"When labor sets up its own party, we'll see the end of 'right to work' laws and other antilabor legislation."

Pendás also pointed out the need for the labor movement to back the fight to end the deportation of undocumented workers.

"Hundreds of thousands of *mexicanos* are deported from Texas every year," Pendás told the *Militant*. "The people who come across the border are



Militant/Bruce Farnsworth

Announcing campaign in San Antonio, Texas: Socialist Workers candidates Andrea Doorack, lieutenant governor; Miguel Pendás, U.S. Senate; and Sara Jean Johnston, governor.

only looking for work, which they can't find in Mexico.

"My party calls for complete, unconditional amnesty for all workers here without papers.

"The government and the bosses simply use 'illegal aliens' as scapegoats for their own inability to provide a job for everyone," Pendás concluded.

Pendás also noted the systematic brutality of cops in Texas, directed against Chicanos, *mexicanos*, and

Blacks. "This is a problem that is not going to go away," he said. "I call for taking the racist police forces out of the barrios and ghettos and replacing them with patrols drawn from those communities."

The choice for working people in the upcoming elections will be posed especially sharply in Dallas, where socialist and trade unionist Jim White is challenging "friend of labor" Democrat Jim Mattox for Congress.

"Mattox received more than \$60,000

in campaign donations from labor unions since he's been in office and has consistently voted against the interests of working people," White told the March 5 rally.

Mattox even voted against a minimum wage for children under twelve. He backed the Hyde amendment restricting Medicaid funds for abortion, against the use of federal funds for busing to desegregate schools, and he voted against allowing strikers to get food stamps.

"Labor doesn't need 'friends' like Mattox," White said. "We need to run our own candidates and organize our own party."

Joining the SWP candidates at the kickoff rallies around the state were leaders of other groups, expressing their solidarity.

Jorge Zaragoza of the Texas Farm Workers Union brought greetings to the San Antonio rally.

The Houston rally March 4 heard Sister Victoria of Las Hermanas, an organization of Hispanic nuns. She appealed on behalf of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee for support to Marroquín's asylum fight. A member of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance, Marroquín has been falsely accused of murder and "subversion" by the Mexican government, and the U.S. government is seeking to deport him.

Also speaking at the Houston rally was Jeff Benecke of the University of Houston Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Coal Miners. The night before, a campus support rally had been attacked by a group of Maoists, and five people were hospitalized.

Benecke said the committee would not be intimidated but would continue to hold public events in support of the miners.

Who are the SWP candidates?

Sara Jean Johnston, candidate for governor, is a steelworker at Hughes Tool in Houston and a member of United Steelworkers Local 1742.

Miguel Pendás, candidate for U.S. Senate, was one of the national coordinators for the Chicano/Latino conference on immigration held in San Antonio last fall and is a correspondent for the *Militant*.

Andrea Doorack, candidate for lieutenant governor, is a sheet metal worker in San Antonio and a member of International Union of

Electrical Workers Local 780.

Agnes Chapa, candidate for attorney general, is a trainee in an affirmative-action program.

Deborah Vernier, candidate for Congress in Houston's 18th Congressional District, is a well-known leader in the movement to stop cop terror in Houston. She was an organizer of the independent commission of inquiry into the cop murder of Milton Glover. Vernier is running for the seat to be vacated by Black Democrat Barbara Jordan.

Jana Pellusch, candidate for railroad commissioner, is an oil refinery worker and a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227. The Texas railroad commission regulates utilities.

Jim White, candidate for Congress in the 5th Congressional District in Dallas, is a machinist and a member of United Steelworkers Local 6312. White is running against Jim Mattox, a "friend of labor" Democrat.

Derrick Adams is the SWP candidate for state treasurer.

Democrats challenge 'Cristal' RUP

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City Raza Unida Party, will seek reelection as judge of Zavala County. The judge is the county's principal executive officer.

In a telephone interview Judge Gutiérrez said he had filed for renomination in the Raza Unida primary.

No one else filed for judge in the RUP primary. However, for the first

time, two Mexican-Americans are contesting the Democratic nomination.

One is Carlos Aguilar, an electrical contractor. The other is Arturo Gonzales, a former leading figure in the Raza Unida Party.

Gonzales is a leader of the Barrio Club. The Barrio Club emerged within the RUP as an opposition grouping to Gutiérrez. It won control of the city council and school board in Crystal City. Gonzales is a former Raza Unida city council member and served a term as mayor.

His entry into the Democratic primary, Gutiérrez said, makes clear that the opposition role of the Barrio Club within the RUP represented much more than a simple power fight within the party.

"They were out to destroy the party," Gutiérrez charged, "and now that they've failed, they've gone over to the other side."

The primary election will be held May 6 and the general election November 7.

Crystal City's municipal elections will be held April 1. Two seats are open for the five-member city council. It is

likely, Gutiérrez said, that Barrio Club/Democrats will lose both.

The Barrio Club has been able to maintain control of the city administration because of a four-way division within the RUP.

However, Gutiérrez said, with the pro-Democrat role of the Barrio Club now clear, the other three groupings have agreed to a unified ticket against the Barrio Club.

The three groupings have been the Gutierristas; the Raza Libre; and a looser formation, the Independientes. Gutiérrez said they will also be united in the fight to retain the county judgeship.

The Texas Raza Unida Party will be fielding a state-wide ticket in the 1978 elections. Heading the slate will be Mario Compeán, former state chairperson of the party, who will be running for governor.

Luis Díaz de León will run for U.S. senator for Texas. And two candidates have been announced for U.S. Congress: Gus Mata in the Seventeenth District and Daniel Bustamante in Houston.

DEFEND THE MUNICIPAL WORKERS

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally

Speakers: **Dianne Feeley**, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; **Kevin Kellogg**, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; **Ken Miliner**, SWP candidate for 19th Congressional District (New York City); **Ray Markey**, delegate to New York City Central Labor Council.

SATURDAY, APRIL 1, Millbank Chapel, Columbia Teachers College, 525 W. 120th St. at Broadway (IRT loc. @ 116th).

7 p.m.: social hour; 8 p.m. rally; 10 p.m. party.

Donation: \$3 (includes rally and party). \$1.50 unemployed and high school students.

For more information call (212) 982-4966.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairman: Catarino Garza. Treasurer: Gale Shangold.



Militant/Harry Ring

JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ

For a shorter workweek to create jobs

The following is a statement by Robin Mace, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan. Mace is a member of United Auto Workers Local 900.



On April 11 a conference will convene in Detroit with a goal that deserves the support of all working people—"to unite all of labor to reduce the work week down to where everyone who desires to work may have a job."

The meeting has been called by the All Unions' Committee to Shorten the Work Week. Established last October, the group includes local union leaders from twelve international unions. Heading the committee is Frank Runnels, president of United Auto Workers Local 22 in Detroit.

The founders of the committee say there is only one answer to today's massive, permanent unemployment—a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay.

"There has been a wall built around all the jobs in our nation, and a sign hung on the wall that says, 'Forty hours or starve,'" Runnels explains. "And that's exactly what a big percentage of our population is doing—starving."

The government officially reports more than six million persons still out of work—and has the audacity to hail this as a big gain. Blacks and women continue to suffer disproportionately high unemployment. For Black and other minority youth the picture is worst of all.

Scapegoats

Industrial layoffs continue to mount. Last year steel was hard hit. Now the auto industry threatens major cutbacks due to the slump in car sales. In February and March some 40,000 auto workers were laid off—2,000 of them indefinitely. They join the thousands who lost their jobs in the mass auto

layoffs of 1974-75 and never shared in the economic "recovery."

The bosses blame all this suffering on the victims themselves. Undocumented immigrants, foreign workers, Blacks and women demanding affirmative action—they are made the scapegoats for growing unemployment by the bosses, their government, and their newspapers. They hope this old trick of setting workers against one another will hide the real reason for unemployment.

The truth is that the capitalists and their insatiable hunger for profits are the source of our misery. They seek to produce more goods only to boost profits, not to improve the lives of working people. We count only as profit-making machines.

In fact, the more we produce for the employers the less we receive in return—less chance for a job, less chance for health and safety in the workplace, less chance for a wage that keeps up with inflation.

Recently General Motors and Ford released their profit figures for 1977. GM netted \$3.3 billion, a new record. Ford took in profits of \$1.67 billion, a return higher than the three previous years combined.

This profit windfall was produced by fewer workers at lower labor costs than four years ago. Meanwhile our real wages have shrunk with soaring inflation.

What does this mean for the auto workers who sweated to produce more for less? Either we face brutalizing speedup and overtime on the job or we produce ourselves right out of a job. Wealth for the few means poverty for the many. This is the irrationality of the "free enterprise" system.

Rational answer

Compare to this waste and greed the proposal for a shorter workweek—for example, thirty hours of work at forty hours' pay. Here is a rational way to provide every worker with a job.

The principle is eminently sensible. Take all the available work and divide it among all those who want jobs. Give them a decent wage, not less than forty hours' pay at union scale.

The benefits are numerous and im-



In 1976, 5,000 unemployed workers crowded for job applications outside Detroit Cadillac (above). On March 1, 1978, 3,000 lined up for ten hours outside Ford Rouge. But the auto companies were not hiring.

mediate. Jobs for those who need them. No more forced overtime while co-workers stand on unemployment lines. Some free time to spend however we want.

The bosses say they can't afford such "luxuries" as full employment. They say with a shorter workweek they would have to raise prices and we would all be worse off. But their profit figures say something else. Open the corporations' books and let us see for ourselves what they can afford.

This is the demand the UAW coupled with its fight for a shorter workweek after World War II. And it's the way we can answer the bosses' evasions and excuses today.

The Socialist Workers Party welcomes the initiative taken by the All Unions' Committee in beginning to popularize and draw support for the idea of a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.

How to win

Where do the Democratic and Republican politicians stand? On the side of the bosses, as always. Their most liberal offer to the unemployed is the

Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which everyone now admits will not create a single job.

Winning the shorter workweek will take every ounce of power that workers, the unemployed, and our allies have—the kind of united power the coal miners are showing in their strike. It will mean mobilizing our unions for an industry-by-industry fight.

To succeed, we will have to bring labor's power to bear in the political arena as well—to make into law the right of every worker to a job at a decent wage. To fight for a shorter workweek for all we need our own political party, a labor party that represents our interests.

The formation of the All Unions' Committee to Shorten the Work Week is a sign of the times. More and more workers are looking for rational solutions to the problems of unemployment and declining living standards.

I am campaigning for just such solutions—for a thirty-hour workweek at forty hours' pay, and for the formation of a labor party to fight for workers' interests.

Why big business is in 'a winning streak'

By Dick Roberts

The House of Representatives has finally passed the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill, which was the centerpiece of Democratic Party election propaganda in 1976.

The AFL-CIO Executive Committee and other trade-union leaders claimed that the bill would be the most important breakthrough for labor ever. They urged workers to vote for Carter and other Democratic Party "friends of labor" on the

As I see it

promise that Humphrey-Hawkins would provide jobs.

But the bill that cleared Congress on March 16 was, on the contrary, a victory for big business. Richard Leshner, president of the national Chamber of Commerce, boasted in an interview with *Fortune* magazine that Humphrey-Hawkins is "a toothless alligator."

The bill, which still requires Senate approval, pledges Washington to work towards an unemployment rate of roughly 4 percent in the next five years. But it does not specify any actions that the government must take in order to achieve even that goal—which is a far cry from full employment in the first place.

Nonetheless, this empty gesture was praised by

its Democratic Party supporters as a "historic accomplishment, establishing the right of every citizen to a job," according to the March 17 *New York Times*.

Ironically, the Full Employment Act of 1946 also claimed to establish the right of every citizen to a job. And the pledge there was full employment—not 4 percent unemployment.

But history will not stop the Democratic "friends of labor" from painting Republicans who voted against the bill as opposed to full employment. And the Republicans in turn will charge the Democrats with causing inflation.

In the more sober view of the financial press, business is in "a winning streak," as *Business Week* magazine declared in a headline February 27. *Fortune*, in another headline, declared, "Business is Learning How to Win in Washington."

The business magazines are gloating over the success of the Carter administration's antilabor drive. *Business Week* lists three other successes for corporations in Congress:

- Passage of the Clean Air Act amendments, which ease the timetable for compliance for the auto industry and set lower standards in areas with dirty air;
- Defeat of the bill to legalize situs picketing, where one striking construction union could shut down an entire construction project; and
- Defeat of the bill to establish a new consumer protection agency to make sure other federal agencies pay attention to consumer interests.

"The Congress is a wholly owned subsidiary"

of big corporations, Ralph Nader complained after the defeat of the consumer protection bill.

Business Week also noted the role of the Carter administration in helping win these corporate victories: "Though widely perceived to be indifferent, if not always antagonistic, to business concerns, the Administration, in fact, has often angered labor and other liberal groups. White House refusal to back common-situs picketing . . . helped ensure its defeat in the House. . . . Similarly, the Administration until recently steered clear of embracing the Humphrey-Hawkins full-employment bill, and only did so after it was watered down."

The chief executive officers of corporations "can always get a hearing: busy politicians and bureaucrats will juggle their appointment books to see the head of General Motors or I.B.M.," according to *Fortune*. These top executives "can and do practice the politics of persuasion on the highest levels of government. Frequently they meet with the President."

This free intercourse between the president, the heads of key cabinet departments, leading members of Congress, and key corporate officials is hardly new.

Big business knows it has lots of friends no matter which government building it visits in Washington.

But events since the 1976 elections are making more and more working people think a time or two about their "friends of labor" in the White House and on Capitol Hill.

Following are excerpts from a speech by Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California. The speech was given in San Francisco on March 10 to a Militant Labor Forum.

Halstead had just returned from a visit to the West Virginia coalfields, where he talked with striking miners about the issues in their fight. The speech was given prior to the announcement of the coal operators' third contract offer, after rejection of the previous two.

West Virginia right now is covered with snow and ice and has been all winter. This is one of the hardest winters on record.

The icicles are everywhere.

They hang down on every cut in the mountain. From the portals of the abandoned mines. From the sills of the cabins that dot the hillside, where the miners live.

And it's a mean winter, too, because the miners haven't been paid for over three months since the strike began.

Their medical plan has been chopped off, and so have their pensions.

And these are not people with a lot of money in the bank.

Working the mines

These days in the mines it takes a great deal of skill to do the job. One of the problems that President Carter has is that it's not so easy to find scabs, because you can't put just anybody down in those mines.

In West Virginia just to qualify to be an apprentice miner, state law requires you to take a course that is given by state-run and private schools. This course requires considerable study and written tests. That's required before you even step in the mines.

After that, the union contract requires that for a period of ninety days beginners can only be in the mines if they're with an experienced miner. It takes that long before you can ensure your own personal safety and the safety of others.

After that, further tests and courses are required to operate the different complicated machines.

Picks and shovels are not in evidence any more.

Cutbacks

Now, these highly skilled miners have a very rational reason for being on strike—cutbacks.

What's different is that the coal miners *are* resisting. They have the power to resist. The United Mine Workers of America, due to the union democracy that the coal miners have won over the past decade, is resisting on behalf of their own interests and on behalf of all American labor.

When I heard that the miners had turned down that first ball-and-chain contract, I cheered to the sky. Finally an important section of American labor was standing up—putting up a real fight.

That's why I took the time to go to the coalfields, even though I'm running for governor of California, where there are no significant coal deposits and no coal industry.

What happens to the miners during this strike is an important question for California working people. Because if the miners lose, we lose. The cuts are going to come faster and heavier here.

And if the miners win, working people here will be inspired to resist like the miners.

Now, let's look at the big issues in this fight—health benefits, pensions, and the right to strike to enforce safety conditions in the mines.

Gutting the health plan

Under the coal operators' offers, the miners will have to pay big medical expenses that they haven't had to pay for thirty years. Some miners might have to pay as much as \$750 that they didn't have to pay under their old medical plan.

From 1946 on, the miners have had a fully paid health plan. They won it by waging a determined strike that year—defying the government strike-breaking just like they're doing today.

Any miner working in a union mine gets a health card. And that card, when presented at a clinic or hospital that is part of the system, entitles miners and any members of their families to full medical benefits, no matter what it is. Even having babies, and so on.

That is how the miners have been living for three decades. They expect that as a right.

What the coal bosses want to do in this contract is to gut this plan and lay the basis for getting rid of it entirely. They are turning it over to private insurance companies. So the strike of clinics, especially

throughout Appalachia, that were funded by the royalty on each ton of coal mined in union mines would be phased out. And these clinics served not only the miners but provided low-cost health care to other members of these Appalachian mining communities.

Staring at pauperism

Many, if not all, of these clinics will be closed down. The situation will revert to one where people who aren't rich can't get decent health care. If you're like most of us, sickness means that you're staring pauperism in the face.

I asked some of the miners I talked to why the coal companies want to make this change. Hasn't this medical plan worked?

Sure, they said, it's worked wonderfully. It's made a basic difference to the health level of Appalachia.

The miners explained that the companies argue that they can't afford the plan any more. The companies claim that because of wildcat strikes, less coal was produced. And therefore the funds, which depend upon a royalty on each ton of coal produced, were depleted.

But the miners tell a different story. They say that the main reason is because of the skyrocketing costs of medical care—which is not limited to Appalachia. That, together with poor budgeting and mismanagement.

Wildcat strikes have nothing to do with it.

The coal bosses' new scheme is just for starters. Because if the coal operators can take away free medical care—even if the total costs under the new plan are not all that high at first—then they'll chip a little more off every time miners come up for a contract.

National medical plan

This is a fundamental blow, not only against the miners but against the struggle in this country for a national medical plan. The whole country is really in a crisis over health care.

All of us should recognize that it's a damn good thing that these miners are fighting to keep their health plan. In fighting for that, they're fighting for our interests as well. They're fighting against having that idea of free health care wiped off the face of the earth.

There's another lesson that can be drawn from this battle too. And that is the limitations of any such plan—of attempting to solve workers' medical care problems just union by union, or industry by industry. The problem is that these plans are tied to the productivity and the profit structure of the particular industries that fund them.

Of course, the profitability of industries vary. Sometimes whole industries are wiped out. What happens to the people who have depended upon that particular medical plan?

The solution, of course, should be much broader. It should take in the entire working population. It should be set up on a national level—socialized medicine—so that the problems in a particular union or industry don't leave anyone out on a limb.

And this also raises the political question—that is, working people must flex their political muscle in order to solve these problems on a national scale.

Pensions

Another question raised by the miners I spoke to was pensions. Incidentally, none of these miners were very old.

Most of them were in their twenties. Yet they would raise this question. They would say that those miners who retired under the 1950 pension plan don't get a fair shake.

It only gives them something like \$225 a month. Under the proposed contract that was just turned down, these pensions would only be raised to \$275 a month over the next three years. That's still not enough to live on.

Other miners—those retiring under the 1974 pension plan—would get a \$25 a month raise, so that at the end of three years they'd be getting about \$525 a month.

It's that inequity that the younger miners oppose. "We won't stand for this," they say. "We won't abandon these older miners, who helped build this union. They fought the yellow-dog contracts," and so forth.

And then they tell a lot of stories about past battles.

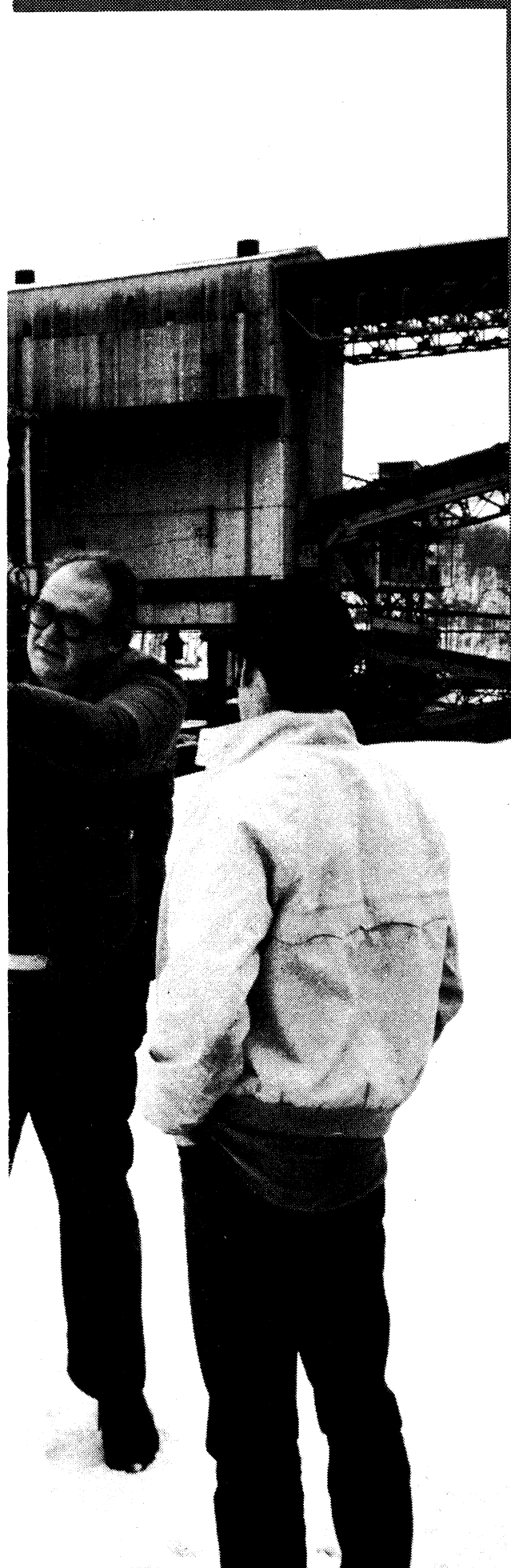
'Our interests too'

Even if this weren't in their own immediate interests, the younger miners say, they would fight for it anyway, out of solidarity with the older miners.



Fred Halstead (left) during recent visit to West Virginia near Morgantown.

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Speech by F



Militant/Bill Hoyland

fields. In rear is Humphrey mine on Monongahela River

Miners fighting of us' ed Halstead

But they believe, quite correctly, that it is in their own interests. Because, they explain, "What will happen to us twenty or twenty-five years from now when we retire? How will that \$525 stand up under inflation by then?"

These young miners say, "When we look at these older miners and the plight they're in, we're looking at our future."

That's a superior attitude to the one that's peddled by apologists for the capitalist class—the attitude that everybody looks out for themselves, and nobody looks out for anybody else.

A superior attitude

And it's a superior attitude to the one that unfortunately is peddled by many union officials. These officials say, "Let's just look out for ourselves and establish some pension plan that takes care of us. And to hell with the rest."

This attitude has led to a situation where millions and millions of workers will never see the pensions that they thought were being negotiated to cover them.

I know, from my own experience, of many garment workers in my union who paid money into a pension fund over many many years but will never see a dime of it again.

Why? Because those pensions were tied to one joint board in one area, and these workers for one reason or another had to get a job in another city. They'll never accumulate the twenty or thirty years that's necessary in one little situation, and therefore they're just out.

That's my own position, in fact. And I'm not an exception. My situation is the rule. Not only in the garment industry but in industry after industry.

That's what these miners are not going to stand for. And the American working class can thank them for that. Because there are a lot of workers all over this country—old and young—who as a result of this fight are going to take a more critical look at some of the things that have been put over on them.

This, too, poses the political question. Because the problem of pensions cannot be solved union by union or industry by industry. It's got to be solved on a national basis.

Right to strike

Now, the third matter that is always brought up by these miners is the right to strike over safety conditions and to enforce the contract.

The coal operators always interpret the contract as they see fit. Miner after miner told me that when there's a safety violation down in the mines, it's as if the supervisor and the union representatives don't have the same contract.

And the only way miners can get the real contract enforced is through the right to strike.

For example, in the union mines there are safety committees made up of working miners. These committees, under the 1974 contract, have the right to withdraw miners who are working in unsafe conditions until those situations are rectified and made safe.

The problem is that then the mineowners try to fire those safety committeemen, claiming that they have acted irresponsibly. This provokes strikes.

Life-and-death issues

Miners see this as a matter of life and death. They say that the only people who have a right to determine whether a mine is safe are the miners who are working in it and their union safety committee.

The employers say they don't know what the miners want. But they know very well what the miners want.

Because at the 1976 UMWA convention miners laid out exactly what they wanted in the next contract. And most important among these was to put in the right to strike to enforce the contract, particularly on safety conditions.

There's no secret about that.

Got the power

So this is why the coal miners are fighting.

And they've got a lot of power. They've got that coal production tied up.

Occasionally here on the West Coast you see pictures of trucks moving coal. But you don't see that in West Virginia.

The Monongahela River, which is a main artery for carrying coal barges up to the Ohio River, is frozen over. Nothing moves on it now. You can drive for miles along the edge and see those huge

coal barges empty, just waiting near the tipples.

Of course, the quickest and simplest way for the thing to be settled would be for the coal operators to sign a decent contract that includes the things the miners need. That's what the struggle is all about.

Union democracy

The fact that the miners over the past ten years have won some democracy within their union has tremendously strengthened the union and the solidarity of the rank and file. It has strengthened the ability of the rank and file and the local and district leaderships to carry on a powerful, disciplined strike.

It's the democracy in that union that makes it strong.

The miners have won the right to discuss and ratify their contracts. No one—not the government, not the coal operators, not Arnold Miller or other top UMWA officials—has had the ability to foist anything on the rank and file.

You see, the steelworkers, for example, have no such right to vote on their contracts. They don't even get to see a full copy of the contract before it's ratified. Let alone get forty-eight hours after that to read and think about it.

Then there's a full discussion in UMWA locals, so the miners know what they're going to be voting on.

That's what the miners have got. But the steelworkers don't have any of that. That makes the Mine Workers union stronger than the Steelworkers union right now.

Fruits of struggle

That right was won by the Miners for Democracy movement. And now we are seeing the fruits of that struggle. And that lesson won't be lost on the steelworkers, and on other workers who have had all kinds of bum deals stuffed down their throats.

So the miners aren't just fighting for themselves. They're fighting for all of us.

It's epitomized by the miners' absolute insistence on getting and reading that contract—the whole thing, including the small print. They want a chance to read and discuss it fully and to vote in their own interests.

And workers all over this country—garment workers, steelworkers, and a lot of other kinds of workers—would love to have had that same chance to express their own view. They are watching this fight.

Political action

This question of democracy has some profound political implications as well.

The capitalists see some handwriting on the wall.

If the ranks are allowed to think and vote for themselves about a contract, then why not about politics too?

Maybe they'll stop listening when top union officials tell them to use their power to put Carter in office, or to put in West Virginia Gov. Jay Rockefeller, or California Gov. Jerry Brown, or some other Democratic Party "friend of labor"—or an occasional Republican.

That's what union officials tell working people to do today. And look what we get! Taft-Hartley.

Look what workers get from the presidents, senators, representatives, and governors their unions helped to elect—including from the liberals.

Take Jay Rockefeller.

Where do he and other Democratic Party liberals stand on this strike? They're all trying to get the miners back to work on terms they've turned down.

And my opponent, Gov. Jerry Brown, says nothing—a little vagueness goes a long way, that's his motto.

But he'll have something to say later, when California workers begin following the miners' example, learning from them and acting like them.

Then we can be sure that Jerry Brown will be lamenting the "lack of discipline" among the unionists in this state.

All these issues raised by the miners' strike—health care, pensions, safety, government strikebreaking—all these things show the need for independent labor political action.

Miners should be running for governor of West Virginia. They should be running on a labor party ticket, supported by the UMWA and other unions. Running for all the major political offices.

When I run for governor of California, that's an illustration that the Socialist Workers Party believes that the working class should run society, not the coal bosses and the rest of the capitalist class.

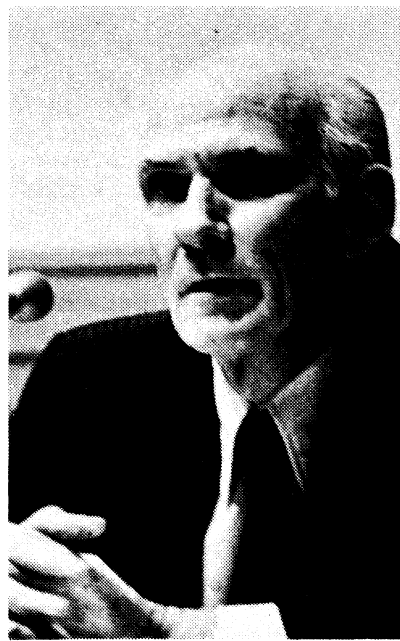
That's the major thing I'm saying through my campaign.

Canal treaties: the debate

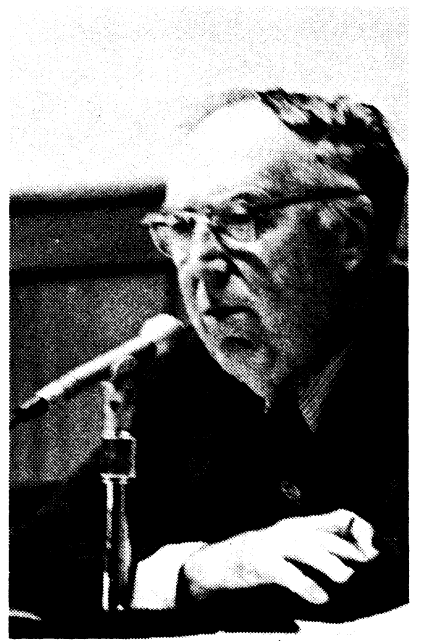
Panamanian socialist takes on Democrat, Reaganite



BERNAL



CRANSTON



DOZER Militant/Alan Hicks

Following are major excerpts from a debate on the Panama Canal treaties held at the University of Southern California February 14.

This debate stands in sharp contrast to the charade now winding to a close in the Senate. Participants were treaties supporter U.S. Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.); Prof. Donald Dozer, an advisor to Ronald Reagan; and Prof. Miguel Antonio Bernal, an exiled Panamanian revolutionist who toured the United States during February and the first weeks of March to explain why the U.S. should immediately get out of Panama. Bernal was a founder of the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria (Revolu-

tionary Socialist League), Panamanian sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

Dozer and Cranston concentrated most of their fire on each other, explaining why their respective proposals would best safeguard U.S. domination. But when a poll was taken after the debate, a majority of those voting sided with Bernal's position. After the poll Cranston said, "I congratulate the Panamanian nationalist—he won."

The first set of excerpts are from the initial presentations; the second from rebuttals and from the question-and-answer period.

very much like the jungles of Vietnam under quite similar circumstances.

The military say that's the way it has to be. We prefer it not to be that way, because we prefer not to get into that kind of a crisis.

Why go through all that when the Panamanian people have a just grievance against us?

The Panama Canal was created, as I think all of you know, through some audacious imperialistic kinds of activities that were the normal way to do things in the early days of this century. We split off Panama from Colombia, and we signed a treaty with a Frenchman, not a Panamanian, and lo and behold we had a right to build the canal.

The Panamanians have resisted this—resented this increasingly ever since. And I ask you how we would feel if the French had held on to both sides of the Mississippi River and flown their flag there.

We wouldn't like it very much, and the people of Panama don't like it very much. The people of most Latin American nations resent it. And the people of the third world most likely view it as a last vestige of colonialism.

We have been against colonialism now for quite some time. We were for the freedom of the people of India, we were for the freedom of the people of Africa, we fought our own revolution against colonialism, against our English masters. But here we are in the awkward stance of being colonialists in effect in Panama.

I think that we are great enough and strong enough and good enough to act not like a petty bully but like a great people and recognize the just grievance of those people down there and others elsewhere, including many Americans who feel uncomfortable about this.

We will still have the ability to use the canal, still have the right to defend the canal, still have the right to get our people through the canal.

Cranston: pact will prevent new Vietnam

I think it would be a catastrophe for our national interests if the treaties were defeated, and thus I'm working very hard to get them ratified.

Basically, my reasons are the following: The canal was built by us for our use, obviously, to get ships through, commercial or military, not to fly the flag there, not to claim sovereignty over the canal. We built it to use it. And I believe that our best opportunity to keep it open and not have difficulties in getting through the canal lies in approving the treaties.

And the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General McAuliffe, who is our military commander down there, and Ambassador Jordan, who represents us in Panama, and most observers on either side of the issue realize that there is considerable likelihood that there will be violence in Panama of one sort or another if the treaties are rejected.

The treaties were commenced to be negotiated—we decided it would be wise to do so—after riots in 1964 in Panama in which fifteen people were killed over the issue of the canal treaty. And it was a very little, almost ridiculous incident that caused that riot to occur.

After that incident, we decided that we had better begin to negotiate because of the inflamed feeling. It is not suggesting that we yield to blackmail when we take into consideration that there might be some violence that could shut down the canal. Because it is not the government of Panama that threatens violence. It's just a recognition of the emotional situation that exists there. General McAuliffe, and Ambassador Jordan among others explained to me, when I asked them how violence might start, that they anticipated that it would probably start in something like this way.

If we voted down the treaties, there would be demonstrations against the United States, because of this action by the Senate. There would be students there, there would be Panamanian nationalists, there would probably be agitators, left wing or right wing or whatever.

And in the course of the demonstration someone would shout, let's go in and haul down the American flag in the Canal Zone and raise the Panamanian flag. And off some of the people would charge toward the Canal Zone.

The American military really wouldn't know what they were really going to do once they got there. Because of the emotionalism, they would feel that American lives and property and perhaps the

canal would be endangered. So they would resist the intrusion into the Canal Zone by force.

That would lead to a collision, undoubtedly some people would be hurt, probably some people would be killed, and that would set off a very great spontaneous combustion against us. And that would then lead to the probability of spontaneous guerrilla-type activities against the canal designed to shut it down, since we were trying to hang on to it.

General McAuliffe says that under those circumstances he would need reinforcements—at least 40,000 men, troops. That would cost \$40 million to get them down there in place before they engage in any fighting. He said he might need as many as 100,000 troops. That would mean \$100 million spent before any fighting is actually engaged in. And there would be blood spilled and lives lost, American and Panamanian, as we fought in a jungle

Dozer: treaties are victory for communists

I know of no subject in the entire area of Inter-American relations that has been so mistreated, so misunderstood, and misrepresented, as the events of 1903. Much of the validity of the case hinges upon a proper understanding of those events.

The fact is that the Panamanian rebellion against the mother country, Columbia, was in preparation for twenty years by Panamanian patriots, and the actual break occurred at a time which was very favorable for the United States to negotiate a treaty for a new canal, which both the Panamanian and the American people earnestly desired.

The treaty of 1903 granted to the United States a strip of territory ten miles wide, running across the isthmus. And in return, the United States paid Panama the full purchase price of \$10 million.

It was a sale treaty on the part of the Panamanians and a purchase treaty on the part of the United States. And like all of our previous treaties of purchase, it contained no provision for renegotiation, because it was a final sale. In the terms, Panama granted to the United States use, occupation, and control—that is, sovereignty—over the strip.

Panama was at that time extremely grateful to

the United States for making it possible for the canal to be built over former Panamanian territory, and the Panamanian authorities accepted the treaty with great jubilation.

The boundary treaty of 1904, the provisional boundary treaty, recognized that Panama had ceded this territory to the United States in perpetuity. The treaty of 1903 contains the phrase "in perpetuity" seven times. And nevertheless, superficial scholars on this subject have persistently argued that the treaty conferred only a leasehold, a position of lessee upon the United States.

President Carter in his fireside chat the other day committed several errors of fact. He referred to the myth of the lease and the rental.

So, for the first time in the history of the United States, a president is carrying on an active campaign to diminish and dismantle the national territory. The basic problem underlying the entire issue at present is this question of sovereignty. We have now under our basic treaties with Panama the right in perpetuity to do all the things in the Canal Zone that we will have the right to do under the new treaties. And what I'm objecting to is the diminution of American authority to discharge the responsibilities which rest upon us as the owners of the

the Senate didn't have

Canal Zone, as the operators of this great international public utility.

I would like to disagree with Senator Cranston that this is not really a burning issue.

It is, I submit, perhaps the most important issue that has faced the Senate since the vote on the League of Nations back in 1919. We have now the right to defend the canal absolutely, in perpetuity. We should retain that right.

President Gerald Ford, when he was majority

leader in the House, wrote a letter to me in 1967 during the consideration of the Johnson treaties in which he explained that any withdrawal of the United States authority in the Canal Zone as was contemplated in the Johnson treaties would represent a victory for communism.

The Canal Zone is a vulnerable area. It has been coveted by the International Communist Movement ever since the Soviet Union was formed in 1917, and we already have now operating in the Caribbean a very dangerous Soviet axis of power.

with [Argentina's Jorge] Videla, with [Bolivia's Hugo] Banzer, with all these people that we don't like in Latin America. All the military regimes were invited to support these treaties, and they agreed.

Yet it was only five days after the signing that the treaties were published in Panama. No one in Panama knew anything about the treaties when they were signed.

Then the Panamanian government published ten different editions of the treaties to confuse our people. And they gave us only forty-five days to have the plebiscite to vote for or against the treaty.

I was exiled in February 1976. Why? Because I said no more U.S. military bases in my country. Because I had a nationalistic, a patriotic position. And 200 others like me have been exiled by the military regime. My country was cleaned two years before the signing of the treaties of all the people—writers, journalists, lawyers, professors—who were against United States presence in my country.

Only forty-five days to study, to learn, to read these treaties—it is impossible for a people to do that when we don't have democratic freedoms. And Torrijos gave only ten days to the opposition to speak against the treaties, to say why we are against them.

More than fifty U.S. senators have been in Panama during the past two months to speak for or against the treaties. I am Panamanian, but I cannot go to my country to say why I am against the treaties.

We need to remember, in 1903 U.S. Secretary of State John Hays wrote a U.S. senator: "We shall have a treaty vastly advantageous to the United States. . . . We know that there are many things in this treaty to which a Panamanian patriot could object."

It's the same situation now. We cannot accept this treaty. And we ask the American people to learn what is happening in Panama, to support my people.

Bernal: Panama for the Panamanians

When Panama is mentioned, the majority of people think of the canal. And they forget that Panama is also a nation, it's a people who during the past seventy-four years have struggled against the U.S. presence in our country.

I am in disagreement with the two positions that were expressed here. And I am going to explain why.

The U.S. senators are having a discussion about the Panama Canal treaties, but no one in that discussion defends the position of the Panamanian people.

The discussion that you have now in the United States is only around the viewpoint of the interests of the United States government.

From our viewpoint these treaties are illegal. These treaties are being imposed on my people by the military regime that has the support of the United States government, a support that is reflected in the signing of this treaty.

Why do we say that these treaties are illegal? Because these treaties do not represent the aspirations of the Panamanian people, who for seventy-four years have struggled against the United States military presence in my country.

These treaties are illegal because international law says that you cannot sign a treaty in perpetuity, like the neutrality treaty that was signed in Washington last September.

These treaties are illegal because international law says that no country is neutral if it has foreign troops in the country, on its soil, in its territory.

These treaties are illegal because Panama's constitution says that the government cannot make any concession to other countries about our territory, about our soil. We say that these treaties are illegal because they were negotiated behind the backs of the Panamanian people and were signed by a military regime—an unconstitutional government that we have had in Panama during the past ten years.

Over the past seventy-four years, the Panamanian people have received more than forty military interventions from the U.S. military troops who are stationed in Panama. In 1915, in 1921, in 1922, in 1925, in 1926, in 1947, in 1958, in 1959, and 1964, when they killed twenty-two Panamanians, young people, and wounded more than 500 people.

It is impossible for us to be a free people with foreign troops in our country. And we want to be

free. We say that we cannot accept these treaties that legalize the military presence in my country. Never before in any treaty that was signed between Panama and the United States has Panama accepted the military bases. The 1903 treaty doesn't say anything about a military presence. The troops were imposed by the United States government without our consent.

In 1926, and 1947, and 1967 the Panamanian people went into the streets to prevent the Panamanian government from signing a treaty to legalize the U.S. military presence in our country. And now with this treaty we are going to have the legalization of the military bases and the right of the United States to intervene in my country. And we know that they're not going to use these troops to defend the Panama Canal, they are going to use these troops, like in 1964, against our people.

We say that the ratification or nonratification of the treaties here in the United States is not our problem. Because the Panamanian people are not in agreement with these treaties.

These treaties were signed in Washington last September 7 in the presence of all the dictatorships of Latin America, with [Chile's Augusto] Pinochet,

From rebuttals & answers to questions

Cranston

As to the viewpoint set forth by our Panamanian friend, I am totally sympathetic to his own attitude and concerns, and it is terribly unfortunate that he cannot be in his own country to express those views.

But our responsibility, really, is to reject or approve based on our understanding and our processes. Panamanian acceptance or rejection by their process by their form of government is really their business not ours. If we could only sign treaties with democracies, we could only sign treaties with about twenty-four countries. We couldn't sign them with the Soviet Union or with anybody. And it's very important we do some of those, for example the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union. So we have to deal with the government we find. Unfortunately, we have backed military regimes and dictatorships there. And I regret that,

and I apologize on behalf of the American people for the fact that we have done that.

Dozer

The treaty of 1903 was not negotiated under pressure from gunboats. It was a treaty that was desired by the Panamanians, and if any force was applied, if we stole the Canal Zone from anyone, it was from Colombia. But Panama has had no reason since then to regret the decision of 1903.

I think Mr. Bernal fails to give adequate consideration to the benefits that Panama has derived from operation of the canal through the years. Something like two-thirds of the foreign exchange comes directly or indirectly from the operation of the canal, and something like one-third of the economy, of the GNP, is related directly or indirectly to the canal.

Bernal

I would like just to explain to you that it's not true that we can decide in Panama about the treaties with this kind of government. They don't give us, they don't give our people the time to discuss the treaties.

All the newspapers in Panama, all the radio stations, and all the TV stations are controlled by the military regime in Panama. How can the people decide their future without freedom to say what we think?

It's not true that the United States can say this is a problem for Panama. It's a problem for the United States too. Because this treaty is illegal. After Torrijos is overthrown, these treaties will not exist for us.

We don't think that these treaties are a beginning to freeing my people, because these treaties are going to oppress us more.

You cannot tell a people that you need to wait twenty-three years more to be free. What would you think if England said to the American people when you struggled for your independence, you need to wait. Within the next five years we are going to give you one state, and ten years after we are going to give you three more states, and twenty-three years after we're going to give you the rest of the states.

It's impossible. We say we want to be free. We say Panama for the Panamanians, not for the U.S. interests.



Anti-treaties mural in Panama. Next to portrait of nineteenth-century Panamanian patriot Justo Arosemena is a quote from Simón Bolívar: 'The United States seems destined by providence to plague the Americas with misery in the name of freedom.'

...4,000 in Nashville S. Africa demonstration

Continued from back page

staged by a civil rights group since the 1960s. The NAACP had originally estimated that as many as 40,000 people would participate.

Unfortunately, the NAACP did not mobilize its branches to accomplish this goal.

At a news conference two days before the demonstration Hooks explained that his organization had "decided that we would not put out an all-out effort" and that now he would be satisfied if the march drew 2,000 people.

Nonetheless, Hooks promised protesters at the rally that the March 18 demonstration "was not the end." "We are just starting here today," he said, "and we will also need other marches in other cities in the future." Hooks said that these actions would center on an array of issues—from South Africa to the plight of Black communities here. If such actions take place they could have a significant impact.

During the rally members of several Maoist groups and the All-African People's Revolutionary Party tried a number of times to get participants to join them in front of the gymnasium where the match occurred.

Along the march route a small group had also tried to divert protesters from the rally site.

None of these attempts succeeded, since the overwhelming majority of demonstrators were dead set against any confrontation that could be used by cops or provocateurs to break up the demonstration.

Another sectarian outfit, the Committee Against Racism (CAR), led by the Progressive Labor Party, distributed a leaflet that called for "physically stopping" the Davis Cup. The



Demonstrators came from Nashville and several states in South, Midwest and East.

Militant/Omari Musa

leaflet went on to call for "bringing the thousands who want to fight apartheid into the stadium to disrupt the Davis Cup."

The CAR leaflet stated, "We must not be misled by those of us who want to pray or peacefully demonstrate. . . ." But the firm determination of the majority of the protesters to

carry the demonstration on as planned isolated the potential disrupters.

Other speakers at the rally included NAACP National Board Chairperson Margaret Bush Wilson; Frank Williams, president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Coalition for Human Rights in South Africa; William Booth, president of the American Committee on

Africa; and D. Charles Kimbrough, president of the Nashville NAACP.

Also speaking were SCLC President Joseph Lowery; comedian Dick Gregory; A. Philip Randolph Institute head Bayard Rustin; exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus; American Tennis Association President Wilmer Davis; and National Urban League Deputy Director Clarence Coleman.

Students protest Davis Cup tennis match

By Don Davis

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Opening night at the Davis Cup—usually a showcase for high society—became a showcase March 17 for a powerful display of student opposition to the white-minority regime of South Africa.

Capping a week of campus meetings, nearly 3,000 students—most from local Black colleges—marched to the Vanderbilt University gym to denounce the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup tennis match.

Eight hundred stayed on through bitter cold and intermittent snow to form a giant, spirited picket line. The protesters did not try to physically bar spectators from entering. But they urged ticket holders to stay away from the match as a protest against apartheid.

Only 1,512 paying customers entered the 9,654-seat memorial gymnasium Friday, with similar crowds attending the next two days. This was far less than the 4,000 paid admissions per day Vanderbilt needed to break even.

As a result of the small crowds, the U.S. Tennis Association, which sanctioned the match, agreed to release Vanderbilt from its pledge to pay the USTA \$50,000 for the right to host the match.

The largest contingents came from predominantly Black Fisk and Tennessee State universities, where Julian Bond had spoken the previous day.

Bond, president of the Atlanta NAACP and a Georgia state legislator, had told the students, "A lot of attention will be focused on Nashville this weekend, and people throughout America and the world will be looking to see how many people care enough to participate in the demonstrations."

"It was not too long ago here in America that Blacks couldn't sit up

front on a bus, that Blacks couldn't sit at lunch counters. People who care something about what is happening in South Africa will take part in the protests."

The protests at the gym, which continued throughout the weekend, were organized by the newly formed Tennessee Coalition Against Apartheid.

The coalition publicized the actions for weeks with film showings, campus meetings, pickets, press conferences, and daily speakouts at Vanderbilt. The coalition also distributed educational material showing, among other things,

that Vanderbilt University has \$26.3 million invested in corporations with dealings in South Africa. In 1977 these investments brought the university \$1.4 million in income.

Among the students and community activists who spoke at the rally at the gym parking lot was James Harris of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

"We must understand who the enemy is," Harris told the rally. "The United States is the chief exporter of racism in the world."

"U.S. banks have loaned South

Africa \$2.2 billion. U.S. corporations have \$1.6 billion invested there. If the United States withdrew this support, the apartheid regime would fall tomorrow."

Faculty members from local schools who had taken part in a protest march at Vanderbilt earlier in the week read a statement of support to the rally. "Our presence here today, as members of the faculties of several colleges and universities in Nashville, is a public act of protest against apartheid and an affirmation of the rights of all people to live in simple freedom and dignity."

Antiapartheid meet spurs actions

One of the events that helped focus attention on the Davis Cup match was the Conference on International Sport, Politics, Racism, and Apartheid held here March 10-12.

The conference was attended by United Nations representatives from Jamaica, the Sudan, the Philippines, and Nigeria. It also received greetings from antiapartheid activists in Ireland and Australia.

The 160 participants adopted a resolution condemning U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa and calling for the cancellation of the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup tennis match.

The resolution noted that South African sports are 99 percent segregated and that 180 times as much money is spent per capita on white athletes as on nonwhites.

The conference, held at Meharry

Medical School, was interrupted by a bomb threat during the opening session while Leslie Harriman of Nigeria, chairperson of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, spoke.

Harriman called the Davis Cup match "an affront to the Black people of South Africa and to the United Nations on the eve of the International Antiapartheid Year."

Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet and president of the International Campaign Against Racism in Sport, called for mass protests at the Davis Cup match.

"The eyes of people all over the world, people for human rights, against racism, and those in Africa are watching Nashville," he said. "Every struggle against apartheid gives more courage and inspiration to Blacks in South Africa to begin to

fight that monster. . . . The Blacks in South African ghettos will read about this action in Nashville."

Osborne Hart of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, blasted the hypocrisy of Vanderbilt administrators who contended that banning the South African team would be like denying them the right of free speech.

"If it was a question of free speech, Vanderbilt would let the Soweto students come to tell their story of how the South African government functions; Vanderbilt would let representatives of the Black liberation groups hold a conference and explain how 360 U.S. corporations prop up and perpetuate apartheid," Hart said.

Walter Searcy of the Nashville NAACP also addressed the conference.

—D.D.

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

The real record of Mexican 'democracy'

By Aníbal Vargas

During December 1977 Mexican President José López Portillo presided at military exercises. Seventy airplanes, an artillery group, and 20,000 soldiers, including paratroopers, carried out what the press called "very risky and precise" maneuvers simulating with live ammunition the seizure of three hills in the Valley of Oaxaca.

"In this simulation," the December 11 Mexican daily *Uno Más Uno* says, "the Mexican army's most modern arms were used: the MAC 7.62 millimeter machine gun—the backbone of the attack of any unit—the long range .50 caliber machine gun; the 81 millimeter M-3 mortar; . . . as well as various types of airplanes that bombed simulated positions."

Who was the Mexican government trying to impress with such a display of force? Some possible foreign invader? Some nefarious subversive guerrilla? There was no need to wait long for an answer—the government was trying to impress the Mexican people, the workers, farmers, and students who perhaps did not understand the meaning of "democracy" in Mexico.

What was involved was one more attempt to intimidate the movements for democratic rights, particularly in the state of Oaxaca. Only three days after news of the war game was published, in the predawn hours of December 14, the Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca (UABJO—Oaxaca) was retaken by 8,000 soldiers and police, who evicted 3,000 students who had been occupying the university.

The military-police occupation of the university was directed against a student movement for democratization of the university. The students of Oaxaca, like many other students throughout the country, have been fighting for free speech, against corruption, against budget cutbacks, and for the unity of workers, students, and farmers in these struggles.

The struggle in Oaxaca has been going on at least since 1977. Since then students have had to confront the repressive violence unleashed by the government and fascist-like gangs put together by the ruling class.

The violent police and military attack on December 14 did not put an end to the struggle of the students and their allies in Oaxaca. Only eight days



Plainclothes cop drags Mexican peasant through the mud

Mother Jones

later, the ruling class once again had to fall back on the military—this time occupying not only the university, but the entire state of Oaxaca.

According to the December 26 Mexican daily *Excelsior*, Mexican soldiers patrolled the streets of Oaxaca and other important cities with machine guns.

Such urban repression is surpassed in Mexico only by the repression in rural areas.

For example, on December 4, 1977, the following report appeared in *Excelsior* under the headline, "Violence and Plunder by Troops and Police."

Some peasants announced that "since last November 22 the Army had razed the settlements of Pezotla, Zoquita and Cuhatamazco, all of them in the state of Puebla, 'to bring to order' the peasants who work on coffee plantations."

The reason for the attack, the peasants explained to *Excelsior*, is that they "aren't in agreement with the salary they receive from the landowners, which is twenty Mexican pesos [less than one dollar] a day."

"The situation of the peasants everyday becomes more intolerable because our homes, built out of palm fronds and hay, were set on fire, the women were raped, and they force us to work under

miserable conditions. . . . We have never committed any crime to merit being subjected to this kind of repression."

The populist demagoguery of López Portillo's Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary Party, which has monopolized the government for nearly fifty years) does not change the fact that repression such as that cited above has formed a constant element in the governmental policies of Mexico. In fact, since López Portillo became president at the end of 1976, and throughout his first year in office, there have been many indications that this would not change. A summary of events speaks for itself:

- On December 9 the army evicted 4,000 peasants who had occupied cotton lands in the state of Coahuila near the Texas border.

- On January 8, 1977, 200 gangsters at the service of the governor of Oaxaca, Manuel Zárate Aquino, took over the Autonomous University Benito Juárez of Oaxaca with the backing of the police. That same day, government forces seized the installations of the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico.

- On February 22, according to reports appearing in the April issue of the monthly bulletin *Campaign for the Abolition of Torture*, published by Amnesty International, at least seven people were killed and forty wounded when the state police violently smashed a demonstration in Juchitán, Oaxaca. The demonstration was part of a struggle between peasants and landowners over land.

- The *Amnesty International Report 1977* says that on February 27 Oaxaca state officials killed thirty farmers of the city of San Juan de Lana.

- On March 2 the army smashed a demonstration of 2,000 students in the city of Oaxaca, killing one person and wounding twenty-five. The students were demanding the removal of the governor.

- On March 3 the army occupied the city of Oaxaca, and the entire state was put under martial law. That same day, Gov. Zárate Aquino asked for six months' leave of absence and was replaced by Gen. Eliseo Jiménez Ruiz, a well-known military figure who specializes in the persecution of farmers.

- On March 21, in the city of Chihuahua, unknown persons murdered Rodolfo Aguilar Alvarez, a young pri-

est who was pastor of Colonia Nombre de Dios.

According to reports published in November-December 1977 by LADOC, a publication of the Office of International Peace and Justice of the U.S. Catholic Conference, Father Aguilar had distinguished himself by his dedication to the cause of the poor and the dispossessed.

- On May 12 Alfonso Peralta Reyes was murdered. He was one of the founders of the Union of Academic Personnel of the National Autonomous University of Mexico—now fused with the Union of Workers of that university—and a member of its general representative council. He was also a member of the political bureau of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party, Mexican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party).

The assassination was carried out by gun thugs who claimed to be from the September 23 Communist League, a guerrilla group.

But as Marlise Simons had already pointed out in the June 6, 1976, *Washington Post*, "political analysts and journalists are questioning the authenticity of the league as a leftist guerrilla group and are strongly suggesting that its numerous dramatic actions stem from the growing hysteria and militancy among Mexico's far right."

The review of brutal and open repression, as well as of official and semi-official terrorism, incidents of torture, kidnappings, and physical and psychological mistreatment in public and secret prisons could go on much longer.

Evidence of this is the debate recently carried on in the Mexican press between the government and its critics.

On December 13 *Excelsior* reported Amnesty International's charges that in Mexico there are political prisoners and incidents of bad treatment in prison, as well as an antiguerrilla brigade that systematically violates human rights. Mexico's attorney general responded by asking Amnesty International to provide names.

It did not take long for the names to appear. On December 16, in a full-page advertisement in *Excelsior*, the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, Persecutees, Disappeared Persons, and Exiles published a list of 200 names of persons being held prisoner, that have been kidnapped, or disappeared.

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Why Peking regime is junking Mao's domestic policies

By Leslie Evans

The staging of the Fifth National People's Congress (NPC) in Peking February 26-March 5 was intended by the current leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to rubber-stamp the decisions they have taken in the year and a half since the death of Mao and the arrest of his principal supporters.

Inasmuch as these decisions had already been put into effect, the "deliberations" of China's nominal supreme executive and legislative body could only be cut and dried.

In his report on the work of the government, CCP Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, who was also re-elected premier by the congress, stressed two themes. One was "the grand concept of comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century." The other was giving "full play to people's democracy."

Real story covered up

The real story of the political preparations for the congress remains untold. Only inferences can be drawn from the series of work conferences, pronouncements, and line articles, beginning with the admission by economics minister Yu Ch'iu-li last October that there had been "grave damage to the national economy." (Hsinhua, October 25, 1977.)

From the very moment of their arrest in October 1976, the so-called gang of four, including Mao's wife Chiang Ch'ing, were vilified, and many of "their" policies—in fact, Mao's policies—were repudiated. But generally this was done in a very abstract way, leaving ambiguous the extent to which their policies had been applied and what the effects had been.

This permitted a verbal separation of the "gang of four" from the "Cultural Revolution" and "Mao Tsetung." After October 1977 even the most uncritical reader of the Chinese press could not

fail to miss the point: the "gang of four" were the government of China, they were responsible for the Cultural Revolution. What the new government has been saying is that the Cultural Revolution itself was an immense crime against the people of China.

In a speech on December 27, the head of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Fang Yi, declared that since the Cultural Revolution began in 1966, "basic scientific and theoretical research in particular has been virtually done away with" (*New York Times*, January 3, 1978). He said the previous government had "retarded the development of a whole generation of young people" in the study of science (Reuters, January 1).

Book ban lifted

Hsinhua, the government news agency, ran an article on January 7 under the provocative title, "Peking Library Lifts Ban on Chinese and Foreign Books." This said:

"During the past decade... the gang of four brushed aside all foreign works of literature as 'feudal, bourgeois or revisionist poisonous weeds.' They forbade publishing houses to put out such works and ordered the libraries to hold them back from circulation." The same treatment was accorded to almost all Chinese books written before 1966, with the exception of Mao's writings.

On January 4 the *Peking People's Daily* admitted that under Mao—again delicately referred to as "the gang of four"—thousands of Chinese citizens had been systematically persecuted on the sole grounds that they had relatives living in other countries.

On February 24, Hsinhua reported that "hundreds of people" in the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences had been falsely accused of being agents of the Kuomintang early in the Cultural Revolution in 1967. They had been subjected to "mental torture," "bodily mistreatment," and "fascist savage acts." An investigation at the beginning of 1978 showed that not a single one of the accused was guilty.

While Hua and Teng continue to speak of the "infallible" Communist Party, it is clear that the government in fact is trying to weather an enormous crisis of confidence by completely repudiating Mao's Cultural Revolution.

Somewhat like the Khrushchev "thaw" in the late 1950s, Hua and Teng are seeking popularity by promising to rapidly assure democratic rights, improve cultural life, and raise the standard of living of the masses. Hence the first rise in wages in twenty years, authorized last October. Hence the publication, for the first time in twelve years, of some of the works of classical Chinese literature and of foreign authors such as Shakespeare, Balzac, Hugo, Pushkin, Goethe, Cervantes, Dante, and Tolstoy, all banned from circulation in any form under Mao.

The thirst for knowledge, for the right to read something better than the



Waving Mao's little red book is no longer obligatory in China

dreary propaganda of the party machine, is indicated by an Agence France-Presse report February 23 that a line a hundred yards long formed at a Peking bookstore to buy the first copies of *Hamlet* to go on sale in China in more than a decade.

The fact that world literature and history, including Chinese literature and history, are no longer totally unavailable is undoubtedly appreciated by China's people. But the sham of democracy of the National People's Congress is hardly calculated to inspire confidence that the vague promises of "people's democracy" will be fulfilled.

Perhaps Hua felt this sharply enough to conclude that more was required than the highly predictable response of a Maoist congress. Simultaneously, he called a session of the moribund Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), China's advisory coalition government composed of those capitalist parties that chose not to follow Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan back in 1949.

This display case of fossils of Chinese capitalism indicates Hua's idea of the kind of "opposition" he would like to see and is prepared to tolerate. The show spoke volumes about the content of Hua's "people's democracy." Nonetheless, when the CPPCC came to elect a chairman, the honor did not fall to any of the "bourgeois" politicians but was given to none other than Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

Grandiose promises

The government announced plans for speeding up industrial development. But the grandiose promises are not likely to be fulfilled on schedule. Hsinhua, generally so sparing of statistics of any kind, on March 6 provided two of the targets announced by Hua Kuo-feng for his ten-year plan, to be realized by 1985. These call for a grain harvest in 1985 of 400 million metric tons and the production of steel in that same year of 60 million tons.

In 1957, the Chinese grain harvest was 185 million tons. The best available estimates for the 1977 harvest place it at no more than 287 million tons (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 6). It took twenty years to increase agricultural production by 100 million tons. Is it really plausible that another 113 million tons can be added in the next eight years?

The situation is similar in the steel industry. China claimed a steel output of 18.7 million tons in 1960. After a long decline as a result of the Great

Leap Forward and the withdrawal of Soviet aid, it climbed back to 17.8 million tons by 1970, but has virtually stagnated over the last seven years. Estimates for the 1977 output place it at 23 million tons (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 6). If the last seven years saw an increase of only 5 million tons, what grounds are there for expecting an increase of 37 million tons in the next eight years?

In one sense the apparent irrationality of Mao's personal rule, so harshly spotlighted by the revelations now emanating from Peking, had an objective basis in the social character of the ruling group. Chinese Stalinism, resting on a privileged bureaucratic caste hostile to world revolution, must at one and the same time stave off challenges to its power from the masses and seek a modus vivendi with foreign capitalism.

Bureaucrats face dilemma

Mao concluded long ago that the Chinese economy could not develop fast enough on the basis of its own national resources to reconcile the masses with the disparity between their standard of living and that of the bureaucrats. He and the faction now called the "gang of four" staked everything on the massive thought-control campaigns and the cultivation of blind obedience that were the hallmarks of the Cultural Revolution.

This effort failed. The maneuver of Hua and Teng to offer a few concessions combined with appeals to the Chinese masses "to go all out to eliminate losses and increase profits" (Hsinhua, February 23) will not be more successful.

In foreign policy, Hua is continuing Mao's line of appealing to imperialism for technical aid in exchange for Chinese opposition to making a united front with the Soviet government against the common foe.

Hua and Teng's prescription for assuaging domestic unrest is economically more rational and culturally more palatable than Mao's unbending stance. But in the wake of the discrediting of Mao's course in the past decade it can only be viewed with doubt by the masses. How long will the thaw last?

The CCP leaders are whetting appetites that are incompatible with preserving the rule of their caste. In their sweeping denunciation of the abuses that took place under Mao, they are also cutting the ground from under their own feet.

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World news notes

Bolivian dictatorship forced to loosen grip

By Fred Murphy

"A series of events is taking place here which would have been unthinkable a couple of months ago," *Le Monde* correspondent Thierry Maliniak reported from the capital of Bolivia February 23.

"It is 'springtime' in La Paz. Workers are meeting in factories to elect their leaders for the first time in three years. Union officials, who until quite recently had stayed out of sight, are now back in circulation, giving news conferences and seeking meetings with ministers.

"Politicians, once hounded, are putting the final touches to plans for forming political fronts. Journalists besiege the airport waiting to button-hole returning exiles. Retired military figures are standing up to be counted, and persons who formerly insisted on anonymity when being interviewed are today asking to be named and identified."

The Banzer dictatorship was forced into this liberalization by a hunger-strike movement that spread throughout the country during the first two weeks of January. The strike ultimately involved more than 1,300 persons in ten cities.

President Hugo Banzer Suárez ordered the arrest of the hunger strikers on January 16. Forty-eight hours later, facing growing student protests and the threat of a nationwide strike by tin miners—the key sector of the Bolivian proletariat—Banzer went on television to announce a general amnesty.

Specifically, the regime had reached an agreement with the leaders of the hunger strike, through the mediation of Catholic Cardinal José Celente Maurer, on the following points:

- A general amnesty for all Bolivians imprisoned, exiled, put under house arrest, or being sought by the authorities for their political or trade-union activities.
- Reinstatement of all fired tin miners, supervised by a commission made up of union, management, and government representatives. Miners thus rehired were to be placed in their old jobs with no loss of seniority.
- Amnesty for all hunger strikers and their supporters, with the immediate release of the strikers arrested January 16-17.

The hunger strike and the mass support it received thus greatly complicated the military's plans to turn the government over to a civilian regime under armed forces tutelage on August 6 of this year, following general elections on July 9.

The armed forces had hoped to install their official candidate for president, air force chief Juan Pereda Asbún, with a minimum of difficulty. Only a very limited amnesty was planned.

But now General Pereda will have to face several well-known political figures, including at least one former president. In addition, the lifting of government control over the trade unions, announced January 25, could mean an upsurge of workers struggles in the midst of the electoral period.

The two main bourgeois parties that had been supporting Banzer are now taking their distance from the regime. The Bolivian Socialist Falange nominated ex-Foreign Minister Mario Gutiérrez Gutiérrez as its presidential candidate on February 24.

The main faction of the Revolution-



BANZER: Deserted by former supporters.

ary Nationalist Movement (MNR), led by former President Victor Paz Estenssoro, has not yet announced a candidate, but it is unlikely that it will support Pereda. Paz Estenssoro has not yet returned from exile in the United States.

Other capitalist forces are joining in a front with workers parties around the probable candidacy of ex-President Hernán Siles Suazo, who heads the Left Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNRI). This coalition includes the MNRI, the Communist and Socialist parties, the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), the Christian Democrats, and ex-Vice President Juan Lechín's Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left (PRIN).

The main base of support for Lechín and the PRIN is the trade-union movement. Lechín holds the top posts in both the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) and the tin-miners union, the FSTMB (Trade-Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia). Lechín returned to the country on February 4.

The Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR) issued a statement in La Paz January 22 calling on the COB to convene a congress that could put forward independent working-class candidates.

Recent statements by the Catholic Church and by a former top military leader have highlighted the Banzer regime's growing isolation.

General Remberto Iriarte, who was commander of the armed forces after the 1971 coup, called for Banzer's resignation February 8. Iriarte said this was the only thing that could guarantee a fair election, and accused the regime of "encouraging and financing the formation of new groups" to support the "candidate of continuity" General Pereda. Formation of a "Nationalist People's Union" to back Pereda's candidacy was announced February 20. It includes the progovernment "official" wing of the MNR and the Social Christian Party.

The Permanent Episcopal Committee, composed of all Bolivian Catholic bishops, issued a document January 29 calling for "truly democratic, free, and proper elections." The bishops urged support for political formations that stand for "human rights, the right to justice, and an ongoing effort to remedy social inequalities and poverty," while attacking those who "consider profits the essential motor of economic progress and private property in the means of production an absolute right."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Peruvian strike wins amnesty demand

A general strike carried out by Peruvian workers February 27-28, together with mass mobilizations throughout the country, has won an important victory. The March 16 issue of *Marka*, a Peruvian weekly, reported that the minister of the interior had issued a statement saying that "conditions that had prevented Peruvians who found themselves abroad from returning to the country are now without effect."

Over the past fifteen years, hundreds of political activists in Peru have been forced into exile by the military government.

One of the people affected by this newly announced amnesty is Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco. In the 1960s Blanco led a mass movement of Quechua Indians to take back their land from the landlords. He was imprisoned, exiled twice by the military regime, and now lives in Sweden.

International Women's Day

On March 8, International Women's Day, thousands of women around the world demanded equal rights.

In Toronto, Canada, about 1,200 women marched demanding abortion rights; child care; equal rights for lesbians, Native, immigrant, and Black women; and an end to cutbacks in education and social services.

In Montreal, Québec, more than 3,000, including many trade unionists, marched.

In Tijuana, Mexico, 200 women came to hear Christine Rivas of the National Women's Coalition speak on women's liberation. Among the other speakers at the meeting were Judy Saldana from the National Organization for Women in California, and Virginia Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for California secretary of state.



Toronto Women's Day demonstration

Socialist Voice/Frank Rooney

Netherlands neutron bomb protest

About 50,000 people marched through Amsterdam March 19 protesting plans by the United States to develop the neutron bomb, according to a Reuters news dispatch.

Elsewhere in the Netherlands, 40,000 demonstrators gathered in Rijswijk on March 4 to demonstrate against the use of nuclear power.

The *Volkscrant*, one of Holland's leading dailies, called the action "one of the greatest demonstrations ever held against nuclear energy and a great success."

Supertanker superspill

The American-owned supertanker *Amoco Cadiz* ran aground and broke up off the coast of Brittany March 17, spilling 24 million gallons of oil into the ocean. The spill, one of the worst such disasters on record, left a fifteen-mile oil slick that threatened to cover the coastline.

Since the tanker contained 68 million gallons of oil, there is a possibility more could spill, surpassing the worst oil spill of 29 million gallons in 1967.

The *Amoco Cadiz* is under Liberian registry but is actually owned by a subsidiary of Standard Oil Company (Indiana). American officials have often sought to blame spills on ships flying foreign flags. But the truth is that many of these ships—like the *Amoco Cadiz*—are owned by American companies.

New moves against Soviet dissidents

On March 15 the Soviet government announced that it is depriving Mstislav Rostropovich of his citizenship in the USSR. Rostropovich, an internationally known cellist and conductor, was accused of "unpatriotic activity."

Rostropovich has been living abroad for several years in protest of the Soviet bureaucracy's numerous violations of democratic rights.

Charles Fiterman, a leading member of the French Communist Party, said Moscow's action is "unacceptable." Rostropovich, he said, "is a generous, humanistic man whom you can discuss with and who has a great love for his country, for the Soviet Union."

In another undemocratic move, the Kremlin sentenced Grigory Goldstein, a member of the Helsinki Accords monitoring group in Soviet Georgia, March 20 to one year at a work camp on charges of "failure to hold socially useful employment."

Urges multiclass slate

PSP makes turn in electoral policy

By José G. Pérez

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party has recently adopted positions that represent a sharp political turn for the organization.

Shortly after the November 1976 elections, the PSP leadership in Puerto Rico announced through the party's paper, *Claridad*, that the PSP had entered a period of reevaluation and of correcting errors in its work.

PSP General Secretary Juan Mari Brás and other leaders said this did not mean a change in PSP politics, but rather in how it functioned internally and related to broader movements. They indicated the reevaluation was prompted by dissatisfaction with the party's electoral showing and the way it carried out the campaign.

According to *Claridad*, this reevaluation process is still continuing and will culminate in conventions in Puerto Rico and the United States later this year.

Over the past year, the PSP's visibility has substantially decreased. *Claridad*, which had been a daily, is now a weekly and the U.S. bilingual edition has been suspended. *Claridad* has also reported a reorganization of the PSP's leading committees and posts, a reregistration of the party membership, and the expulsion of a group of members, including a member of the central committee, for "factionalism."

In this context, there has been a very marked shift in the PSP's policies in Puerto Rico.

Shortly after the 1976 elections, lame duck President Gerald Ford announced he supported making Puerto Rico the fifty-first state. Together with the victory of the pro-statehood New Progressive Party in Puerto Rico's 1976 elections, the PSP said this created a new political situation in Puerto Rico which called for new proposals.

The PSP urged forming a front of all those who oppose statehood, including supporters of the present "commonwealth" relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States and those who do not challenge continued U.S. domination of Puerto Rico but urge Washington to give the San Juan administration a wider scope of action. One person the PSP has in mind to head this "antiannexationist front" is Roberto Sánchez Vilella, who was governor of Puerto Rico in the mid-1960s. In recent months *Claridad* has run several laudatory articles about Sánchez Vilella.

It was in response to these that the accompanying article appeared in *La Verdad*, the paper of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League), the Puerto Rican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Since the article appeared, new proposals from the PSP have given it greater relevancy. The February 24-March 2 *Claridad* carries a full-page article by Juan Mari Brás prominently featured on the cover of the paper. In it Mari Brás urged "a

regroupment of political forces that puts aside the hardened schemas in which party politics is debated in this country.

"For this, a minimum progressive, anticolonial, antiannexationist program is necessary, as well as a great figure who can rally around this program the vast majority of the people. . . ."

Mari Brás adds: "The leader who can direct this great political regroupment is Don Robert Sánchez Vilella."

This proposal was further concretized at a news conference by Carlos Gallisá, assistant general secretary of the PSP. The Associated Press reported on this news conference in a dispatch published March 7 in *El Diario-La Prensa*.

AP paraphrases Gallisá as saying that current political developments "demand a realignment of political forces that could lead to ex-Gov. Roberto Sánchez Vilella presenting himself as a candidate in the 1980 elections with the support of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. . . ."

"Gallisá . . . described Sánchez Vilella as the ideal person to unite autonomist and proindependence sector against the leadership" of the Popular Democratic Party, Vilella's party when he was governor.

This proposal is a radical departure from past PSP positions. Until two years ago, the PSP and its predecessor organizations had never participated in elections.

In 1976, the PSP ran its own slate of candidates. The Trotskyist LIT urged a vote for the PSP candidates as a working-class vote against the capitalist parties, while making clear they had differences with the PSP's program.

The Gallisá news conference and Mari Brás's article leave little doubt that the proposed regroupment would be a multiclass electoral bloc based on a program that Sánchez Vilella, a capitalist politician of long standing, could agree with.

Since the *La Verdad* article was written before this proposal emerged, *La Verdad* does not address it directly. However, the LIT opposes all such class-collaborationist electoral blocs, citing experiences such as that of Spain in the 1930s and Chile in the early 1970s, where such blocs have led the working class to disaster.

During the 1976 election, the LIT explained it urged a vote for the PSP to promote the idea that working people need their own political party with a revolutionary socialist program to vanquish the capitalist oppressors once and for all. By its very nature a multiclass bloc cuts across this completely.

The PSP leadership has not yet said whether they believe this political turn in Puerto Rico has any implications for the party's policies in the United States. However, Alfredo López, a prominent PSP leader in the United States, has markedly softened his attitude to some Democratic Party liberals, and this will be the subject of a future article.

Trotskyists reply to 'Claridad'

The real record and

The following article by Pablo Soto, coordinator of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores [LIT—Internationalist Workers League, Puerto Rican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party] is reprinted from the February 'La Verdad.'

The translation is by the 'Militant.' Footnotes have been added to clarify references that might be unclear to U.S. readers.

By Pablo Soto

The thousands of workers on strike against the Autoridad Metropolitana de Autobuses [AMA—Metropolitan Bus Authority] and the Autoridad de Fuentes Fluviales [AFF—Waterworks Authority, the government-run electric utility] have been shocked by the harsh attack of the Partido Nuevo Progresista [PNP—New Progressive Party].

Although they did it to get rid of antilabor Gov. Rafael Hernández Colón,¹ many workers had been members of the PNP before then. Even distinguished leaders of the Union de Trabajadores de la Industria Eléctrica y de Riego [UTIER—Union of Workers of the Electrical and Irrigation Industry] and of the Trabajadores Unidos de AMA [TUAMA—United Workers of AMA] are members of that party. That was the case of Jorge Pazol, president of TUAMA and of various members of the state committee of UTIER, the leading body of that union.

PNP Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló has demonstrated his real political character personally and through his underlings, Pedro Vázquez of the AFF and José Rossy of the AMA. Absolute backing to the administration's intransigence, a campaign to turn the people against the strikers, and threats of firing strikers and use of strikebreakers—all of this has been approved by Romero Barceló.

Romero Barceló is only interested in defending the corporations, the bondholders, and the executives. He doesn't care about the thousands of public employees who backed him in 1976.

Capitalist politicians betray

Politicians such as Hernández Colón and Romero Barceló—who are defenders of "free enterprise," that is, capitalism—have more than betrayed the hopes of Puerto Rican working people. Today they lead the offensive against working people's rights and standard of living.

Confronted with the betrayals of the PNP and the Partido Popular Democrático [PPD—Popular Democratic Party], the workers search for an alternative. And it is in this context that we must evaluate Roberto Sánchez Vilella.

In 1965, he became governor of Puerto Rico as the first heir of Luis Muñoz Marín.² Sánchez Vilella came out of the ranks of the administrators



Claridad
Puerto Rican Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló: Broke campaign promises to workers as soon as he got into office.

of the Estado Libre Asociado [ELA—Free Associated State, the Spanish name of the Puerto Rican government].

One of the administrative tasks he had been assigned by the PPD was to be one of the directors of the AFF, something Romero Barceló mentioned when he named Sánchez Vilella to head the very famous Sánchez Vilella Commission.³

Sánchez Vilella—then & now

As the PDD's second governor, Sánchez Vilella was one of the main politicians who promised tens of thousands of jobs would be created by the petrochemical industry that was being established in our country during those years. Today, this industry is in crisis,⁴ having created few jobs at the same time that it continues polluting the country.

But in many eyes, the role of Sánchez Vilella has been forgotten due to the struggle between him and the old PPD machine. As a defender of the liberal wing of autonomism,⁵ Roberto

until 1964 he was the highest-ranking elected officeholder in Puerto Rico, first as Senate majority leader and then as governor.

3. The so-called Sánchez Vilella Commission was appointed by Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló under provisions of Law Eleven of 1965, Puerto Rico's version of the Taft-Hartley Law. The governor invoked the law shortly after UTIER went on strike at the end of December.

4. On March 2, the Commonwealth Oil Refining Corporation announced it had filed a court petition for protection under federal bankruptcy law. CORCO is the largest corporation in Puerto Rico, as well as one of the largest U.S. oil companies.

5. There are three broad currents in the debate over the so-called status issue—what should be Puerto Rico's relationship to the United States. One is the prostatehood current, called annexationists because statehood means formal incorporation of Puerto Rico as just one more political subdivision of the United States. Another is the autonomist current, those who back local self-government under continued U.S. rule. The autonomists include supporters of the current "Commonwealth" setup, as well as people such as Sánchez Vilella who have urged the transfer of more powers from Washington to San Juan. The third current is the proindependence forces.

1. Rafael Hernández Colón of the Popular Democratic Party was governor of Puerto Rico from 1972 to 1976. His administration was characterized by 40 percent unemployment, several spying and corruption scandals, and vicious strikebreaking. As a result, his party—which had dominated Puerto Rican politics since 1940—suffered a crushing defeat in 1976. The voters denied him a second term, and the PPD lost control of both houses of the legislature and most city councils, including those of all the major cities.

2. Luis Muñoz Marín founded the Popular Democratic Party in 1938. From 1940

role of former governor Sanchez Vilella

Sánchez Vilella was crushed by Muñoz Marín and Negrón López. Sánchez Vilella maintains to this day enormous prestige because he confronted the PPD leadership.⁶

Moreover, the recent positions of Sánchez Vilella around the question of status, which have brought him nearer to the proindependence forces, have won him sympathy among some sectors of the political left.

After the prostatehood declarations of then-President Gerald Ford, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has been calling for the formation of an antian-nexationist front. As an important component of this front it has been appealing to Sánchez Vilella, to Roberto Rexach Benítez [another politician who has broken with the PPD], and to the liberal sector, as well as to Rafael Hernández Colón's Popular Democratic Party as such. And, with this strategy of the PSP of mixing liberal and autonomist colonialism with the proindependence movement already underway, the AFF strike breaks out.

Strikebreaking law

As one of his first resources to break the strike Romero Barceló turned to Law Eleven of 1965. This law gives the governor the power to form an "ad hoc" committee to present a report on a supposed "state of emergency" due to the strike. What Romero Barceló wanted was a favorable report that would authorize him to use an injunction or the National Guard against the strike.

Reflecting these intentions, Ismael Fernández, a PNP supporter and columnist for *El Nuevo Día*, wrote about Sánchez Vilella January 3:

"This ex-governor is, perhaps, the most respected man in Puerto Rico at



Roberto Sánchez Vilella: Has author of Puerto Rico's version of Taft-Hartley law become a friend of labor?

the moment. Romero Barceló acted with wisdom and good judgment when he obtained the use of Sánchez Vilella's name for the committee that is evaluating the situation to prepare a factual report. The report that Romero Barceló will receive *will be unimpeachable* because it carries the signature of Sánchez Vilella" (emphasis added).

But Sánchez Vilella didn't want to sink in the same ship with Romero Barceló, and he opted for presenting a report different from that of the other six members of the committee. Sánchez Vilella's report acknowledged that the AFF could afford to pay an increase of eighty-nine cents an hour to the workers, and immediately that figure was adopted by the UTIER as its demand. On one side Romero Barceló

and the PNP opted for fabricating facts and denying a just increase to UTIER; on the other, Sánchez Vilella didn't want to take that position and acknowledged the AFF could pay.

Romero Barceló's promises

This isn't the first time that a politician of the PPD or PNP has supported some demands of the workers. Let us remember that Romero Barceló during his election campaign opposed layoffs of the comrades of the highway authority, whom he is trying to fire today. In the same way, Romero Barceló supported a \$5.00-an-hour wage for the workers of TUAMA. Today he is denying them a \$.42 increase. Before the strike the wage of a bus driver was \$3.41 an hour. Romero Barceló today is offering them \$.22, raising the wage to \$3.63, which is very far from \$5.00.

At the time of Romero Barceló's original statements, *Claridad* did not eulogize the present governor. Now, after the Sánchez Vilella report about the strike in the AFF, Pedro Llamas, in the January 6-12 *Claridad*, says in the last paragraph of his article:

"It yet remains to be seen whether Roberto Sánchez Vilella can initiate that regroupment of forces that the country needs so much. It would require a lot of wisdom, flexibility and firmness, combined with a correct grasp of the national reality for the function of the leader to combine with the clamor of the people so that there would be a full rebirth of the hope whose totally renovated sprout just begins to emerge."

So it turns out that nine years later, after Luis Ferré, Rafael Hernández Colón, and Carlos Romero Barceló, the Puerto Rican people have as their alleged "hope" the "totally renovated sprout" of Roberto Sánchez Vilella—just because he admitted the truth about the situation of the AFF, avoiding embarrassing himself by joining the lies of Pedro Vázquez and Carlos Romero Barceló.

Sánchez Vilella, a skilled liberal

politician, wanted to win the support of the workers, including that of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

In the intensified class struggle that strikes represent, Sánchez Vilella as an alleged "arbitrator" saw himself forced to acknowledge certain facts. But this does not mean that he is on our side of the picket line, on the side of the workers. He has not given unambiguous support to UTIER and TUAMA. He has not called for boycotting the electricity payments. He has not joined any strike support committee, picket line, or activity in support of the strikers.

Even worse, Sánchez Vilella is the author of Law Eleven of 1965, which authorizes the government-employer to break the just struggles of the workers through injunctions, compulsory arbitration, and use of the National Guard. If Sánchez Vilella is our "hope," why doesn't he begin by denouncing that same Law Eleven that he created?

What side is Sánchez Vilella on—the workers' or the bosses'? If he is with us, the workers, then he should consistently support us every day.

We are already very skeptical of so many promises. Does the leadership of the PSP *already* have that much confidence in Sánchez Vilella? Do they believe that Sánchez Vilella has already become a defender of the workers? Isn't more evidence necessary, comrades?

Defend rulers' interests

In our trade-union and political struggles there have been many "arbitrators" who give the impression of being on our side but at the decisive moment have defended their real interests, those of the ruling class, which pays them off as "good" employees of the government-employer.

Many PPD, PNP, and liberal politicians have lied and failed, showing that they're capitalist politicians. The leadership of the PSP should not put their trust in these capitalist politicians, but rather in ourselves, the workers, and in our trade-union and political organizations.

What makes TUAMA and UTIER strong is the support of its members, not the promises of Romero Barceló or Sánchez Vilella. These politicians only try to use the strength of the unions for their own benefit.

We, the socialists, should fight for the workers building their own party, not convert ourselves into support committees for liberals or Sánchez Vilella.

To finish once and for all with the false promises of capitalism we need working-class political independence. We can only rely on ourselves.

It has not been demonstrated that Sánchez Vilella is a consistent defender of the workers. Let us remember that he even approved most of the official report of the commission. His positions are ambiguous.

We do not ignore the fact that he acknowledged it was possible for the AFF to pay an increase of eighty-nine cents to UTIER, but we shouldn't be taken in. We should not trust him. We should demand much more evidence that Sánchez Vilella deserves to lead our working people. We believe the comrades of the PSP should demand this with equal firmness. We have to look out for the *swindles* of the liberals.

The strikes by UTIER and TUAMA teach us that every day a true revolutionary party of the workers becomes more necessary instead of "hoping" in Sánchez Vilella.

Lessons from history

Over the years the international working-class movement has had many experiences with class-collaborationist electoral and governmental fronts. The following books recount some of these experiences and draw lessons for today. A knowledge of this history is an indispensable guide to revolutionary strategy today.

- **Disaster in Chile: Allende's Strategy and Why It Failed.** Edited by Les Evans. 271 pages, paper \$4.45.
- **The Spanish Revolution (1931-39).** By Leon Trotsky. 446 pages, paper \$5.45.
- **Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain.** By Felix Morrow. 262 pages, paper \$4.45.
- **Leon Trotsky on China.** 688 pages, \$7.45.
- **The Lesser Evil? The Left Debates the Democratic Party and Social Change.** By Peter Camejo, Michael Harrington, et al. 128 pages, paper \$1.75.
- **United Front vs. People's Front.** By Leon Trotsky and others. 8½ x 11 format, 24 pages, \$.50.

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

In Review

A working farmer speaks out

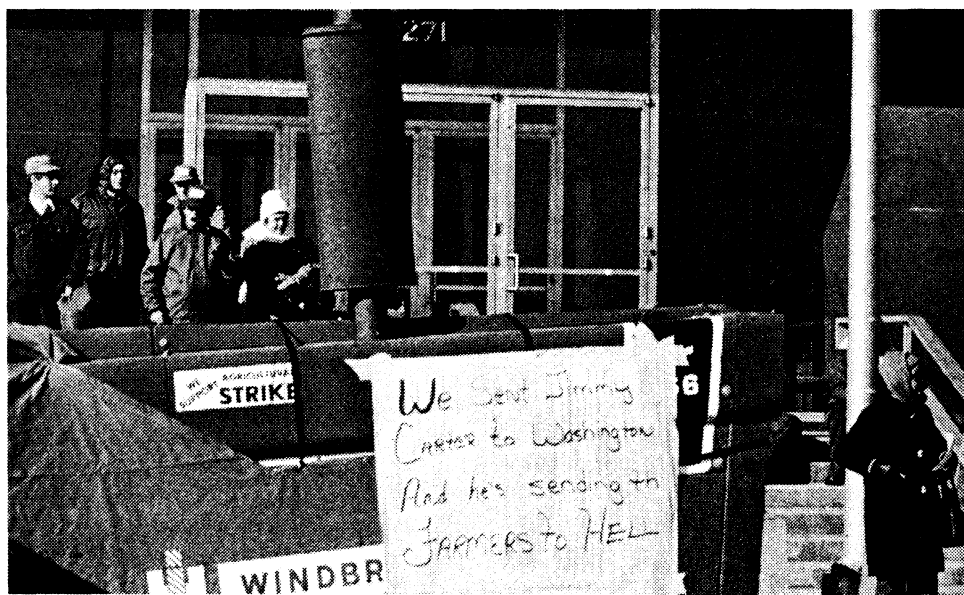
John's Letter to Paul. By John Enestvedt. 32 pages. Order from John Enestvedt, Rt. 1, Box 42, Sacred Heart, Minnesota 56285. \$1 for a single copy.

Every movement fighting for social justice generates its agitators, both speakers and writers. They come to the fore in the hour of battle to help

One of them, John Enestvedt, has just published a pamphlet entitled *John's Letter to Paul*. The title, with its obvious parallel to the zealous propaganda activities of the early Christians, refers to the text's format—a letter from Enestvedt to Paul Peterson, a member of the Olivia Area Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors in Minnesota.

The letter, however, is more directed to working farmers than to Peterson. Enestvedt welcomes a resolution supporting the farmers' strike adopted by the chamber of commerce. He then goes on to explain the goals of the movement and expresses the angry mood of farmers.

"Sure, on the surface our protests do seem contained," he writes, "but there are few among us who do not feel the resentment against what we see amongst us—that resides just beneath the surface among the Steel Workers,



Militant/Richard Ratherns

the Miners, the Teachers, among us Farmers and the common people in general, all of us being ripped off by the 'government, military and industrial complex', as has been said."

Enestvedt is a longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party with decades of experience in the farmers movement. He draws from his experience as an organizer in the Farmers

Holiday Association in the 1930s to help inspire farmers with the history of past struggles and to relate lessons learned from previous battles to today's strike. He describes how massive protests were organized then that saved thousands of farms from foreclosure and argues that some of the same organizing methods can be utilized today.

—Doug Jenness

Pamphlets

articulate the goals and tasks of the movement.

So it is with the American Agriculture Movement, which is organizing the largest farmers' protests since the 1930s, including the present nationwide strike. It has scores of spokespersons, working farmers, who are championing their cause.

Ivy Bottini

Ivy Bottini's Sunday With a View. On alternating Sundays. A La Carte Coffee House. 1604 North Highland Avenue (off Sunset), Hollywood, California. (213) 464-9866.

Each all-female performance includes a different selection of talent, a fact that makes the uniformly professional quality of the show even more impressive.

Many of the songs are written by the performers. Most express the frustrations women face in a male-dominated society.

Sandy Ross, for example, delivers ballads and blues condemning the exasperating trivia of domesticity: "Burn my fingers on the pot. My toast is cold, and the orange juice is hot."

There is also tremendous variety. Throughout the evening the audience grows increasingly involved in the performances. Many of the barriers between audience and artist break down, because performers sit with the audience while they wait their turn.

The atmosphere in the cafe is totally relaxed and comfortable, like staying at home with your shoes off.

Bottini, who does a comedy set—in addition to bringing the show together and acting as emcee—immediately sets this tone. She makes you feel like you are sharing good humor and music with people like yourself.

And you don't have to strain for a laugh while listening to Bottini's set. There is easy humor based on frustrations held in common.

Her bit on birth control was followed by some jibes at California State Assemblyman John Briggs's attempt to bar gays from teaching.

Bottini's tips on filling out an application for a teaching job:

"Date: only men

"Sex: a lot with men

"Reason for leaving last job: I am a serious worker and the last place was too gay.

"References: Anita Bryant, John Briggs, God, Leviticus."

Another outstanding performer in Bottini's show is Silvia, a blues singer who has an unbelievable range and depth of tone.

Singing mostly blues and gospel, Silvia plays with her audience—dropping down a couple of octaves midword and effortlessly jumping back up again. She held us all totally suspended for nearly an hour when we heard her.

These are just a sampling from Bottini's offering of dramatic readings, more comedy, and music.

But the best thing is you don't get the feeling that anybody is out to prove anything at Ivy Bottini's Sunday With a View. The show is the comfortable humorous comradeship of sisters in struggle—taking time to enjoy art together.

—Deborah Jones and Joanie Quim

Theater

Occasionally, at demonstrations or movement events you see or hear an artist whose work is not stretched to cover the issues but carries within it the inspiration and mood of that movement.

Ivy Bottini, a leading lesbian-feminist activist and comedienne, has put together an entire evening of such art.

A Reader's Notes

Every student of revolutionary history will welcome the recent publication of *The Second Congress of the Communist International* (New Park, London, 1977, paperback, two volumes, 331 & 331 pages, each \$6.00).

This contains the minutes of the proceedings of the Third International's world congress in the Soviet Union in July-August 1920 when Lenin was still alive and actively engaged in the work of building a revolutionary international.

An English translation of the minutes was published at that time, but it was incomplete and poorly translated and has long been out of print. The new translation by R.A. Archer from the German is well done and accompanied by useful notes, a glossary, and an index.

The Communist International was only a year old in 1920. It was founded in 1919 as the revolutionary successor of the Second International, which had betrayed the cause of socialism in World War I. The Comintern brought together the forces that had been inspired by the Russian revolution of 1917 and wanted to follow its example in their own countries. But among these forces there was not much agreement on program, strategy, or tactics.

To reach understanding on these questions, and particularly on the nature of revolutionary parties

needed in the era of imperialism, the Comintern held a second world congress in 1920, a third in 1921, and a fourth in 1922.

Revolutionaries of our time are still drawing guidance and sustenance from the ideas hammered out at these first four congresses of the Comintern, before it degenerated in the control of the Stalinists, who dissolved the Comintern in 1943 long after they had drained it of all revolutionary content.

Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky the Comintern had great prestige in 1920, and the second congress was attended not only by delegates of the new Communist parties but also of many syndicalist groups and of some important Socialist parties that wanted to affiliate to the new international.

The Comintern leaders wanted to win these non-Communist forces to their new movement but only on the basis of firm adherence to Marxist principles, which required a renunciation of reformism and centrism (a tendency that oscillates between reformism and authentic Marxism).

They also used the second congress to wage a sharp educational campaign against the strong ultraleft tendencies in many Communist parties that would have wrecked the Comintern just as it was getting started. Lenin had just written his

"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder against this tendency, and he continued his offensive against it at the congress.

Because the congress was democratic (unlike those controlled by the Stalinists later) and because the differences were numerous, the debates at the congress were lively and extensive. And because the issues debated were so important—the nature of revolutionary politics, the national and colonial question, the trade unions, parliamentarianism, the agrarian question, and others—reading about them is a real educational feast.

Copies can be bought from Pathfinder Press or bookshops listed on page 31.

* * *

A very useful summary about the varying approaches during the past two decades by American historians to the effects of slavery on the slaves appears in the March 18 *Nation*. Entitled "Historians and Black Families," it is written by Ira Berlin, who teaches American history in Maryland and has written *Slaves Without Masters*. This, incidentally, is the first issue of the *Nation* under its new editor, Victor Navasky.

—George Breitman

Their Government

The Law vs. the law

The biography *John L. Lewis* by Saul Alinsky tells a good story about the big fight between Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers and the CIO, and President Franklin Roosevelt.

The story is about Lewis's last meeting with Roosevelt on October 17, 1940. Roosevelt was asking Lewis's backing in the elections. "Haven't I always been a friend of labor, John?" FDR asked.

"Well, Mr. President," answered Lewis, "if you are a friend of labor, why is the FBI tapping all my phones, both my home and my office, and why do they have instructions to follow me about?"

Roosevelt objected that it was a "damn lie." But Lewis had seen Roosevelt's orders to the FBI. Governor Murphy of Michigan had shown them to him.

The FBI has always been a weapon against the mine workers. In fact, the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government has shown that the FBI has been a tool against all working people. Against socialists, trade unionists, Blacks, women, antiwar activists. Against anyone trying to organize for their needs.

Recently both the SWP lawsuit and the mine

workers exposed another weapon against working people. Not only the FBI, but the courts, are a weapon. When it chooses, the government invokes the law. Or, as President Carter would say it—with a reverent voice and stern face—The Law.

That's what Carter did when he invoked Taft-Hartley against the miners. "In times of crisis The Law binds us together," he proclaimed. "Respect for the rule of Law insures the strength of our nation. The Law will be enforced."

But miners know how the government really honors The Law. "He says the law must be enforced. What about this road here?" asked a miner in Virginia. He pointed to trucks hauling scab coal. "And those trucks with no license plates and overweight and coal falling off everywhere and the drivers with no chauffeur's license. Why aren't those laws enforced?"

Miners know, too, that The Law doesn't command much respect when it's time to enforce safety laws. That's why the miners are demanding the right to strike—it is the only way to enforce safety laws when The Law ignores them.

Another demonstration of government reverence

for The Law came in the SWP suit. While Carter in Washington was getting a court order against strikers, his lawyers in New York were hearing about a court order against the FBI.

The judge hearing the case told the FBI's lawyers they were under court orders to produce files on eighteen informers who spied on the SWP. Did the lawyers answer, "Oh yes, the rule of Law must be enforced"?

No. They said there was a "strong possibility" the FBI would defy a court order, even if it came from the Supreme Court!

That's the difference between The Law and the law. When it's a matter of protecting profits against miners' safety or their right to strike, the government is all for enforcing The Law.

But when it looks like bosses are breaking safety regulations or the FBI is covering up old crimes, then the government shrugs it off as merely the law.

The Law on one hand versus the law on the other. That's a hard one to balance on the scales of justice under capitalism.

—Diane Wang

By Any Means Necessary

Winning a new West?

"The charges involve subverting the announced foreign policy of the United States, as well as being repugnant to international law," said Richard Blumenthal, United States attorney for Connecticut, March 14.

Was Blumenthal prosecuting a witch-hunt case against socialists, Black nationalists or some other group proclaimed to be "subversives" by the FBI?

Not this time. In fact the target of his remarks, the Olin Corporation—the owners of Winchester, one of the country's leading manufacturers of firearms—is about as true-blue patriotic American as you can get.

And so is the deed for which Blumenthal indicted the arms-maker—running guns to South Africa and lying about it to the State Department.

The indictment charges that from January 1971 to July 1975 Olin conspired to violate the Munitions Control Act and a U.S. government's embargo on arms shipments to South Africa.

According to Blumenthal, Olin had tried, through

Winchester, to ship 3,200 nonautomatic and semiautomatic rifles. About 2,000 of them actually reached South Africa. Olin also tried to ship 20 million rounds of ammunition.

Since direct shipment of arms to South Africa is illegal, Olin had to engage in a good deal of subterfuge. Winchester stationed a secret arms dealer in South Africa who solicited orders for arms and ammunition from retail dealers.

The South African agent would then make arrangements with dealers in Mozambique, Spain, Greece, and Austria for transshipment of the hardware.

Export applications filed with the State Department would then be falsified showing the countries of transshipment as the final destination.

Undoubtedly Olin is not the only company to violate the ban on arms sales to South Africa. Nor is it the only one to lie about its actions to the State Department.

But Washington is under increasing pressure

John Hawkins



from unionists, students, civil rights groups, and others to get out of South Africa and curb American business investments there.

In such a situation a gesture of living up to its antiapartheid rhetoric is called for. Olin has simply been picked to take the fall.

The company's business with South Africa isn't crucial to defending the colonial regime anyway. And the most they can wind up being fined is \$510,000—a drop in the bucket to a company that had sales of \$1.47 billion last year.

But the fact that Washington felt it needed to take some action on this front, no matter how cosmetic, should show supporters of the Black freedom struggle in South Africa that their protests are being heard.

It should also encourage them to expand efforts to educate broader layers of American working people on this issue, involving them in the fight for an end to U.S. government and business involvement with the apartheid regime.

Women in Revolt

'You've shown us how to fight'

The following is a speech by Ann Riley Owens, chairwoman of the Indianapolis National Organization for Women's labor task force. The speech was delivered at an Indianapolis rally March 12 to support the United Mine Workers strike.

You coal miners have stayed out for nearly 100 days in order to have your demands for better health care, safety in the mines, and decent protection for retired miners met.

When a union goes out for demands such as yours, women have an important stake in the fight. Last year's statistics tell us we are 40 percent of the work force and that 54 percent of women between the ages of eighteen and sixty-four are in the work force. A majority of the rest of women work at home.

Women have traditionally been kept out of the better-paid jobs. We're pushed onto the unemployment lines and back into the homes during economic crises. At the same time, inflation and unemployment make it necessary for us to earn a

living in order for our families to survive.

As we enter the work force more and more, we expect to be treated equally. We intend to participate in all the struggles of the unions for the rights of working people as a whole and for our rights as women.

This coal strike illustrates that coal miners and women have a common enemy. The owners of the billion-dollar coal industry won't give you even what your last contract guaranteed—and the government protects *them*, not you.

The government has invoked Taft-Hartley to force you back to work without a contract. They've talked of seizing the mines as another alternative to put you back to work without settlement of your demands by the coal industry. Both alternatives are attacks on the right to strike, on collective bargaining, and on the rights of working people to a say on job conditions.

If the men and women miners and their families are set back in this struggle, we are all set back. The same government denying you the right to strike is denying women simple and equal rights.

Diane Wang



The coal miners have great respect for the women who have helped their strikes all through the history of the UMWA. I was excited to see the determination of women in the movie *Harlan County, U.S.A.* during the miners' strike there. And our sisters in Stearns, Kentucky, have done speaking, touring, and other forms of strike support for the vigilant strikers there. These women are fine examples for us all.

We have been encouraged by growing union support for the Equal Rights Amendment. We need more collaboration between the labor movement and the women's movement.

It has been said that when society is right for women, it will be right for everyone. There is a lot of truth in that.

For NOW, I wish the miners good luck in your struggle and pledge our continued support. We will continue to look at your perseverance for a just and fair contract as a fine example of how to struggle for our rights too.

Quote unquote

"There is a strong feeling among American sources, most of whom served in Vietnam, that the Israelis have not yet realized the problems involved in fighting a campaign against guerrillas in territory that is at least partly hostile."

—Drew Middleton in the March 18 'New York Times.'

CRUEL AND UNUSUAL

The Missouri Supreme Court has upheld a seven-year prison sentence for a college student convicted of selling one-third of an ounce of marijuana. In a six-to-one ruling handed down March 13, the court said the penalty did not constitute cruel or unusual punishment. State law lumps marijuana in with heroin and other drugs, and mandates a five-year-to-life term upon conviction for selling.

HUNTING JUSTICE

Justice in North Carolina is a funny thing. You never know where you'll find it. For example: Gov. James Hunt has refused to pardon the Wilmington Ten, civil rights activists sentenced to long prison terms for crimes they didn't commit. The three main witnesses against them have admitted they lied under pressure from the prosecution.

But Hunt is not entirely hard-hearted. He did pardon John Gaddy, the former city manager of Raeford, who stole city money. Gaddy, said the governor, seemed repentant and reformed, and besides, he needed a job.

Oh yes. Gaddy's uncle, John Henley, just happens to be the speaker pro tem of the state senate. Uncle John, as well as the sheriff, the Democratic county chairman, and Hunt's Hoke County campaign chair-

The FBI was so eager to silence Black comedian Dick Gregory that it planned to use the mafia against him. Recently released FBI files show how anxious the government was to stop Gregory's appeals for civil rights and Black nationalism.

In April 1968 FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover ordered his agents in Chicago to "review Gregory's file and his current activities to develop counterintelligence designed to neutralize him. This should not be in the nature of an expose, since he al-

Birds of a feather

ready gets far too much publicity.

"Instead, sophisticated, completely untraceable means of neutralizing Gregory should be developed."

"Neutralize" is also the word the FBI used in connection with Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X.

A month later Hoover sent the Chicago FBI an idea for a "sophisticated" way to "neutralize" Gregory. Hoover pointed out that Gregory had publicly criticized the mafia. "Consider the use of this statement in developing a counterintelligence op-

eration to alert La Cosa Nostra [LCN] to Gregory's attack on LCN," wrote Hoover.

The two Hoover memos are among 13,000 pages of FBI files turned over to Gregory.



broader implications of the ruling. "The court decision . . . means that a person's status cannot be considered sufficient reason to disqualify any person from government benefits, privilege, license, or employment," he said.

ELLSBERG JOINS PROTEST

At a Denver press conference March 13, Daniel Ellsberg announced his support for a national demonstration to close the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant, located sixteen miles away. Ellsberg, who released the Pentagon Papers on the Vietnam War, explained that the plant uses highly toxic plutonium to make the triggers for all U.S. nuclear weapons. It will also manufacture the neutron bomb, if that weapon—which destroys only people, not property—receives final approval. Calling Colorado "a good place to say 'no' to nuclear weapons," Ellsberg urged activists from around the country to converge on Rocky Flats on April 29.

CARTER VS. RAZA UNIDA

The Zavala County Economic Development Corporation of Crystal City, Texas, has filed a federal suit charging the Carter administration con-

man wrote the governor on Gaddy's behalf.

Wilmington Ten attorney James Ferguson commented that Hunt had created a "double standard of justice."

PLAY BALL!

In the past three years, more than 60,000 New York City municipal workers have lost their jobs and social services have been slashed as the city cried bankruptcy. Despite its poor financial health, the city's rulers managed to come up with \$100 million to renovate Yankee Stadium. The city leased the stadium to the team, which is supposed to pay an annual rent.

In 1977, the Yankees took in more than \$14 million, but the city, instead of getting a projected million dollars, will get less than \$150,000. And in 1976, when the Yankees grossed \$7 million, the city paid the Yankees \$10,000 instead of collecting more than \$800,000 in rent.

How do the Yankees do it? Seems the lease allows them to deduct "maintenance from the rent. "Maintenance" ran to \$839,000 in 1977 and \$800,000 in 1976. That's a lot of green.

SANTIAGO-CIA CONNECTION

The Chilean junta admitted March 6 that two men sought by the United States in connection with the bombing murder of exiled Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier had traveled to the U.S. under official passports.

Letelier and a co-worker, Ronni Moffit, were killed when a bomb exploded in Letelier's car in Washington, D.C., in September 1976. Letelier, a former aide to the late Chilean President Salvador Allende, had been deprived of his citizenship but remained an outspoken critic of the bloody military regime.

It took the U.S. government more than a year to get around to investigating the murder. Some of the revelations now coming out explain why.

One of the suspects is "Juan Williams Rose," reportedly a pseudonym for Michael Townley, a North American who was active in the ultrarightist Patria y Libertad group in Chile. Numerous press accounts in Chile and this country have suggested that Townley also worked for the CIA.

The Justice Department says it has no comment.

VICTORY FOR GAY RIGHTS

In a landmark decision the Florida Supreme Court ruled March 20 that "a homosexual could not be denied admission to the state bar because of sexual preference." The court's decision is believed to be the first in the United States concerning the right of gays to practice law.

Bruce Winick, general counsel of the Florida Civil Liberties Union, commented on the

Nazis jeered in St. Louis

With less than half the turnout they had predicted, forty-three uniformed members of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party of America showed up for a march in the southside of St. Louis March 11.

Met by an angry, jeering crowd of 3,000 residents of the predominantly white, working-class community, the Nazis were soon forced to cancel their planned rally. Cops escorted them on flatbed trucks through the crowd. A small group of twenty-

five counterdemonstrators, led by the sectarian Revolutionary Socialist League, broke away from the crowd, and were attacked by cops. Six were arrested.

The previous evening the St. Louis Militant Forum held a meeting on "Nazis and Democratic Rights." Speakers were Robert Boardman from the American Civil Liberties Union; Heddy Epstein, a survivor of the Nazi concentration camps; and Dave Welters, a member of United Steelworkers Local 4294 and the SWP.

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

DISCUSSION ON SOCIALISM. Wednesday, Mar. 29, 5 p.m. 2nd fl. Memorial Union, Arizona State Univ. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW WHY DID THE FARM WORKERS GIVE UP THE GRAPES, GALLO & LETTUCE BOYCOTT? A discussion of current developments in the United Farm Workers union. Speaker: Harry Ring, Southwest bureau of the Militant. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. (near Western). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST SON OF S.1: THE THREAT OF POLICE-STATE LEGISLATION. Speaker: Joseph Friedman, cochair, committee on national legislation, S. Calif. ACLU. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION THE FIGHT TO END DISCRIMINATION IN HEALTH CARE SERVICES. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

CONNECTICUT NEW HAVEN

NORTHEASTERN CONFERENCE ON LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. Organizing opposition to U.S. involvement. Panels, workshops, speakers, demonstration planning. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Mar. 31-Sun., Apr. 2. Registration Fri., 4-7 p.m. Yale University. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Northeastern Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa. For more information call (413) 253-7848.

FLORIDA MIAMI

ROSCOE WASHINGTON, VICTIM OF RACIST INJUSTICE. Speakers: Morris Johnson, chairperson, Black Studies Department, Dade Community College; Phyllis Eisman, All People, Inc.; representative of Florida Alliance Against Repression. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 7623 Northeast 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO: NORTH SIDE CARTER'S NEW IMMIGRATION PLAN: ATTACK ON UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS. Panel discussion. Speakers: leaders of CASA, Illinois Migrants Council, Mujeres Latinas en Accion. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted. Donation: \$1.

Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers: South African exile; Rob Saute, University of Chicago Action Committee. Slide show: 'Partners in apartheid' on U.S. complicity with South Africa. Fri., Mar. 31, 7:30 p.m. 2251 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

CHICAGO: WEST SIDE ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON: NEW WAR DRIVE AGAINST THE PALESTINIANS. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 10 N. Cicero Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 261-8370.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

SHOULD NAZIS HAVE FREEDOM OF SPEECH? A panel discussion. Speakers: Rich Erdman, New Jersey ACLU; Joe Soares, Socialist Workers Party; spokesperson for the National Lawyers Guild; others. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Carole Newcombe, SWP candidate for

U.S. Senate; Floyd Fowler, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress District 1. Sat., Apr. 1, 7:30 p.m. Convention Center, Isleta Room, 401 2nd NW. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

ISRAEL'S INVASION OF LEBANON: NEW WAR DRIVE AGAINST THE PALESTINIANS. Speaker: David Frankel, staff writer for the Militant. Wed., Mar. 29, 8 p.m. Millbank Chapel, Columbia Teachers College, 525 W. 120th St. at Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

IS FEMINISM RELEVANT TO MINORITY WOMEN? Speakers: Goldie Chu; Dr. Helen Rodriguez; Ruby Jones, president of N.Y. Coalition of Labor Union Women; Sandra Melendez, northeast regional representative of the National Minority Women's Committee for the National Organization for Women. Wed., Mar. 29, 7 p.m. 47 E. 9th St. Donation: \$2 NOW members, students; \$3 others. Ausp: New York NOW. For more information call (212) 674-8950.

DEFEND THE MUNICIPAL WORKERS! Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for governor; Kevin Kellogg, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Ken Milner, SWP candidate for Congress 19th C.D.;

Ray Markey, delegate to New York City Central Labor Council. Sat., Apr. 1, 7 p.m. social hour; 8 p.m. rally; 10 p.m. party. Millbank Chapel, Columbia Teachers College, 525 W. 120th St. at Broadway. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1977 Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NYC: UPPER WEST SIDE SYMPOSIUM ON THE 'BAKKE' DECISION. Speakers: Liz González, Puerto Rican Law Students Association, NYU; representative of National Student Coalition Against Racism; Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. (98th St.). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OHIO

CINCINNATI WHY WORKING PEOPLE NEED THEIR OWN PARTY. A discussion of a labor party. Speaker: Lynn Henderson, national committee, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

TOLEDO

THE COAL STRIKE AND THE CHALLENGE TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Speaker: John Gaige, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor in Ohio, member of United Auto Workers union; Dean Cohen, member, UAW. Sun.,

spired with Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe and other top Texas Democrats to block release of an \$850,000 grant.

The Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano party that holds most of the offices in Zavala County, initiated the project to set up a cooperative farm. Briscoe, one of South Texas's biggest landowners, had blasted this as an attempt to create "a little Cuba in Texas."

The White House has admitted the existence of eighteen top-level secret White House memos on the subject, including some to Carter personally, according to *Congressional Quarterly*. The first document is dated a few days after Carter took office. Apparently, the White House considers the documents so damning that it "is on the verge of claiming executive privilege"—à la Nixon—to keep them secret.

Farmers protest power line

Militant correspondent Gary Prevost reports that 5,000 people, mostly farmers and their families, rallied against a 400-kilovolt direct-current power line under construction in central Minnesota. The March 5 protest was held near Lowry, 130 miles northwest of Minneapolis.

Farmers have opposed the line because of unanswered questions about health and safety and the fact that their land has been taken without fair compensation. The line will carry one of the biggest loads in the country. Although the power companies building it say the risks are minimal, refueling tractors or other equipment near the

line is forbidden. School buses may not load or unload near it.

After several nonviolent confrontations between farmers and line construction workers over the past few months, Gov. Rudy Perpich called out 200 state troopers. Since then, more than 100 people have been arrested.

While daily protests have drawn between 100 and 500 people, the March 5 demonstration showed the widespread support the movement against the power line has won. Farmers and other people came from Minnesota, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota, and New York State.



Apr. 2, 7 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd.
Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore.
For more information call (419) 242-9743.

OREGON PORTLAND

DECLINE OF THE DOLLAR: A MARXIST VIEW OF THE MONETARY CRISIS.
Speaker: Vern Cope, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Portland City Council. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 3928 Williams Ave.
Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore.
For more information call (503) 288-7860.

WASHINGTON SEATTLE

REPRESSION IN IRAN. Speaker: Representative of Univ. of Wash. chapter of Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 2200 E. Union. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.
GEORGIA AVENUE**
**HUMAN RIGHTS BEGIN AT HOME:
THE CASE OF THE WILMINGTON 10.**
Speakers to be announced. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 2901 14th St. NW, 1st fl. auditorium. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Georgia Ave. Militant Bookstore & D.C. Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 797-7699 or 265-7708.

MT. PLEASANT

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION. Speakers: Fouzie Asmar, Palestinian, former political prisoner in Israel; J. Jafar, Palestinian; representative from Middle East Research & Information Project; Tuval Foquel, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$1.50 Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

Defend Marroquin

NYC: LOWER EAST SIDE: "Héctor Marroquin at the Nuyorican Cafe." Come and hear Héctor Marroquin tell why he is fighting for political asylum. Sun., Apr. 2, 7:30 p.m. 505 E. 6th St. (between Ave. A & B). Ausp: Lower East Side Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

PHILADELPHIA: "Rally in defense of Héctor Marroquin." Speakers: Héctor Marroquin; Ali Shokri; Philip Berrigan; James Cockroft, leading authority on Latin America; Rosario Ibarra de Piedra; Phyllis Taylor, Philadelphia human rights activist. Thurs., Mar. 30, 8 p.m. Fine Arts Auditorium, 34th & Walnut St. Ausp: Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Blood will tell—A group of British genealogists have been studying President Carter's roots in an English village. According to the *New York Times*, they found the president's ancestors "to have been a troublesome lot who drove off their neighbors' pigs, poached rabbits and illegally chopped down trees."

Grey area—"Human rights does affect our interactions with lots of countries . . . but not all in exactly the same way." — Defense Secretary Brown explaining why the administration wants to strengthen its military ties with the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines.

No, big deal—A missing cannister of radioactive material was found in a roadside ditch by an Ohio highway construction worker who recognized it from the pictures he had seen on TV. A police

official explained the cannister "apparently fell off the truck somehow and bounced and rolled off the highway."

Chilly outlook—In addition to global devastation, World War III would create a major problem weatherwise, says British physicist Bruce Sibley. He calculates that a massive nuclear conflict would alter the outer-atmosphere ozone layer. This would drastically lower the earth's temperature, triggering a new ice age.

Stiff tour schedule, no doubt—Air France is offering an \$899 tour for members of the funeral industry. Visit mortuaries in Monte Carlo and other lively spots; hear talks on the social and anthropological aspects of death, on the organization of French cemeteries, and on funeral merchandising.

Union Talk

Death in the Navy Yard

This column was written by a shipfitter at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, a member of the Seafarer's International Union, Marine Industrial Division. Because of stepped-up company harassment at the yard, the writer asked that his name be withheld.

NEW YORK—The deathtrap run by Seatrain Shipbuilding Corporation at the Brooklyn Navy Yard has claimed another victim. Phillip Brown, a twenty-nine-year-old painter working in Dry Dock 5 was crushed by a falling scaffold at 8:15 a.m. on February 27. He died a few hours later.

By now Seatrain has undoubtedly "established" that some sort of "human error" was responsible for Phillip's death. "Human error," however, does not explain the conditions that have made disabling accidents part of the routine in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

A quick walk through the yard reveals a catalog of practically every safety violation in the book: scrap steel strewn all over the yard, unsecured ladders, sharp projections jutting out over the work areas, decks forty or more feet above the drydocks without guard rails, leaky gas lines, welding lines with exposed wire sizzling in the snow.

We have to put up with this and more because for Seatrain's owners safety doesn't pay. In their minds every minute spent on safety is a minute of lost production. Every dime spent on safety equipment is a dime off their profits.

As a result of this attitude, Seatrain has accumulated one of the worst accident records in the industry. Last year Seatrain workers lost a total of 15,126 work-days as a result of injuries or job-related illnesses.

Seatrain's efforts to improve the situation this year consisted mainly in putting up a few posters saying, "Make Safety Rate in '78." Before the month was out the company had to take these signs down.

On January 25 Richie Jardin, a shipfitter, slipped off an unguarded deck and fell forty feet to the bottom of Dry Dock 6. The next day a rigger supervisor had a similar accident.

Almost all the accidents at Seatrain are a direct result of violations of federal safety regulations and the union contract, yet little or nothing is done about them.

What can we do to change the situation?

Having inspectors from OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) coming around is better than nothing, but it is pretty clear that OSHA is not going to solve our problems for us.

First of all, for a company that is so sloppy and disorganized about everything else it does, Seatrain is remarkably efficient when it comes to covering up accidents. Within an hour after the rigger supervisor fell, for example, workers were tacking up the guard rails which should have prevented him from falling in the first place.

Second, the "prolabor" Democrats in Congress made sure that OSHA doesn't have the power to enforce its own regulations. Seatrain can be caught endangering a whole work crew and be slapped with at most a \$1,000 fine.

While we may be able to use OSHA, we can't depend on it. The only people we can rely on are ourselves.

"Ourselves" in this case means the union. Groups of us can get together and protest working under illegally dangerous conditions. But the only thing that brings all of us together and can develop the power necessary to force Seatrain to operate safely is the union.

The union participates in a safety committee already. Under the last contract the committee consisted of four people appointed by the union and four from management. It met at least once a month. Now we have five union representatives to three from management, and the committee meets at least twice a month.

None of us noticed the difference. The safety committee is as invisible as it was before, and conditions are, if anything, worse.

What we need is a *real* safety committee, elected by the ranks. A real safety committee would not spend all its time in management offices. Its members would be out in the yard checking for safety violations. And they would have to have the right to shut down jobs that violate safety rules.

To be effective, such a safety committee would have to be backed up by the entire membership. Its members would have to be protected from firings and harassment.

Furthermore, we would need to win the right to strike over violations of the contract or OSHA regulations.

These are the kind of demands the coal miners are fighting for, and we should look to their example. To win these rights will take a long hard struggle. But if enough of us agree on what has to be done and how to get started, we can begin to make the union work for us and make sure that no one is needlessly killed or injured again.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

1943 miners' strike

As the first major union to stand up to today's antilabor drive by the corporations and government, the United Mine Workers has set an inspiring example for all working people.

It's not the first time that the miners have shown the way. In 1943—during another big-business drive against labor—the miners fought back against the wage-freezing 'Little Steel formula' and the wartime no-strike pledge.

Negotiations for a new United Mine Workers contract opened March 10, 1943, in the midst of World War II. Union President John L. Lewis presented the miners' demands to the coal operators—a two-dollar-a-day wage boost and a minimum daily wage of eight dollars. The union also demanded elimination of the third shift as a safety measure.

'Mine workers are hungry,' Lewis told the coal bosses. 'They are asking for food, and if they don't get it, and if their contract runs out, it is a safe assumption that the mine workers, in the absence of a contract, will not trespass upon your property the first or second of April this year.'

During negotiations, the union documented the soaring costs of living for miners, contrasting it to the war profits enjoyed by the coal industry.

Today the big-business news media have teamed up with the government and coal operators to try and isolate the miners.

In 1943, the miners' struggle for a decent standard of living met with a similar wall of opposition. In the general atmosphere of patriotism whipped up by the government, the miners were charged with sabotaging the war against fascism.

The Stalinists of the Communist Party also jumped on the bandwagon, branding the 'Lewis line' in their 'Daily Worker' as 'disruption of the war effort and provocation that could only result in irreparable harm to labor.'

But the miners stood firm. During the course of the year, they struck the nation's mines four times. Their courageous battle cracked the wage freeze and won a victory for all labor.

From the beginning, the 'Militant' spoke out unconditionally in support of the miners. The following editorial ran in the March 20, 1943, 'Militant.'

The mine workers' fight for wage increases and a satisfactory contract, although it is far from finished, has already thrown a good deal of light, for the broad mass of American union men and women watching their struggle with the greatest

interest and sympathy, on the present status of the labor movement, caught in the vise of frozen wages and rising living costs.

It has also demonstrated that the employers, backed by all U.S. industrialists, grown fat with profits and full of self-confidence and arrogance, are depending on the administration and its agencies such as the War Labor Board to help them resist the justified demands of the United Mine Workers.

As in the great coal strike of 1941, the workers can see that the War Labor Board and similar agencies by which the workers were put into a wartime straitjacket, can survive only with the participation and support of the labor movement itself. The moment even one section of the labor movement challenges this seemingly imposing edifice, the house is in danger of collapse. And remember, the real fighting has not yet started: an important union leader has simply issued a denunciation and a warning, and a full-blown crisis is in the offing in all the labor agencies in Washington.

What a demonstration of the tremendous power lodged in labor's ranks, of the ease with which the labor movement could get out of bondage and restore its full independence and fighting strength!

The miners' fight has not yet been concluded, but observe the effects of a policy based on a certain amount of courage: The heads of the OPA, which has done nothing effective to halt the rising cost of living in the last year, are running around telling everyone that now at last, they are going to control prices and they are even making a few gestures in the direction of stronger price policies.

And the AFL and CIO leaders, afraid of being discredited for not fighting for the interests of their members, are also beginning to talk a little louder and a little more sharply against the "Little Steel" formula, frozen wages, etc.

Regardless of what transpires further in the UMW negotiations, the whole labor movement owes the miners a debt, for their union has again taken the lead and shown the path and by its action moved the whole labor movement another step forward.

The first task of every militant, no matter what union he belongs to, is to work to get his union and its leaders on record in support of the mine workers' demands and any action which they may be forced to take to win those demands.

Then the UMW experience should become the basis for the reestablishment of collective bargaining—as the term was understood in the early days of the CIO—on the part of every local union in the country.

Letters

Highly informative

Thank you very much for the subscription to your paper. The *Militant* is contemporary and highly informative in relation to world news and political situations.

The literature review committee here has not stopped your publication from entering this concentration camp. Please keep up the good work.

A prisoner
New York

Moreover, it did what other groups failed to do: it united the left-wing forces on campus.

The YSA deserves applause for supplying good leadership to a university that has the potential for playing an educational and an activist role in fighting against the coal capitalists who dominate the state capital and strip the land of its trees and foliage in this otherwise beautiful state of West Virginia.

Dennis Wainstock
Morgantown, West Virginia

YSA in W. Va.

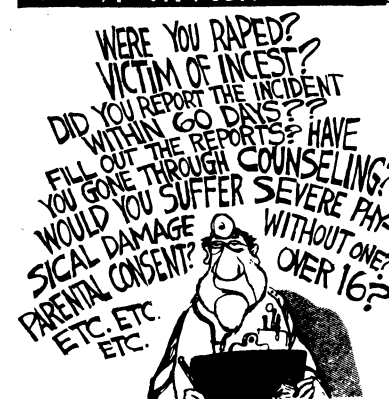
As a graduate student at West Virginia University for the past four years, I have belonged to the campus chapters of the War Resisters League and the Socialist Party USA. I have participated in numerous demonstrations and rallies and have seen left-wing groups come and go. But not until members of the Young Socialist Alliance began organizing on campus early

Women buy 'Militant'

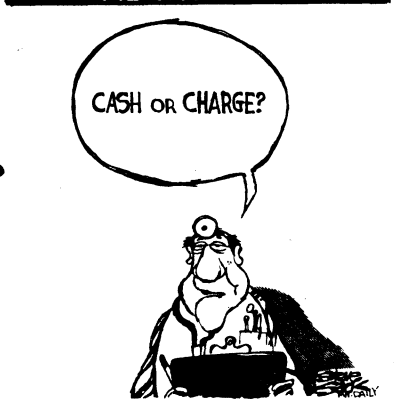
Although this year's International Women's Day demonstration in New York City was quite small—less than 300—a good number of participants bought copies of the *Militant*.

They appreciated a paper that campaigned against the attacks on women's rights. The

QUESTIONS A POOR WOMAN
MUST ANSWER TO GET AN
ABORTION:



QUESTIONS A RICH WOMAN
MUST ANSWER TO GET AN
ABORTION:



last fall have I seen such an upsurge of student activism.

The YSA has played a key role in uniting a wide variety of diverse student groups to form the campus Stearns Mine Workers Support Committee. The Stearns Committee successfully sponsored two huge rallies in support of the striking miners—both attended by miners and students alike. What's more, the committee has shown labor films and collected food for the miners. It has helped raise the class consciousness among the more progressive students on the strike issues and the problems miners face today.

Unfortunately, the university administration tried to keep both the Stearns Support Committee and the YSA from being officially recognized. With the help of the American Civil Liberties Union and the support of more than a dozen university professors, the administration turned around rather abruptly and recognized both groups only three days after it had passed a negative judgment on them.

With its display of socialist, feminist, and third-world literature, the YSA has raised the political dialogue on campus to a high level.

back-page feature on abortion rights under attack caught their attention immediately. Those who bought the paper were also impressed by the *Militant's* campaign in defense of the miners.

'It's not hard to see why the miners, slapped with the government's slave-labor law, need and deserve the support of women. Many on the demonstration saw it that way too.

In selling the paper, I found the article by Nancy Cole on "Taft-Hartley: what it is and how to fight it" met with considerable interest. I was told a number of times that this is the kind of information that is very much what readers are looking for.

The excellent coverage of the issues and developments in the strike helped make the *Militant* the most attractive paper at the demonstration.

Heidi Fischer
Hoboken, New Jersey

On the 'new look'

I would like to say a few things about the new look of the *Militant*. It is an improvement over an already excellent paper. The columns

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JOIN THE SWP

Learning About Socialism

How socialists organize meetings

From time to time union bureaucrats shed crocodile tears about the low attendance at union meetings. It is not unusual to hear them complain, "Those people aren't interested in the union. They don't appreciate what we do for them. They don't understand unionism."

In reality the bureaucrats design union meetings to discourage members from attending and to assure themselves tight control. Tired workers have to sit through cut-and-dried reports that center on trivia and evade the most important issues that concern workers. Union members who come to a meeting in order to have a look at the organization that is checking off their dues usually decide not to return unless a strike issue comes up.

In the life of the Socialist Workers Party, the role of weekly branch meetings is very different. The branch is the basic unit of the SWP, organizing the party's activity in a particular locality.

The SWP is a democratic-centralist organization that makes decisions on the basis of majority rule, while carrying them out in a united manner. Because of this, the elected branch leadership seeks to foster maximum attendance and participation in branch meetings. How to do this was a topic of discussion at the plenum of the SWP National Committee last month.

In her report on party organizational tasks, Mary-Alice Waters termed the branch meeting "the most important political activity of the week" for SWP members.

"The branch meeting is the most basic educational institution of the party. It is where every single member, every single week, learns not only how we're going to organize our immediate tasks in the next days, but learns how to think politically. It is where we all learn why we're doing what we're doing. After every branch meeting, we should feel more confident that we understand our political line and can generalize it, apply it to new situations in the future.

"Every branch meeting has to be planned by the executive committee [the elected leadership in SWP branches] with that educational goal in mind. Organizing that kind of meeting every week is the most important task of the executive committee."

Rather than cramming agendas with routine points, Waters suggested the agendas should be oriented to the

important decisions that have to be made by the members.

The political importance of branch meetings is one reason many branches have a brief educational talk as the first point on the agenda. Waters said, "It may be a point you think needs a more thorough presentation and discussion. It may be a more general background report that's relevant to some new task, like our concepts of defense work and how to win political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

Waters urged branch leaderships to devote careful attention to planning this part of each meeting.

While meetings of a socialist political party such as the SWP necessarily require different forms than meetings of unions or other working-class organizations, the need for full information and democratic participation is common to all. As the ruling class increases the squeeze on working people, union members are feeling the need for real democracy in union meetings so that ideas of how to fight back can be proposed and debated and lessons of past experiences can be drawn.

Revolutionary socialists in the unions have devoted some attention to this question. An example is Farrell Dobbs, who led the Teamsters union organizing drives in Minneapolis and subsequently in an eleven-state region in the 1930s. In *Teamster Power* (New York, Pathfinder Press, 1973), Dobbs described how meetings were organized in Minneapolis Teamsters Local 574—a local organized on class-struggle and democratic, rather than bureaucratic, lines:

"There was complete freedom of expression for all views. Policy matters were presented by the leadership in a reasoned way, and full discussion was encouraged so as to reach a clear understanding about the union's objectives. On all questions the general membership meeting had the final say; it was the supreme authority. . . .

"To intensify the learning process already so well started, the union leadership now initiated an educational program. Study courses open to all members were organized. The curriculum included economics, labor history and politics, public speaking, strike strategy, and union structure and tactics. Wherever practical, officers' reports at membership meetings were given with a view toward making them instructive as well as factually informative. . . .

"These endeavors stood in marked contrast to the policies of bureaucratic union officials." —Paul Montauk

and letters in the back make it an especially strong section.

The two new columns, "Learning About Socialism" and "Our Revolutionary Heritage" are important additions. I hope that when the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant* is over these columns remain.

The occasional pieces, "Question from a Reader," are wonderful! I have never seen such a well-presented statement on the question of the war threat. [See "U.S. vs. USSR," March 17 *Militant*.] I also recall having the same feeling about the incentive pay question. [See December 23, 1977, issue.] These articles may seem rather basic for more experienced people, but they are a great service to the relative newcomers. Please continue this feature.

Concerning the readability of the paper, I have noticed that *Militant* articles are written at a very high level, above or at the level of a college-educated reader. If we want workers who are victims of an inferior education to read the paper, they indeed have to be able to read it.

There seems to be recent improvement on this, and I hope it continues.

Michael Pennock
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Miners' side of story

Keep up the good work. Our paper is the only way most people can get the miners' side of the story. I sold eleven copies at a supermarket yesterday in about thirty to forty minutes, mostly on the coal headlines. And I'm finding many co-workers are interested in reading the miners' side too. We are discussing bringing up a resolution of support at our next union meeting.

Marty Pettit
Kansas City, Missouri

Requests 'Militant'

With revolutionary greetings I write in hope of being placed on your mailing list. As I am a prisoner, I would like for myself and the brothers here with me to be more informed on events taking place in society.

A prisoner
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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CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 973 Page St. Zip: 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 916 Broadway. Zip: 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, Box 431096, South Miami. Zip: 33143. Tel: (305) 266-4381. Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Linda Thalman: 1303 Ocala Rd. #140. Zip: 32304. Tel: (904) 576-5737.

GEORGIA: East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 17821. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 688-6739. West Atlanta: SWP, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040. Zip: 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, North Side: SWP, 1870 N. Halsted. Zip: 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811. Chicago, South Side: SWP, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 10 N. Cicero. Zip: 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 233-1270. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. 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 Militon 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, 200½ 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 Castroville 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, 700½ 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.

4,000 in Nashville: 'End US ties to S. Africa'

By Omari Musa

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Capping more than a week of protest against the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup tennis match hosted by Vanderbilt University here, more than 4,000 people marched and rallied March 18 to demand an end to U.S. complicity with the South African apartheid regime.

Many of the protesters came from the two predominately Black college campuses here—Tennessee State and Fisk universities. Many came from out of town by cars and buses that brought demonstrators from Georgia, North Carolina, and Kentucky, and as far away as Missouri, Pennsylvania, and New York.

About 2,000 protesters—predominately young and Black—took part in the three-mile march called by the NAACP. Chanting "U.S. out of southern Africa now," and "Tennis—yes; apartheid—no; Davis Cup has got to go," the marchers made their way from Legislative Plaza here to Centennial Park.

Signs and banners carried by the demonstrators assailed the South African regime and U.S. complicity with it—among them "Remember Steve Biko," "Withdraw America's \$s from South Africa," "End America's investment in slave labor," "Vanderbilt supports racism in South Africa," and "Cancel the Davis Cup."

Although march organizers had announced that the demonstration would be peaceful and legal, Nashville city officials provocatively mobilized one-third of the city's entire police force along the march route with two police helicopters hovering overhead.

Nonetheless, the march arrived at Centennial Park without incident. There 2,000 more opponents of the white-minority regime joined the marchers for a spirited rally.

NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks, speaking at the rally, told the demonstrators, "We've come here to protest the brutal murder of Steve Biko; we've come here to protest the jailing of thousands of Blacks in



Demonstrators assemble for Nashville South Africa protest

Militant/Omari Musa

South Africa; we've come here to say we support economic sanctions against South Africa; we've come here to urge U.S. banks to withdraw their loans from South Africa; we've come here to protest the Davis Cup and Vanderbilt University's complicity with apartheid; and we've come here to tell this nation to stop inviting snakes to the dinner table.

"This rally," Hooks continued, "is sending a message to South Africa, the world, and the U.S. government, that

we are not satisfied. In the words of the Black national anthem, 'We will fight on 'til victory is won.'"

The NAACP leader called the demonstration and other actions that weekend successful in exposing the complicity of Vanderbilt University and the United States Tennis Association with South Africa.

The demonstration, however, fell far short of the NAACP's original prediction that it would be the largest march

Continued on page 20

'Free the Wilmington 10' 8,000 demonstrate at White House

By Laura Moorhead

WASHINGTON—More than 8,000 people demonstrated here March 18 to demand freedom for the Wilmington Ten—nine Black men and one white woman who were convicted of arson and conspiracy in North Carolina in 1972.

The charges against the ten stemmed from 1971 white vigilante attacks on the Wilmington, North Carolina, Black community and its struggle for school desegregation there. Anne Sheppard Turner, one of the ten, recently completed her parole. The remaining nine defendants are still in prison.

Marchers came from New Jersey, Illinois, Alabama, New York, Massachusetts, Missouri, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Michigan. There was a significant turnout from Washington, D.C., itself.

The march, sponsored by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, began at Malcolm X Park and marched down Sixteenth Street to the Ellipse.

Spirits were high as the marchers chanted, "Human rights begin at home, free the Wilmington Ten."

The march was kicked off by re-

marks from Angela Davis, national cochairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

At the Ellipse, demonstrators heard from Frank Shaffer-Corona, member of the D.C. School Board; Anne Sheppard Turner; and a representative of the Charlotte Three.

Turner has been speaking across the country on a tour sponsored by the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Her speeches have been aimed at building the demonstration and organizing support for the ten.

The demonstration proceeded from the Ellipse, marched around the White House, and ended in a rally at Lafayette Park across the street. The main speaker at the rally—chaired by Damu Smith, cochairperson of the D.C. Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression—was Elizabeth Chavis, mother of Wilmington Ten defendant Rev. Ben Chavis. Chavis read a speech her son had written for the national demonstration.

"Human rights must first begin at home," said the message to the protesters. "I ask President Carter, 'Which side are you on? Are you for real about

human rights? If you are, how can you be silent about the Wilmington Ten?'"

Also speaking at the Lafayette Park rally were Angela Davis; Anne Braden, Southern Organizing Committee and National Alliance; actress Ruby Dee; Hilda Mason, D.C. City Council; U.S. Rep. Don Edwards; and

Imani Kazani, National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee.

Judge Margaret Burnham, Boston Municipal Court and vice-chairperson of the National Alliance; James Barnett, North Carolina Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and Barbara Simmons, D.C. School Board; spoke as well.

Turner tours D.C.

WASHINGTON—As part of a national tour Anne Sheppard Turner, defendant in the case of the Wilmington Ten, spoke here March 16, at a meeting of Howard University students.

The meeting was cosponsored by the Howard University Student Association, Howard University Undergraduates Association, Howard University NAACP, HU Student Coalition Against Racism, and the HU Student Aid to Political Prisoners. One hundred thirty people attended.

That evening Turner spoke at the

University of Maryland in College Park and the next morning at Cardozo High School, where 260 students attended a meeting organized by Cardozo SCAR. Turner also spoke at a teach-in on the Bakke case Friday night sponsored by the Washington Teachers Union, Local 6 AFT.

During her stay in D.C. Turner was interviewed by the Howard University film department, which is making a film on the Wilmington Ten defense case, WHUR and WPFW radio stations, the *Washington Star*, Soviet News agency TASS, and *Pravda*. —L.M.