

THE MILITANT

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

4,000 youth say: 'We want jobs now!'



Militant/Rich Robohn

Thousands joined April 8 youth jobs march in Washington, D.C. See page 8.

Unionists demand shorter workweek

By Shelley Kramer

DEARBORN, Mich., April 11—There was standing room only as the first All Unions Conference to Shorten the Work Week opened here this morning.

Seven hundred delegates—mostly local union officials—from twenty-three states gathered for the one-day meeting. They came from twenty-five national and international unions—United Auto Workers; United Steelworkers; Amalgamated Meat Cutters; Communication Workers; United Mine Workers; United Electrical Workers; Teamsters; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; American Federation of Government Employees; 1199 Hospital Workers; Texas Farm Workers; and more.

Frank Runnels an initiator of the conference and president of UAW Local 22, delivered the keynote address. "The forty-hour system has built a wall around our jobs," Runnels said. "That wall has locked out 10 million people. It's time to tear that old wall down!"

Delegates are discussing how to build a movement to do just that—to cut the workweek without reducing pay in order to provide jobs for all.

Guest speakers include Rep. John Conyers, who recently introduced a bill in Congress to reduce the workweek to thirty-five hours over four years; UAW President Douglas Fraser and Vice-President Irving Bluestone; USWA district directors Charles Younglove and James Balanoff; and UE President Albert Fitzgerald.

Full coverage next week.

Reverse the 'Bakke' decision

Socialist candidate speaks out for affirmative action

The following is a statement by Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California. Halstead is a veteran trade unionist and a well-known leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement.



As the date approaches when the U.S. Supreme Court will hand down its ruling on the California *Bakke* decision, supporters of affirmative action across the country are mounting protests to demand that the decision be reversed.

An important focus of these actions is the April 15 March on Washington, D.C., called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision. I wholeheartedly support this demonstration.

These protests are examples of the kind of action needed to counter the assault on affirmative-action programs by the employers, universities, and the government. As such, they deserve the backing of all supporters of equal rights.

At the heart of the *Bakke* case is the question of equality for oppressed nationalities and women—an issue of burning concern to all working people.

A ruling by the Supreme Court upholding the *Bakke* decision would have far-reaching consequences.

It would legitimize the original decision by

the California State Supreme Court that outlawed a minority-admissions program at the University of California Davis Medical School.

The court ruled that by reserving 16 out of 100 places in each entering class for students of oppressed nationalities the university's board of regents was guilty of "reverse discrimination."

Already, in the wake of the California Supreme Court decision, colleges throughout California and across the country have moved to eliminate affirmative-action admissions programs for graduate schools. The University of California and other schools have also moved to tighten undergraduate admissions requirements.

Should the Supreme Court uphold the ruling, the result would be a sharp curtailment in the

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U.S. out of Panama!

With each passing day the U.S. Senate debate on the Panama Canal makes clearer that the purpose of the new treaties is simply to give legal cover to continued U.S. domination of Panama.

Formally there are two treaties. The one now up for ratification allows the United States to keep control of the canal until the year 2000. The other treaty, already ratified, provides for the canal's "neutrality" after that date. "Neutrality" means the eternal "right" of U.S. ships to privileged treatment and the eternal U.S. "right" to send in the marines.

The original pact was purposely vague. Panamanian dictator Gen. Omar Torrijos needed this to sell the treaties to the Panamanian people in last October's plebiscite.

At the same time, the language was broad enough to permit use of U.S. military might against the Panamanians—something Washington has done more than forty times over the past seventy-five years even without legal cover. As Theodore Roosevelt put it: "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far."

Some senators, however, thought the treaties spoke *too* softly. So Carter and Torrijos agreed to add some language "clarifying" the matter. But this wasn't enough for these senators, so the Senate attached the so-called DeConcini reservation to the "neutrality" treaty. It says outright that Washington can take military action any time it feels the canal is being "interfered with."

Now, according to the April 12 *New York Times*, Senator DeConcini wants to add a second rider "giving the United States an immediate right to send troops anywhere in Panama."

The message is clear: the U.S.-Panama relationship will remain unchanged—Panama does what the United States wants *or else*.

But DeConcini's explicit provisions could spark explosive protests in Panama. And the last thing Washington wants is greater unrest there. So Carter is looking for ways to soften the language—without giving up the principle of the U.S. "right" to militarily intervene.

U.S. working people have no interest in helping Carter and the Senate design a new velvet glove for the iron fist. Should push come

to shove, it will be us—not Carter, not the senators—who will have to pay for and die in a new Vietnam-style war in Panama. Our slogan should be the same one that has rallied the Panamanians through decades of struggle:

Panama for the Panamanians! U.S. out now!

Jobs and prices

The squeeze on working people is tightening. Even during the recovery from the 1974-75 depression, unemployment never dipped below 6 percent. For Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed minorities, unemployment remained more than double that of whites.

Now, unemployment is inching up once more. Double-digit inflation again threatens American workers.

President Carter has shown he is no more interested in protecting workers' living standards than was Nixon or Ford.

A *New York Times*/CBS News poll conducted just before Carter's April 11 speech on inflation found that 54 percent of those polled disapproved of Carter's handling of the economy. This was up from 30 percent a year ago and 45 percent in January.

Moreover, signs have begun to appear that workers want to fight back.

The biggest indication was the 110-day battle by the coal miners. But there are others.

One was the April 8 march in Washington, D.C., of 4,000 young people demanding jobs.

Another was the recent conference on the fight for a shorter workweek organized by trade unionists in Detroit.

A third is the Washington, D.C., demonstration in support of affirmative action scheduled for April 15.

All these are part of the struggle of the working class against the overall attack on its rights and living standards. It has become clearer than ever that these attacks are not part of a temporary crisis.

On the contrary, as the capitalist economic crisis intensifies again, there will be increased attempts to shift the burden onto the working class, and especially onto the oppressed nationalities, women, and youth.

We are already witnessing examples of this.

Coal operators demand that miners give up their health plan, their right to strike over safety, and hopes for a secure retirement.

Carter tells workers that they are getting paid too much.

In New York City, the government continues to cut back public services while demanding "givebacks" from municipal employee unions.

Opposition to this ruling class offensive is a life-and-death question for the American labor movement.

If the unions stand by and do nothing while one section after another of the working class comes under attack, they will not be able to defend the rights and gains of their own members when they come under fire.

The coal miners showed that workers *do* have the power to stand up to the corporations and the government. The miners set an example of struggle that ought to be taken up—and extended—by the entire labor movement.

A program for labor in this struggle would have to include demands to combat unemployment. Top among these would be the demand for a thirty-hour workweek with no cut in pay, and the demand for massive public works programs in which workers would be hired at union wages to build schools, hospitals, and other socially necessary projects.

Workers need to be protected from the ravages of inflation by cost-of-living escalator clauses coving all wages, welfare, and Social Security benefits.

Finally, key to any program to unite the working class in opposition to the capitalist offensive is support for the demands of the specially oppressed for genuine equality.

The Democratic and Republican parties will never aid working people in the fight for such demands. These parties are the political weapons used by big business to carry out its attacks.

Working people need their own organizations to defend their interests—a labor party based on a fighting union movement committed to these goals.

Such a party would mobilize the power of the oppressed in strikes, demonstrations, and at the polls to take on the policies of the capitalists and their two parties.

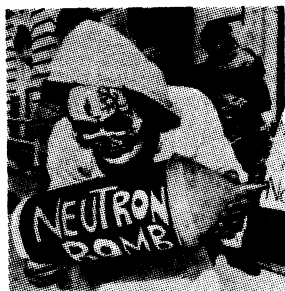
This is the way forward in the fight for jobs and protection from rising prices.

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Neutron bomb controversy

Does Carter really plan to defer production of the Pentagon's latest weapon of destruction? Behind the fancy footwork in Washington. **Page 9.**

Where is the UFW headed?
What does the end of the UFW boycotts mean for 'la causa'? **Page 24.**



Women in coal

Miner Paulette Shine is campaigning for the ERA in her union. In a feature interview she describes the reaction of co-workers in her local. **Page 11.**



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Washington moves to end probes into FBI crimes

Three FBI officials indicted for conspiracy

By Diane Wang

Attorney General Griffin Bell moved to end the Justice Department's only probe of FBI crimes on April 10 with the indictment of three former FBI officials.

Bell announced that former acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray III, Edward Miller, and W. Mark Felt have been indicted by a Washington, D.C., grand jury for conspiring to deprive citizens of their rights. This is the first time a former FBI chief or high official has been charged with a criminal act.

The three are charged with ordering break-ins of five homes in late 1972 and early 1973. The break-ins, carried out by the New York FBI's infamous Squad 47, were part of the drive to find members of the Weather Underground.

In addition, Gray approved the agenda for a sort of Burglary 101 course at the FBI academy. In-service training for agents was to include a lecture on "how to conduct surreptitious entry."

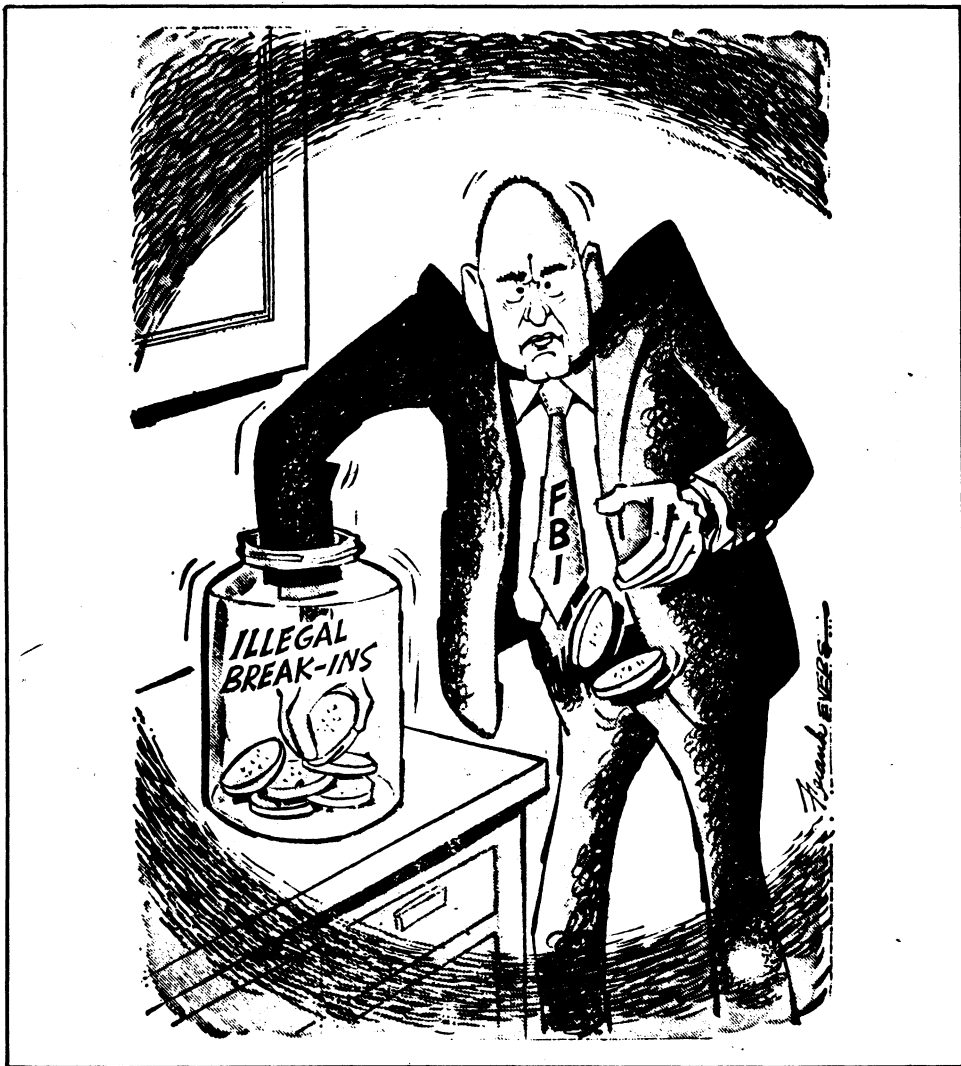
These attacks on civil liberties are crimes. Top FBI and other federal officials should be held accountable for them, prosecuted, and jailed.

Yet these are the only criminal indictments that have been handed down after years of revelations about sordid FBI crimes. Political spying, fire bombing antiwar activists' cars, Cointelpro disruption plots, poison-pen letters, helping the Ku Klux Klan beat up civil rights freedom riders, pitting Black leaders against one another, setting up right-wing armies—none of those crimes have been prosecuted.

Five break-ins by one FBI squad are a tiny sampling of FBI crimes. As the *New York Times* pointed out on April 11, "In 1974, an investigation by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and a lawsuit by the Socialist Workers' Party disclosed that break-ins were an established method of investigation."

The SWP suit proved, for example, that the FBI had burglarized the SWP national office on an average of once every three weeks for a while in the 1960s.

The attorney general had promised to take his investigation to the top. Yet when closing the case on April 10 he



New York Daily News

cleared the Nixon White House, claiming, "I was not able to place the responsibility outside the FBI."

Bell did not look far enough. A real probe would not have concentrated on a few months of activity in one city. It would have looked into tens of thousands of cases. A real probe of FBI

Continued on page 26

Carter, Bell appeal to high court in socialist suit

By Syd Stapleton

Threatening a "confrontation" with the courts, President Carter and Attorney General Griffin Bell have asked the U.S. Supreme Court to step into the lawsuit against government spying filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Carter, Bell, the FBI director, and

others filed papers on April 5 asking the Supreme Court to block federal Judge Thomas Griesa's order that the FBI turn over files on eighteen informers to lawyers for the socialists.

Bell and Carter asked for the Supreme Court intervention because Bell, who has formal custody of the files, intends to defy Griesa's order. "The Attorney General is prepared not to comply," they said. Griesa has said he will "consider contempt or imprisonment of defiant officials."

In the government brief Bell complains that "it would be unseemly for the chief law enforcement officer of the United States, sworn to uphold and obey the law," to be held in contempt of court and possibly put in jail.

Although Bell and Carter were big on "upholding the law" when it came to the Taft-Hartley Act against striking coal miners, they have changed their tune on this challenge to the FBI's secret political spies.

Bell told the high court that the SWP case "raises the unwelcome prospect of friction between the Executive and Judicial branches." Supreme Court failure to stop Griesa, he said, "could only lead to a confrontation between the two branches of government."

When the *New York Times* revealed

on March 3 that government lawyers had threatened Griesa with defiance over his order on informer files, Bell said, "It is the policy of this Department of Justice to obey court orders." But then he added, "Any proposal to deviate from the policy of obeying court orders should have my personal attention." Apparently the proposal got his personal attention, and he was all for it.

The petition to the Supreme Court is the latest stage in a long battle the government has been fighting to protect the FBI's secret informer operations. For decades the FBI has used an army of paid secret informers to spy on and try to disrupt the labor movement, Black groups, socialists, and others. Judge Griesa's order represents the first time that this system of secret spies has been seriously challenged by a federal judge.

While Bell and Carter pretend to be taking steps to stop crimes by the FBI and CIA, their real attitude comes through in their Supreme Court brief. "The use of informers," Bell declares, "is not an invasion of any constitutional right."

The socialists' suit is now in its fifth year of pretrial collection of evidence. It has uncovered massive criminal spying by the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies.

As part of the preparation for the trial, the socialists asked Judge Griesa to order the FBI to give them files on the activities of informers. On May 31, 1977, Griesa granted the order. The government appealed to the Second Circuit Court of Appeals and lost. It then asked for a "rehearing," and lost again. The trial in the lawsuit is being held up pending the government's appeal to the Supreme Court.

Griesa ordered the turnover of the files, in part, because the FBI had given "incomplete and misleading" sworn answers to questions the socialists had asked about the use of informers.

The judge also noted that what the informers "provided the FBI with was a consistent recital of peaceful, lawful political activities, peaceful, lawful personal activities, and a total absence of any criminal activities or plans of any nature whatever."

In the petition to the Supreme Court, Bell charges that by ordering the turnover of some of the FBI's informer files, Griesa "plainly has abused [his] discretion." This is especially so, says Bell, because the SWP and YSA "may not even have a case."

Lawyers for the socialists will file an answer to the government brief within a few weeks. The Supreme Court will then have to decide whether or not it will take up the issue at all. If it does, oral arguments will probably be scheduled for late 1978.

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Socialists plan special

By Nancy Cole

Members of the Socialist Workers Party are making plans for a special sales effort with the next issue of the *Militant*. That issue will have a supplement devoted to lessons of the coal miners' strike.

What the miners did is very much on the minds of workers everywhere, especially those unionists with upcoming contract fights. The *Militant's* view of what that historic strike meant for miners and other working people will be of wide interest.

It will take a special campaign to see that the *Militant's* analysis of the miner's fight reaches as many people as possible. Many SWP branches will order extra large bundles for next week and set special sales goals. The aim will be to go way over the regular sales quotas.

This target sales week is part of an effort that SWP branches are making to turn around the situation reflected in this week's sales results. We are still falling short of sales goals set by supporters across the nation.

The sales drive is a national campaign to reach working people with socialist ideas—to offer thousands of new readers news they can't read in the big-business press and a socialist outlook on today's struggles.

The decision to organize *Militant* sales on a campaign footing for ten weeks came in the context of the nationwide coal strike and the interest and activity that battle generated among working people.

The goal is to reach the sales quota, not by the end of the ten-week drive, but *each and every week* throughout the campaign.

After the special target week, it will be easier to continue that spirit and meet the regular goals for the rest of the drive, which ends with the issue dated May 26.

Socialists have made considerable progress during this sales effort in selling regularly at plant gates. Special attention, however, is needed in the area of street and community sales. The key to these sales is to set aside Saturday as the day when everyone participates in selling the *Militant*.

This gives socialists a chance to fan out across the communities where they work and live and talk with working people about socialism.

For most cities, Saturday, April 22, will be the sales mobilization day for the special miners' issue.

New York City socialists have a



New York City transit workers share 'Militant' at April 11 contract protest

Militant/Anne Teesdale

regular goal of 650. They are raising it to 1,500 for the special week. They plan to continue their campaign to reach transit workers, who are especially interested in lessons of the miners' strike.

"I have to take my hat off to the miners for the good job they did in their strike," one transit worker said as he bought two *Militants* at one of the recent transit worker protests.

Sales teams are dispatched to New York transit barns for early morning sales, and during the day *Militants* are sold to drivers waiting on the street for their run to begin. This activity will be stepped up for the special sales week.

Brooklyn members of the SWP have now established regular Saturday sales in the Arab community. Salespeople circulate through the Middle Eastern cafes and shops. Within a half-hour, they usually sell ten to fifteen *Militants*. People in the shops recognize the *Militant* and have their fifty cents ready.

Selling the *Militant* is also one of the best ways to campaign for socialist candidates. The SWP candidate for governor of New York, Dianne Feeley,

campaigned two days recently on college campuses in Ithaca and Binghamton. Feeley and a campaign supporter sold sixty copies of the *Militant*.

'Perspectiva Mundial'

Sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* went over 300 for the first time this week. That is three-quarters of the national goal for the Spanish-language biweekly.

In Houston socialists sold thirty-three copies of *PM* at the April 2 demonstration protesting the light sentences for cops who murdered Joe Campos Torres. They also sold *Militants* to eighty-one protesters.

At a Chilean cultural event in New York City April 7, one member of the Socialist Workers Party sold three *PM* subscriptions and nine single copies. Others at the event sold ten

additional *PMs*. They went like "hot cakes," remarked the subscription seller.

Marty Anderson from Dallas, Texas, wrote *Perspectiva Mundial* to tell of his discovery that "anyone can sell *PM*, in Spanish or English."

In one hour he sold fifteen copies and concluded that "our Spanish magazine is remarkably fine. Never during sales have I encountered anything less than real respect for its appearance and quality."

Anderson added that he is studying Spanish and finds "I learn more Spanish selling *PM* than any other way!"

Coming... a special issue of the *Militant* on...

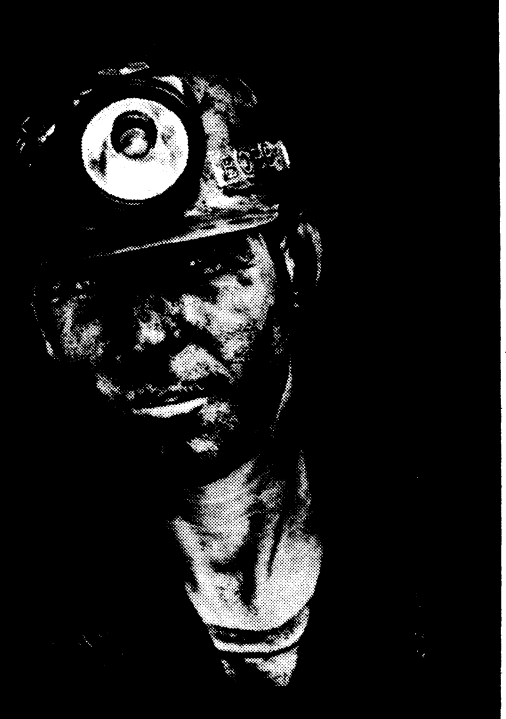
THE MEANING OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

The impact of the coal strike reached far beyond the coalfields. It shook a lot of things up—in the government, the corporations, the unions.

The powerful fight by the miners fired the imagination of workers from coast to coast. They set an example that won't soon be forgotten.

What repercussions will this strike have for every working person struggling for a decent living? The answer will be explored in this special issue.

On sale April 22.



sales week

Weekly sales results

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
St. Paul	40	58			40	58	145
Salt Lake City	90	120	10	5	100	125	125
Phoenix	75	99	10	4	85	103	121
Dallas	115	120	10	20	125	140	112
Cincinnati	75	83			75	83	110
Indianapolis	100	108			100	108	108
Kansas City	90	98	10	7	100	105	105
New York	575	622	75	55	650	677	104
Boston	165	185	25	7	190	192	101
Miami	90	91	10	10	100	101	101
Morgantown	100	101			100	101	101
Minneapolis	100	100			100	100	100
San Francisco	220	215	15	10	235	225	95
Albany	60	54			60	54	90
Milwaukee	125	110		3	125	113	90
Houston	270	216	30	47	300	263	87
Tacoma	100	85			100	85	85
Louisville	100	84			100	84	84
Atlanta	300	239			300	239	79
Chicago	282	199	18	29	300	228	76
Cleveland	150	110			150	110	73
Newark	150	102		7	150	109	73
Seattle	150	108		2	150	110	73
San Antonio	100	65	10	5	110	70	63
Toledo	60	36			60	36	60
New Orleans	150	85			150	85	56
Portland	90	51			90	51	56
Washington, D.C.	230	120	20	22	250	142	56
San Diego	100	55	25	15	125	70	56
Denver	105	59	5	1	110	60	54
Berkeley	150	83	12	2	162	85	52
San Jose	90	52	10		100	52	52
Baltimore	100	51			100	51	51
Pittsburgh	125	60			125	60	48
Albuquerque	115	52	10	5	125	57	45
Oakland	150	59			150	59	39
Los Angeles	400	131	100	54	500	185	37
Philadelphia	250	80			250	80	32
Raleigh	75	*	*	*	75	*	0
Miscellaneous		98					
TOTALS:	6,302	4,444	405	310	6,707	4,754	71

*Results not available

**Detroit and St. Louis are petitioning this week to put SWP on ballot.

These figures are for sales of *Militant* number 13, dated April 7, and for the first week's sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* number 7, dated April 3.

Plant gate sales



Using attention-getting signs, Phoenix socialists sell to copper miners

Militant/Glen Campbell

Sales of the *Militant* at plant gates are becoming more and more a part of the political life of Socialist Workers Party branches.

Phoenix socialists happened on one way to step up the number of papers sold at nearby copper mines. In order to stop miners as they drive out, *Militant* sellers wear big,

attention-grabbing signs.

In San Francisco, sales teams of about twenty people go twice a week on early morning plant sales. They assemble at the biggest plant and then go from there to various plants nearby. Of the sales reported this week, fifty *Militants* were sold at San Francisco-area plants.

April 8 protests say: 'Reverse Bakke!'

New York

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—More than 150 people attended a teach-in on the *Bakke* case at the City University graduate center here April 7.

The keynote speaker was New York State Supreme Court Judge William Booth. He warned participants against accepting the myth that judges reach their decisions through pure reason.

"The nine old men," he declared, "are feeling tremendous pressure from all sides in the *Bakke* case."

Booth stressed the importance of rallies and demonstrations in mobilizing the kind of pressure needed to defend affirmative-action programs.

"If we get together," he concluded, "we can turn this thing around, just like we did in Vietnam!"

James Harris, national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, underscored Booth's remarks. "The solution to the problem posed by the *Bakke* case lies in rebuilding the civil rights movement," Harris said, "getting millions of people into the streets to fight for our rights."

"One thing we can do right now," he continued, "is for everyone here to participate in the April 15 March on Washington called by the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision."

Harris pointed out that the government and the news media try to create the false impression that whites such as Allan Bakke are victimized by affirmative action.

"What's really at stake," he said, "isn't whether this guy gets into medical school but whether millions of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asians will get any medical care at all."

Harris also blasted the myth of "reverse discrimination."

"It is clear on the face of it," he declared, "that Black people do not decide who gets a job and who doesn't. Otherwise we wouldn't be the last hired and the first fired."

New York National Organization for Women member Barbara Rockman explained that the *Bakke* case poses a real danger to affirmative-action programs for women.

Other speakers included Steve Onne of the Organization of Chinese Americans; NCOBD spokesperson Dennis Serrette; attorney Regina Darby; and New York State Assemblyman Edward Sullivan.

The teach-in was cosponsored by the Greenwich Village-Chelsea branch of the NAACP and New York Student Coalition Against Racism.

Twin Cities

By Jim Kendrick

TWIN CITIES—Seven hundred people participated in marches and rallies here April 4-8 demanding reversal of the *Bakke* decision.

On April 4, the tenth anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., 300 University of Minnesota law students and supporters held a rally outside the auditorium where Chief Justice Warren Burger dedicated the new law school.

Speakers at the rally demanded that Burger and other Supreme Court justices overturn the *Bakke* decision. The protest was sponsored by the U of M Law School Third World Caucus, Student Coalition Against Racism, National Lawyers Guild, and others.

Fifty people rallied at Macalester College in St. Paul April 5.

On April 8 affirmative-action supporters marched from the state capitol



to the YWCA where they held a rally of 225 people. Speakers included St. Paul Mayor George Latimer; Matthew Little from the Minnesota-Dakotas Conference of the NAACP; Libby Moser, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate in St. Paul; American Indian Movement activist Clyde Bellecourt; Virginia Watkins, national board member, National Organization for Women; Nellie Stone Johnson, Urban League; and Socialist Labor Party National Executive member Karl Heck.

The Minnesota Coalition to Reverse the *Bakke* Decision (MCRBD) sponsored the event.

A small group of racists led by former U.S. senatorial candidate Phil Ratte unsuccessfully tried to disrupt the march and rally, shouting slogans such as "Bakke led the way."

On April 6 the Minnesota Education Association Executive Board voted seventeen to twelve with ten abstentions to join the MCRBD.

Newark

NEWARK—The student government at Essex County College here hosted a speak-out on the *Bakke* case attended by 120 people April 7.

Alfonso Roman, Congreso Boricua director, captured the spirit of the meeting when he said, "*Bakke* is a threat to gains won by Blacks, Hispanics, and women. It is only with a coordinated effort by all these groups that *Bakke* will be stopped."

Other speakers included representatives from New Jersey Council of Churches, Newark NAACP, Urban League, New Jersey NOW, Aspira, and the YWCA.

Seattle

SEATTLE—Five hundred people participated in a march and rally at the federal court house here. The protest was sponsored by the Seattle affiliate of the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision.

Speakers included representatives of the NCOBD and Tyree Scott of the United Construction Workers.

Anti-*Bakke* marches, rallies, and picket lines were also held in Detroit, San Antonio, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Kansas City, and other cities.

...Halstead says 'Reverse Bakke

Continued from front page

number of minority students entering the country's universities and professional schools—a blow to the aspirations of hundreds of thousands of youths. And it would be swiftly applied to similar programs for women.

But the effects of the *Bakke* decision are being felt far beyond the campuses.

Job bias

Since the California court handed down its ruling, a rash of suits have been filed challenging affirmative-action programs on the job.

A three-judge panel in New Orleans recently overturned an affirmative-action job-training program at a Kaiser Aluminum plant outside that city.

Four steelworkers in Baltimore have filed a challenge to the steel industry's consent decree. Although inadequate, the consent decree opened up for the first time on a meaningful scale skilled jobs to minority and women steelworkers.

In another case, a federal judge in California has ruled unconstitutional an affirmative-action measure governing the construction industry.

Enacted by Congress in 1977, the requirement allocated 10 percent of all public-works construction to minority-run contracting companies. The measure's aim was to increase minority employment in the industry. In handing down his ruling, the judge argued much as the California Supreme Court justices had, that such a quota was discriminatory against whites.

Together with suits challenging affirmative action in college admissions, between 2,000 and 3,000 such cases are currently before the Supreme Court.

'Reverse discrimination'

The main argument in all these challenges to affirmative-action hiring, promotion, job training, and admissions programs is that they constitute "reverse discrimination" against whites or males.

But the facts show that the "reverse discrimination" argument is simply a dodge to cover up the real state of affairs in this country—Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, and women remain the last hired, the first fired, and the least likely to gain entrance into college and professional schools.

Look at the government's own figures for unemployment in March:

- While the official unemployment rate for all white workers was 5.3 percent, it was 12.4 percent for minorities; an increase from the 11.8 percent rate in February;
- The jobless rate for Black youth was a staggering 39 percent;
- The unemployment figure for women was 5.8 percent compared to 4.5 percent for men;
- Black women suffered a sharp rise in unemployment: from 10.1 percent to 11.4 percent in one month.

And these figures tell only part of the story, since the government refuses to count many who are out of work, such as welfare recipients and those dismissed as "discouraged workers."

The gap caused by race and sex discrimination is shown in earnings as well. The average income of a Black family in 1977 was 59 percent of a white family's. This represents only a 1 percent gain over the past decade! Women's average earnings have de-

clined relative to men's—from 64 percent in 1955 to 57 percent in 1974.

The same pattern holds true in education. With health care at crisis proportions in the nation's Black communities, Black enrollment in medical schools declined from 6.1 to 6.0 percent from 1976 to 1977. The percentage of all minority students entering college today stands at 10.9 percent—far below the percentage of oppressed national minorities in the population as a whole.

Far from taking jobs and places in school from other workers and students, oppressed nationalities and women are *losing* jobs and education to the employers' drive to cut costs and lower expectations.

This rollback is a giant threat to the strides toward equality taken during the 1960s by the civil rights and women's movements. It undermines the basic democratic right to equality—the right to a secure job, a decent wage and standard of living, and a full education.

Achieving this equality is what affirmative action is all about. The only way to overcome the huge gap in opportunities for Blacks and women today is through special measures to make up for past discrimination. This means quotas to force the employers and university administrations to grant equal rights.

But the enemies of affirmative action, through their support to the *Bakke* decision, are out to uphold a different quota system—the system that closes the doors to jobs and education for all victims of race and sex discrimination.

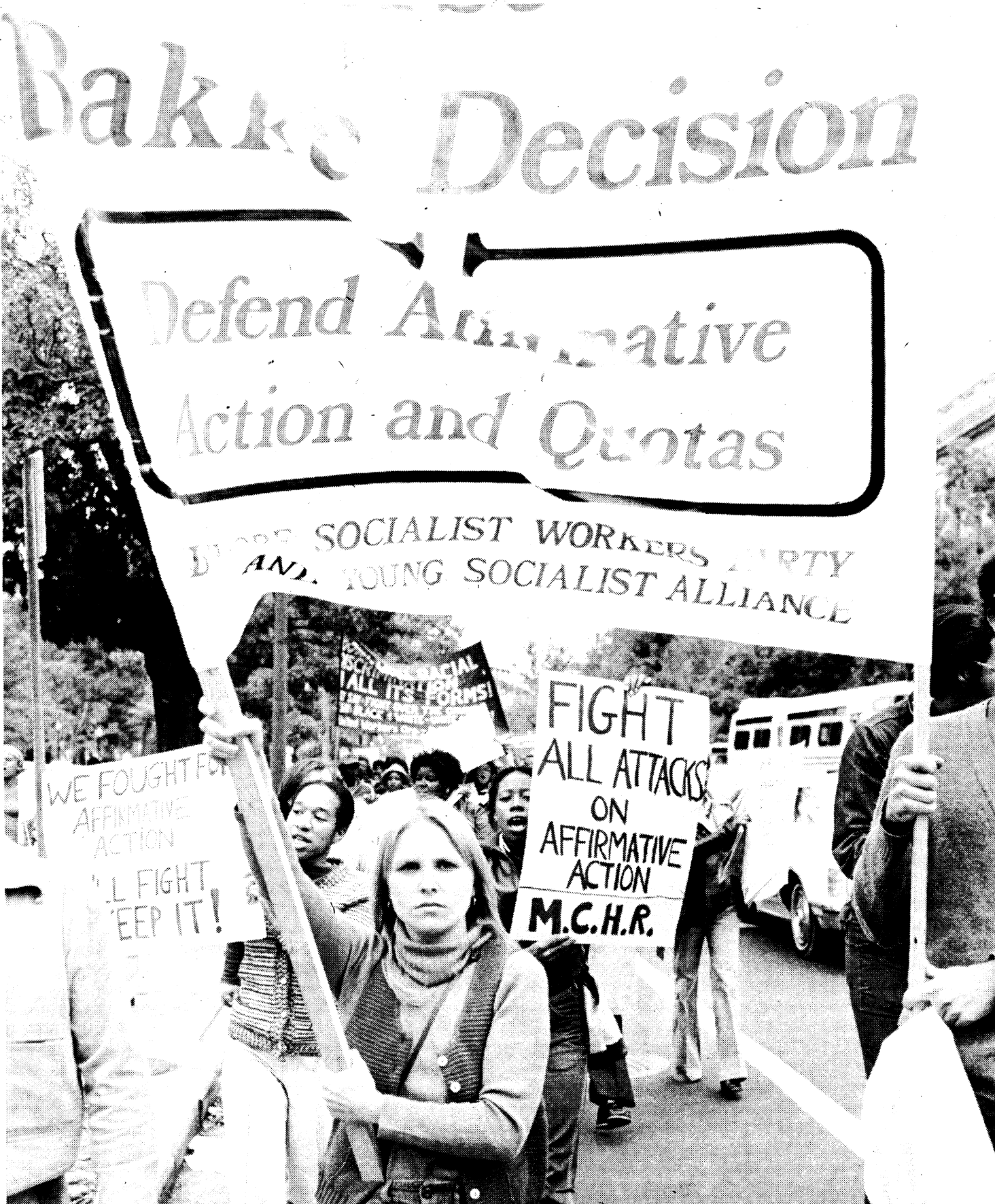
Defeating their drive is not only in the interests of those who benefit directly from affirmative action but in the interests of all students and working people in this country.

The attacks on affirmative-action programs are part of the drive by the universities and employers to cut costs and take away rights at the expense of workers and students.

The overwhelming majority of Black students attending college, for instance, would be unable to study without financial aid, scholarships, and loans. Cutbacks in affirmative-action admissions programs not only allow the university administrators to trim these costs but to also lay the basis for cuts in financial aid to all students and for curtailment of open-admissions policies.

The same holds true for many affirmative-action programs on the job.

The affirmative-action program recently struck down at Kaiser Aluminum is a graphic case. Kaiser was forced to establish a job-training program, the first of its kind for the



Militant/David Nudel

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ruling'

company. Many whites as well as Blacks took advantage of it.

But when the affirmative-action provisions of the program were struck down, the company scrapped the job-training project, which undoubtedly was their goal in the first place.

Same enemy

There is another important reason why all working people and students have a stake in the fight to reverse the *Bakke* ruling and defend affirmative action.

The same people leading the charge against affirmative-action programs are attacking the democratic rights and quality of life of all the exploited and oppressed.

The Carter administration and the employers it serves are demanding that working people "give back" hard-won gains in wages, working conditions, and benefits in contract negotiations.

They're demanding that women "give back" the right to abortion, forget about the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and submit to continued discrimination in the workplace.

They're forcing working people in cities from coast to coast to "give back" their right to a decent life by cutting back social services, laying off city employees, and gutting school budgets.

A victory in the fight to defend affirmative-action programs would stall their "give back" offensive, just as the victory of the mine workers in the recent coal strike was a blow to their union-busting schemes against other workers.

Broad movement

To win such a victory, we need to build a broad, united movement against the *Bakke* decision. We must mobilize the entire student movement; we must reach out to the fighters for women's liberation; to the organizations in the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Asian communities.

We must also mobilize the powerful forces in the labor movement. Trade unionists have a vital stake in the outcome of this struggle.

Several major unions have filed court briefs opposing *Bakke*. Activists in the Washington Teachers Union set an important example by organizing a speakout against *Bakke*—in a direct challenge to the reactionary, anti-affirmative-action stand of American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker. Such examples should be multiplied throughout the union movement.

Affirmative-action gains have been a victory for all labor. The employers' policies of race and sex discrimination enable them to lower the wages of all working people and to impose inferior job conditions on the whole work force.

Most importantly, discrimination in the workplace is used by the bosses to divide the unions and undermine their power, to pit white against Black and male against female, crippling the united fight that is needed to defend the interests of all working people.

The outpouring of labor solidarity with the striking coal miners shows the way forward. That same solidarity is needed today with the victims of race and sex discrimination.

In building such a movement, we can't rely on the Democrats or Republicans. We can't rely on the courts. We must rely on our own independent strength—through teach-ins, speakouts, picket lines, and demonstrations such as the April 15 March on Washington.

Such a movement can be an inspiration to all those fighting social injustice. The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance pledge to lend our full support to this effort.

Overturn the *Bakke* decision!
Defend affirmative action!

Marroquin wins wide hearing on national speaking tour

By Roger Rudenstein

Héctor Marroquín is on a four-month national speaking tour to bring his case for political asylum to the American people. The tour began in San Antonio and winds up June 21 in Albuquerque with stops throughout the East Coast, the Midwest, and the South.

While Marroquín was in New York City this month, I asked him how his tour was going.

"Very well," he said. "Everywhere I go, people are interested in my case. And they are worried about what the U.S. and Mexican governments are trying to do to me."

Marroquín explained that many of his daytime campus meetings range

from twenty to sixty people. Community meetings and nighttime campus meetings are often larger.

"I spoke to 250 in New York City, 200 in Los Angeles, 130 in Philadelphia, 100 in San Francisco, 90 in Seattle, and 85 in Houston," he said.

"In the first seven weeks of my tour I've spoken at meetings in seventeen cities to more than 2,500 people. And that doesn't count the thousands of people I've reached through radio, TV, and newspapers."

Marroquín said he was impressed by the work his supporters have done to win the endorsement of many different

groups and individuals. Endorsers include prominent civil libertarians, trade unionists, political figures, and leading activists in the Black, Chicano, and women's movements. He noted that this was reflected in the range of speakers at many of the rallies.

"It is important to have a broad range of speakers at the rallies, because we are trying to involve people from many different walks of life," Marroquín said. "People active against deportations, against racism, unionists, civil libertarians, feminists—they all want to know about my case."

"In New York some unionists organized a rally at the Brooklyn Navy Yard for me. I got a chance to talk to industrial workers. Several workers asked: 'Why are you fighting for political asylum?'"

"I explained that the U.S. and Mexican governments are trying to victimize me because I am a socialist."

"What do socialists want?" they asked.

"I told them. I said that we are fighting in the interests of workers and all the oppressed of society."

"Where should we sign?" they said."

Several hundred workers heard Marroquín at the navy yard, and fifty signed his appeal for asylum.

Does everybody you talk to react so favorably after you tell them you are a socialist? I asked.

"Almost everybody who supports my case reacts positively to my membership in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance," Marroquín replied.

"One price the government must pay for trying to deport me is that many people now want to know more about my socialist views."

Marroquín told me that in some areas he toured, YSA and SWP members set up meetings for him with activists who wanted to discuss socialism. In New York a Black activist joined the Socialist Workers Party after hearing Marroquín speak at the defense rally there.

"I find that students are very interested in socialist ideas. They understand that capitalist society doesn't work. And they want to have more discussion about socialism and how it would work."

"I always make it a point to say that I, as a socialist, am opposed to racism and sexism in any form, and that I am for a society of equality, prosperity, and freedom."

I asked Marroquín if he had any

suggestions on how to improve the tour.

"Just one. Occasionally we don't explain enough how people can help. Sometimes people who come to the meetings have to volunteer to give us money for the defense."

"At all the meetings we should ask people to give money, sign up to help distribute literature and get endorsers, and write letters of protest to Leonel Castillo, head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service."

"But," he added, "we're learning. And as the tour goes on, we are getting more and more support for my right to political asylum in this country."



Militant/Susan Ellis

HECTOR MARROQUIN

Prisoners back asylum plea

By Arnold Weissberg

One hundred twenty prisoners at the Colorado State Penitentiary have signed a petition calling for political asylum for Héctor Marroquín. The petition has been sent to Immigration and Naturalization Service Director Leonel Castillo.

In a letter to the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee in New York, inmate Fidel Ramos described the difficulties encountered in circulating the petition: "The petition had to be kept in our law library, and only a selected few are allowed in that area. Also the petition had to be kept secret," because prison officials don't permit inmates to sign petitions that "pertain to political activities," Ramos wrote.

He added that the prisoners had managed to get a copy of the petition to the prison's five men on Death Row. "The few inmates on Death Row can relate much more closely to your situation . . . since their lives are now in the hands of the Supreme Court," Ramos commented.

To win justice, Ramos said, "unity of all the people concerned" is key, "to support each other as a means to preserve the lives of our brothers and sisters. . . . Together we can put an end to the oppressors, who have oppressed our people for so long. Our unity and strength will make our dreams become a reality."

They're helping—you can, too



ASNER



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Simone de Beauvoir, singer Joan Baez, actor Ed Asner, and Rep. John Conyers have thrown their support behind the fight to win political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

You can help too . . . by raising

money for legal expenses . . . by circulating petitions calling for asylum for Marroquín . . . by selling copies of *My Story*, written by Marroquín . . . and by winning endorsements for Marroquín.

For more information on how you can help, contact: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee at 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003, or phone (212) 254-6062.

4,000 march on D.C.

Youth tell Washington: 'We want jobs!'

By Rich Robohm

WASHINGTON—Nearly 4,000 people, most of them young Blacks, poured through the streets here April 8 chanting, "One, two, three, four—money for jobs, not for war," and, "We want a J-O-B so we can E-A-T."

On the eve of the demonstration called by the Youth March for Jobs Committee, the Carter administration released the latest unemployment figures showing an official jobless rate for all youth of 17.3 percent and 39 percent for Black youth. More accurate estimates by the National Urban League cite an unemployment rate for Black youths of 60 percent.

The bulk of the marchers came from New York City, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and Detroit. There were signs and banners from the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, Jamaica (Queens) NAACP, National Student Coalition Against Racism, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, and many community centers.

Members of New York's District 65 of the Distributive Workers union marched in their own contingent. Many other local unions endorsed the action and sent members to it.

The official rally program listed as endorsers of the march the NAACP; National Education Association; National Student Association; YWCA National Board; and student government bodies at Howard University, Tufts University, Morgan State University, State University of New York, and City University of New York.

Several members of Congress endorsed the action, as well as Dr. Charles Cobb, executive director of the Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ; Bernard Firestone, secretary-treasurer of Central States Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

The YWLL, the youth group affiliated with the Communist Party, played a major role in initiating and organizing the march.

The young protesters marched from the Lincoln Memorial past the White House to a rally on the Capitol steps.

Rally

D.C. City Council member Hilda Mason opened the rally by announcing that the council had unanimously passed a resolution endorsing the march.

Rev. Eugene Callender of Harlem's Church of the Master, pointed out that Carter was elected only with the support of "90 percent of the Black people in America. We are here to remind President Carter that when he was



Demonstrators rally at Capitol

Militant/Andy Reisman

candidate Carter he promised to work for full employment, and we want him to keep that promise."

A statement was read from Rev. Ben Chavis, one of the Wilmington Ten. "I send you greetings of support from my prison cell in North Carolina," Chavis's message said. "Your march is sending a most important message to the men who run this country from the inside of marble buildings that surround you here today. That message is that human rights begin at home. Just as freedom for all political prisoners is a basic human right, so is jobs for all."

Common sense

Rick Rogers, cochairperson of the American Agriculture Movement, told the marchers:

"Six months ago, if someone had told me a farmer from Klamath Falls [Oregon] would be here, I would have told them they must be out of their tree. But common oppression makes for common sense."

Quoting the Rev. Martin Luther King's statement that "an injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere," Roger declared the support of striking farmers for the demands of unemployed youth.

Kujaatele Kweli, director of youth development for the National Urban League, said, "The state of New York can afford to spend \$25,000 a year to keep a young person in jail, but it cannot afford to provide job training facilities and decent jobs for young people."

Frank Viggiano, president of the National Student Association; Ramona Chacon, Young Workers Liberation League; and Barbara Regan, a member of the United Mine Workers union also spoke.

Messages of support were read from Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr.; William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists; and Patrick Gorman, president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

Humphrey-Hawkins

During the rally, a delegation of demonstrators met with an aide to the Carter administration. Rev. Gregory Brown, cochairperson of the Youth March for Jobs Committee, later reported to the rally that the delegation was dissatisfied with the White House's response.

A central theme projected by the march organizers was support to the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and the Harrington Youth unemployment bill now in Congress. But neither piece of legislation includes any money whatsoever to provide jobs. The Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which has been passed by the House, sets as a "goal" a 4 percent unemployment rate by 1983. The Harrington bill, which calls for a federal program for youth jobs, has a goal of 10 percent unemployment for youth one year after enactment.

Some of the demonstrators here expressed doubt about the effectiveness

of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. Said a middle-aged Black woman from Detroit: "I think it's been too watered down to do any good now." All the marchers interviewed by the *Militant* thought that taking the funds in the war budget and using them instead for housing, health care, and other social services was a good way to create needed jobs.

"They should stop spending all this other money on wars and the nuclear bomb and try to get the youth straight in America," said Jean Murray, who had come with her NAACP chapter from Jamaica, Queens.

A leaflet distributed at the march by the National Student Coalition Against Racism pointed out, "The money to provide jobs is there. Instead of continued increased funding of police forces that gun down Black youth, this money could pay for jobs programs in minority communities. The \$126 billion military budget is another source of funds for jobs."

"It is a massive direct action campaign including teach-ins, picket lines, rallies, and marches like this one today that will pressure the government to provide funds for jobs, especially for minority youth," the leaflet continued.

NSCAR also called on "all supporters of the April 8 Jobs for Youth March to continue their activities in support of jobs and equal opportunity . . . by participating in the April 15 Washington, D.C., anti-Bakke protest called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision."

'Young Socialist' sales drive off and running

By Arnold Weissberg

The Young Socialist Alliance is conducting a successful drive to sell 4,000 copies each month of the *Young Socialist*.

YSA members sold 4,100 copies in February. In March they reached 95 percent of their goal.

"This is an important national campaign for us," YS Business Manager Susie Berman told the *Militant*. Selling the *Young Socialist* has brought us into contact with more young people interested in socialism than any other single activity."

At the April 8 youth march for jobs in Washington, D.C., for example, YSA members sold more than 100 copies of the newspaper.

Each YSA chapter has planned a special blitz sales week in April. Chapters will go all out to sell a big part of their goal in that week alone.

"The best places to sell the YS are on college campuses, at high schools, and at political meetings and demonstrations," Berman said.

The New York City YSA is planning to begin its blitz week April 16 with sales at a gay rights demonstration called by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Sales will continue throughout the week, with sales teams going to high schools and regular sales on three college campuses, Margaret Jayko, New York City YSA chairperson, told the *Militant*.

"We're having a May Day conference around the theme, 'Fifty Years of American Trotskyism,'" Jayko said, "and we want to use our sales campaign to let people know about it. We think that anyone who likes the YS will be interested in the conference."

The Atlanta YSA sold eighty-one copies of the April YS in one week. The chapter there had a

special sales day at Georgia State, with salespeople covering the entire campus. Thirty copies were sold.

The Atlanta YSA also sends salespeople out on Saturday along with Socialist Workers Party members selling the *Militant*. Eighteen YS's were sold this way one Saturday.

Many Atlanta students bought the paper for its coverage of the Bakke case and an interview with an Australian anti-nuclear power activist. The April issue also features articles on "How the Miners Fought Back" and "Maoism After Mao," an analysis of the recent split in the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Berman said that the May YS will carry a series of articles on youth unemployment, campus and corporate complicity with the apartheid regime in South Africa, the Middle East, and the fight to overturn the Bakke decision.

Behind White House neutron bomb maneuver

By David Frankel

"The Virtues of the Neutron Bomb" was the title of a March 30 editorial in the *New York Times*. A more apt title would have been "Poison Made Palatable."

Referring to the Pentagon's latest brainchild, the *Times* editors extol its "modest blast and intense but circumscribed and short-lived radiation."

In case their readers have any lingering doubts, the *Times* editors note reassuringly that "given the likely uses of neutron warheads, the number of persons who would be left to die slowly would be no greater than similar casualties from other nuclear weapons."

How soothing.

The *Times*'s macabre excursion into the world of Dr. Strangelove was provoked by leaks that a White House decision on production of the neutron bomb was imminent.

Newspaper reports in late March indicated that President Carter was planning to go ahead with production of the bomb. Suddenly, the April 4 *New York Times* published a leak from administration officials saying that Carter had decided against production.

A storm of criticism from editorial writers, columnists, and members of Congress followed. Even former President Gerald Ford got into the act. Ford called development of the new warhead "highly essential," declaring at an April 6 news conference that "the safety of Western Europe and the preservation of Western culture depends upon it."

The reaction came as no surprise to Carter. As *New York Times* reporter Hedrick Smith pointed out April 8, "Over the last week, he [Carter] has . . . virtually invited pressure from Republicans and Democrats on Capitol Hill against his restraint on the neutron warhead so that any move toward its production would seem forced upon him."

In keeping with this maneuver, Carter announced April 7 that he was not canceling the neutron bomb program,

only deferring production. The ultimate decision, Carter claimed, "will be influenced by the degree to which the Soviet Union shows restraint in its conventional and nuclear arms programs and force deployments. . . ."

Thus, Carter came out looking like a man of peace, a president being forced by overwhelming political pressure to move forward on the new weapon system.

At the same time Carter shifted the blame for his decision onto the Soviet Union. This ploy has been used by every American president in the past thirty years.

Washington, not Moscow, initiated the production of atomic bombs, of hydrogen bombs, of intercontinental ballistic missiles, of nuclear submarines, and of multiwarhead missiles. But at every point it tried to mask its escalation of the arms race by rhetoric about the supposed Soviet threat.

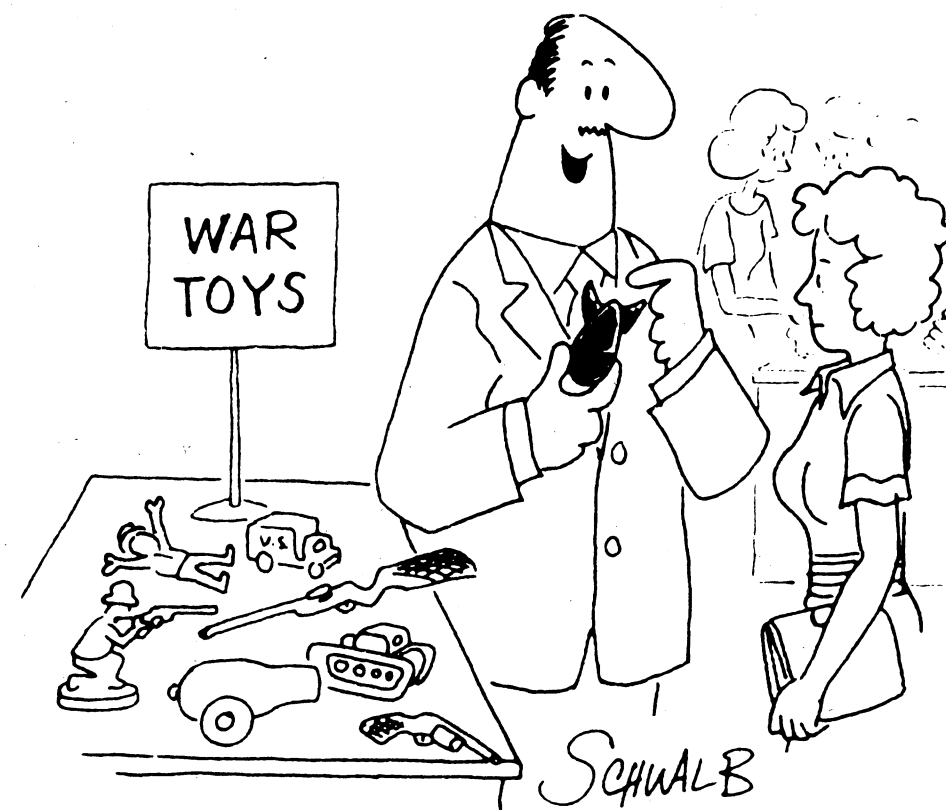
While Carter fakes reluctance about producing the neutron bomb, it was his administration that first asked Congress to fund the weapon.

Far from obstructing the neutron bomb, Carter's fancy footwork is meant to ensure that it will actually be deployed. As *New York Times* correspondent Richard Burt explained in an April 6 dispatch:

"White House officials contend that Mr. Carter's reported decision to halt production was primarily spurred by doubts over whether West Germany and other allied countries would allow the weapon to be deployed on their territory."

Washington's imperialist allies in Europe are just as thrilled as the Pentagon by the prospect of the neutron bomb. But they are reluctant to take open responsibility for its production, since European workers are aware that they may be the first beneficiaries of this new advance in capitalist culture.

On March 4, a demonstration of 40,000 persons in Almelo, Holland, denounced the neutron bomb. That same day the Dutch defense minister



'Now this one destroys all the dolls while leaving the doll houses standing'

resigned to protest plans to deploy the weapon. In addition, the Dutch Parliament has voted against deployment of the N-bomb.

Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported March 31 that the neutron bomb "debate has become so heated in West Germany that its officials have been *verboden* to use the word 'neutron.'"

Meanwhile, the capitalist press here in the United States continues its lying campaign on behalf of the Pentagon's latest toy. For example, the *New York Times* editorial declared, "Neutron warheads are pre-eminently defensive weapons, not useful offensively."

This claim is ridiculous on its face. Such missiles could easily be used against military strongpoints as part of a surprise attack.

Of course, the apologists for imperialism always claim that their aggressions are carried out in self-defense. The Pentagon called its bombing of North Vietnam "protective reaction strikes," but that didn't make its B-52 bombers "defensive weapons."

At the same time, advocates of the neutron bomb create the false impression that its use would be limited to a potential invasion of Europe by the USSR. But what if Washington had had the neutron bomb at its disposal in Vietnam?

The truth is that Carter's new bomb is aimed above all against the masses of people in the semicolonial world. It is most likely to be first used not in Europe, but in the Middle East and southern Africa.

Carter's inflation policy—sacrifice for workers

By Dick Roberts

President Carter went before the National Press Club April 11 to demand that working people "sacrifice for the common good" to hold down inflation.

Consumer prices are rising faster this year than last. In 1977 the consumer price index climbed 6.8 percent. But its climb for January and February this year sped up to an annual rate of 8.4 percent.

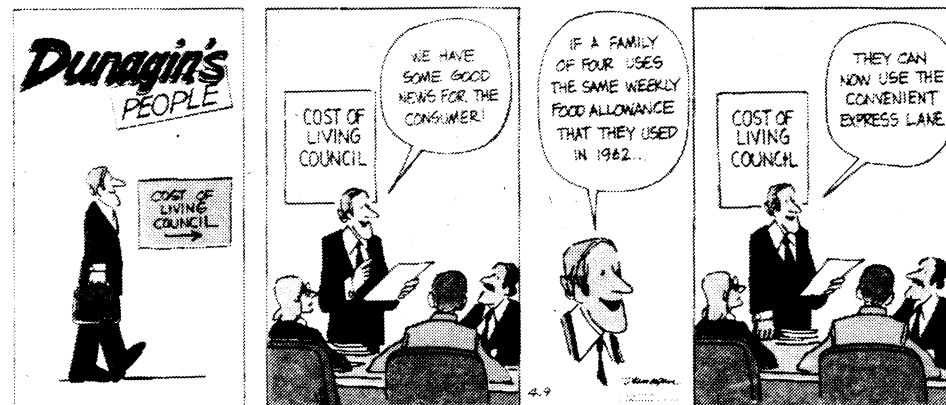
Wholesale prices are rising even faster. In the first three months of 1978 they have already jumped 2.3 percent—an annual rate of 9.2 percent. That is close to the double-digit levels of three years ago. These wholesale price increases will soon be passed on to consumers.

And the week before Carter spoke, the steel trusts pushed through another across-the-board steel price hike.

Meanwhile, although unemployment is lower than a year ago, the official government figure still stands above 6 percent and rose in March to 6.2 percent. The official rate for Black and other minority workers was 12.4 percent. In March unemployment of Black women had climbed from 10.1 to 11.4 percent.

More than 6.1 million workers are without jobs, by the government's own admission. And the millions who work part time—or who have despaired of looking for jobs—do not even count on the official unemployed list.

Carter's National Press Club speech offered nothing but harder times to working people.



"Let me be blunt about this point," Carter said. "I am asking American workers . . . to accept a lower rate of wage increases."

Carter said he will force government workers to accept a 5.5 percent wage increase in 1978. This is below the 6.8 percent rate at which prices rose last year—and far below the 8.4 percent level of this year.

Carter said he is urging state and city governments to follow suit. All told, one in seven American working people are employed by the state or local governments.

To make it seem like everyone was pitching into the effort, the president said he was also freezing the pay of government executives. Commenting on the hypocrisy of this promise—even before it was made—the *Wall Street Journal* noted that the salary of Carter's budget director was raised from \$44,600 at the beginning of last year to

\$57,500 this year. That is a 28.9 percent raise.

Carter wants all American workers to stick to the 5.5 percent limit imposed on federal employees.

Between January 1977 and January 1978, the average weekly earnings of all workers rose from \$179.48 to \$193.09—an increase of 7 percent. Carter wants us to seek lower wage increases this year—and prices are already rising at 8.4 percent.

So Carter wants all American workers to take a wage cut—a cut in the purchasing power of their paychecks.

The Press Club speech was designed, like so much capitalist propaganda, to make workers believe that there is a "wage-price spiral"—Carter mentioned it—and that their wages are responsible for higher prices. The message is: fighting for better wages is self-defeating. You just end up paying more at the store.

But the truth is that inflation is built in to monopoly capitalism. The monopolists are always raising their prices in an effort to increase profits.

Washington greatly enhances inflation by its deficit spending programs. The government spends more money—above all on weapons—than it takes in as taxes. Carter's constant upping of the military budget is one of the main generators of inflation in America.

That's why workers are always trying to catch up with prices. Prices are always rising ahead of us. We're just trying to keep up.

Carter pretends that he will also pressure big business to hold down prices. In return for wage restraints, Carter said, workers "have a right to expect a comparable restraint in price increases for the goods and services they buy."

But as Carter showed during the coal strike, the government stands solidly on the side of the bosses. Workers won't get any protection against rising prices from a government that promotes and defends monopoly profits.

Workers need automatic cost-of-living escalators in their contracts. Every rise in prices should be matched—immediately and in full—by a rise in wages.

The same goes for every retired person living on a pension. For every family on welfare. For every student dependent on a scholarship and grant. For every unemployed worker receiving benefits.

Every working person in this society needs full cost-of-living escalators to guard them against inflation.

Debate in 'N.Y. Times' on saving women's rights

By Dianne Feeley

Government attacks on women's rights are provoking an important debate among feminists over how to fight back. This debate has even made its way into the pages of the *New York Times*.

In a March 17 guest editorial, "The Retreat on Abortion Rights," Soma Golden concluded that "the dam is not just leaking, it is cracking" for abortion rights.

She urged all who support a woman's right to choose to "consider whether it is not time to turn attentions from the broad subject of equal rights to the specific issue of abortion rights." While welcoming a victory for the Equal Rights Amendment, Golden says that it will be "pyrrhic" if the "enormous energy and resources now being devoted to the E.R.A. left not enough of either to protect the past victories of abortion policy."

On April 5, Zelle Andrews, president of the New York State National Organization for Women, responded in a letter to the *New York Times*. She called Golden "shortsighted" for "her suggestion that feminists turn their attention primarily to [abortion] rather than to the Equal Rights Amendment. . . ."

While taking note of "growing challenges" to a woman's right to choose, Andrews argued that the ERA is the "keystone to gaining all other rights as citizens. . . . When we have equality between the sexes written into the Constitution, we have a bastion of defense against any attack on our rights."

"Our organization believes, therefore, that the Equal Rights Amendment must command our most urgent and concentrated efforts," Andrews explained, voicing the position of the NOW national leadership. She concluded by urging people to join NOW in focusing their efforts on lobbying Congress for an extension of the ERA ratification deadline.

Andrews's view—that an emergency exists for the ERA—is correct. But so is Golden correct to insist that an

emergency exists for abortion rights. And the thousands who are protesting the *Bakke* decision are correct when they warn that affirmative action is also jeopardized. And the thousands who have answered Anita Bryant's reactionary crusade are correct to say lesbian and gay rights are in critical danger.

"A victory for the ERA is a victory for every other woman's issue," Andrews wrote. I agree. That's why, as the Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate in New York, I am campaigning for the ERA, for extension of the deadline, and for every effective measure to secure passage of the ERA.

But I, and many other women, also realize that the ERA alone cannot guarantee our abortion rights, affirmative action, child care, maternity benefits, or civil rights for lesbians and gays.

And I am alarmed by the prospect of dropping the struggle for those rights—and losing them—while we wait to win the ERA or extension.

That will mean not only the loss of abortion rights, affirmative action, or other gains. *Defeat of those rights will spell defeat for the ERA.* The less women resist attacks on their rights, the safer politicians feel in burying the ERA.

If we postpone defense of other women's rights, it is a sign of weakness for the women's movement. It adds momentum to the government's drive against women's rights and emboldens the right wing.

Women cannot afford to fall into the trap of counterposing one right to another. The government is making no neat distinctions in its attacks—they have been directed against every front in the struggle for women's equality.

Only one thing will force the Democratic and Republican politicians to sit up, take notice, and vote yes on the ERA—a powerful, independent women's movement.

Golden and Andrews disagree on how we should divide the limited "energy and resources" of women's rights supporters today. But by building a movement that unites women and our allies in the labor movement and the Black and Latino communities, we will greatly increase our strength and find the energy and resources to defend all of our rights.

It is this kind of movement that will be our "bastion of defense."

Dianne Feeley is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York. A longtime member of the National Organization for Women, she is the past chairperson of NOW-New York's ERA subcommittee.

250 in Dallas rally for ERA



Dallas rally for the ERA on April 1

By Becky Ellis

DALLAS—"How long will you work for the ERA?" shouted Marge Schuchat, founder of the Dallas County National Organization for Women (NOW). "For as long as it takes!" the crowd responded.

Two hundred fifty people assembled April 1 for the first rally in support of the Equal Rights Amendment to be held here. Texas was one of the earliest states to ratify the ERA, but women in this area have realized that ongoing protests are needed in every state until the amendment is passed nationally.

Speakers included representatives from the NOW chapters in Dallas, Ft. Worth, Arlington, and Denton; from the Dallas council of the AFL-CIO; the Brown Berets; and the American Association of University Women. NOW National Board member Barbara Duke also spoke. The Dallas County NOW ERA Task Force initiated the protest.

Other participating groups included the Women's Center of Dallas, Socialist Workers Party, Black Women's United Front, Women's Political Caucus, and Hispanic Organization of Women.

The Dallas NOW ERA Task Force

is discussing plans for building the July 9 national march for the ERA in Washington, D.C., called by NOW.

* * *

On April 17 Philadelphia NOW is sponsoring an ERA picket line at the main post office at 4:30 p.m.

The Committee for the ERA in Chicago will hold a downtown march and rally April 29. Labor endorsers of the march include Clara Day, international vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Jim Balanoff, director of District 31 United Steelworkers of America; and Marge Jindrich, vice-president of the United Auto Workers Region 4 women's committee.

NOW in St. Louis also plans an ERA rally April 29, and Milwaukee NOW is sponsoring a picket line the same day against Monroe Swann, the state legislator spearheading attempts to rescind Wisconsin's ratification of the ERA.

NOW chapters in California, Louisville, New Jersey, New Orleans, and Philadelphia are organizing ERA rallies for May 13 and 14 to mark Mother's Day.

NOW holds forum on 'feminism & minority women'

By Jo Otero

NEW YORK—About forty women, more than half of them Black, Puerto Rican, or Asian, attended a program here on "Rising Feminism Among Minority Women" on March 29. The program was the first organized by the Minority Women's Issues Committee recently formed in the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Goldie Chu, a delegate to the International Women's Year Conference and a leader of the Asian American Women's Caucus, recounted her shock and anger at the racism she found when she arrived in New York several years ago.

"That's why minorities need to be visible and active in coalitions that protest acts of racism, such as the *Bakke* decision," Chu said.

Dr. Helen Rodriguez, an authority on sterilization abuse against Puerto Rican women, commended NOW for its stance against forced sterilization. "Your organization was one that was primarily responsible for the New York



Participants at program night organized by NYC-NOW minority women's issues committee.

City guidelines" curbing forced sterilization, she said.

Ruby Jones, the Black president of the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and a member

of ILGWU Local 91 office workers, pointed out that "women and minorities have begun to change the face of the union movement."

Jones also explained the importance

of the unions uniting in coalitions along with other organizations to further the needs of women and oppressed national minorities. "There is strength in unity," she concluded, "without it we have nothing—together we can conquer all!"

Liz Young, a member of the Minority Women's Issues Committee, described a government frame-up against her and Kenny Chin. The two face trumped-up charges of conspiring to shoot the emperor of Japan. Young charged that the reason for the frame-up is their political activity in Chinatown.

Sandra Melendez, a NOW national board member, described NOW's national Minority Women's Committee and the campaign to win extension of the ERA deadline. "Now is the time for minority women to get into NOW and do something for ourselves," she urged.

The meeting was publicized widely. The *New York Post* ran a notice about the program, and both the National Black Network and Black Audio Network called for interviews.

Women in coal

Interview with NOW member in mine workers union



Earl Dotter

By Diane Wang

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Paulette Shine is a member of the Morgantown, West Virginia, chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW). She is also one of two women in United Mine Workers of America Local 4122.

For the past month Shine has been collecting signatures in support of the Equal Rights Amendment from other miners. About 120 of the local's 175 members have signed her petition already.

The strong support for women's rights Shine has found among men in her union says a lot about changing attitudes in the UMWA. One important aspect of these changes has been the big increase in women coal miners. That shows the new attitudes toward women's equality—among women as well as men.

For about two and a half years Shine has worked for Bethlehem Mines as a mechanic. "When I first started out it was something new," she recalls. "We heard rumors that the other miners' wives were going to picket. The men didn't know what to expect."

"Initially I felt I really had to prove myself—for all women. Now it's easier."

Of the 190,000 coal miners in this country fewer than 1,000 are women. Most of them have gotten their jobs in the past few years. "It's picking up," Shine says. "It's growing faster and faster."

A UMWA survey done early in 1976 reported 205 women in the union. In July 1977 the union had 858 women members. By last summer 992 women had taken the X-ray test required by federal law to become coal miners.

'UMWA should be proud'

"It's something the UMWA should be proud of," says Shine. "The men ought to take pride in it."

Why do women want to work in the mines? Many have families to support; they need a good job for that. Others are young women getting a job for the first time.

Women miners can make more than \$50 a day. Contrast that to what most women earn: in West Virginia, 70 percent of those who earn \$1.60 an hour or less are women. Four percent of those who earn \$4.50 an hour or more are women.

In Appalachia coal is the biggest industry, Shine points out. "It only makes sense that women get into it because there isn't much else."

At stake with ERA

Shine points out that winning the ERA means a lot for these women in the coalfields. "I feel so strongly that women have so much to lose," she says, "especially working women and women in organized labor."

Defeat for the ERA could discourage women from fighting to get mine jobs.

"At least once a day I talk to a woman—at the supermarket or someplace—and she'll say, 'Do you think I could get a job?' If a woman realizes she has a chance to get the job, she'll be interested," Shine explains. "But if we lose on this ERA the companies are going to say we don't want the jobs."

A defeat for the ERA will also hurt affirmative-action programs, Shine

says. "And that is the only thing that is making these coal companies hire women."

Affirmative action

She cites a study compiled by the Coal Employment Project in Tennessee. It analyzed the big increase of women miners over the past three or four years:

Between 1975 and 1977 the number of women miners in Tennessee jumped from zero to 14; in West Virginia the number went from 17 to 367. In Kentucky the number of women went from 5 in 1974 to 200 in 1977.

In almost all cases women got their jobs through affirmative-action lawsuits. All fourteen of the Tennessee women were hired because of a Title VII suit.

In Kentucky the state Commission on Human Rights ordered four coal companies to hire one woman out of every four new workers until women make up 20 percent of the nonsupervisory jobs.

A 1976 survey done by the UMWA showed that 44 percent of the women working in coal mines then were employed by five steel companies. They got their jobs through the 1974 consent

decree the companies had to sign, which opened up more jobs for women and Black workers.

If the ERA is defeated, Shine says, "I won't lose my job, but it will be tougher for the suits."

Getting union support

Those are some of the reasons Shine decided to become active in NOW and to work for the ERA. "I've always been interested in equality," she explains. "But I hadn't gotten actively involved until the miners' strike, when I got time to do it."

Shine has a lot of ideas about how to get her union's support for women's rights. She plans to ask support of the union's officials. And she'd like to submit something to the union's journal.

Shine decided to start with a petition for the ERA in her local. "It was a scary thing to do," she says. "I knew the guys like me; we've worked together. But standing there with a petition was something new. I'd never asked them for anything before. I didn't know what to expect."

"I was really pleased. A lot knew the issues. A lot I had to explain it to, but I was pleased with the support."

Shine describes the talks she had with some of the miners. Some men brought up the military draft. Would women be drafted? Shine pointed out that near the end of World War II women were almost drafted anyway. As the Constitution now stands women could be drafted, "so it's not such an outrageous idea," Shine says.

More important, Vietnam has changed the way many miners think. "They realize that those who went to Canada were not all wrong," Shine notes. "If they try to put us in another war, sending people over to interfere in other countries, I don't know if the American people—men or women—will take that bullshit again. It would be different if it were really for our own interests."

Women miners' issues

As more and more women go into the mines, their needs will become more important for the UMWA, Shine points out. Women miners will not only seek their union's backing for issues such as the ERA. They will be concerned about the contract too.

For example, although the 1973 UMWA convention voted to approve a demand for maternity leaves in collective bargaining, that is not yet guaranteed by the contract.

"There is no uniform measure covering pregnant women miners. It is left to the super at each company whether to fire her or not," Shine says.

As women have more years on the job they will be more concerned with pension benefits. "In the future a woman eligible for her twenty-year pension could be thirty-eight or forty and still have children living at home. She would need more than social security for those children."

Shine is eager to talk to other women working in mines and to circulate the petition for the ERA among other UMWA locals.



PAULETTE SHINE

Militant/Diane Wang

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Texas college decides to expel 85 Iranians

By José G. Pérez

At the end of March the Bee County (Texas) College administration formally decided to expel eighty-five Iranian students and to suspend six others.

If the expulsions are carried out, the eighty-five could lose their student visas and be deported to Iran. There they would face possible execution and certain imprisonment and torture, since the college administration has accused the students of being members of the Iranian Students Association-U.S., a group opposed to the brutal U.S.-backed dictatorship of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi.

No expulsions have yet been carried out, however, because the students have appealed the decision within college channels and have challenged the whole procedure in federal court.

The students' class-action lawsuit accuses the college administration of "conspiracy to intentionally deprive the plaintiffs of their rights, privileges, and immunities secured to them by the U.S. Constitution and laws of the United States."

At an April 6 hearing, Judge Owen Cox of the U.S. District Court in Corpus Christi, Texas, ordered the administration not to do anything pending further hearings.

The expulsions stem from an incident bearing all the marks of a deliberate provocation. On March 7 the campus paper published an editorial praising the SAVAK, the hated Iranian secret police, and accusing Iranian students of being part of "the Soviet KGB."

The same day the administration posted a summons instructing all Iranian students to be at the gymnasium for a meeting two days later.

At that meeting, college President Grady Hogue branded all the Iranians "liars," "thieves," "crooks," and "outlaws" on the pretext that unauthorized phone calls to Iran had allegedly been placed on school and townspeople's phones. Immediately following his diatribe he left, although students had questions to ask him about his unsubstantiated charges and about his refusal to let Iranians form a campus club.

The students decided to stay in the gym until Hogue discussed these matters with them. Hogue responded by having 103 students arrested and charged with "criminal trespass." All were released on bail, and ninety-one cases are still pending.

The action against the eighty-five students was formally taken by Dean of Student Services George Elam based on the findings of a disciplinary committee set up by the administration.

But before the committee had been set up, President Hogue announced to the press that he had been instructed by the board of trustees "to take necessary steps to get rid of troublemakers."

The committee held a total of sixteen hours of hearings—one mass hearing and then individual hearings—over a three-day period ending March 24.

Students were not notified of the administration's case against them before the hearing so they could prepare a defense. Nor were the students or their lawyers permitted to cross-examine witnesses during the individual hearings.

The administration not only served as judge, jury, and prosecution in this kangaroo court. They're also the Supreme Court. Appeals of the expulsions go first to President Hogue, who filed the criminal proceedings against the students, and then to the board of trustees, who ordered the purge of "troublemakers" in the first place.

At the April 6 hearing in federal court, the political motivations behind the expulsions became clear. The administration answered the students' suit by charging the students had "committed disturbances and disruptions" through such activities as going to demonstrations and distributing leaflets and newspapers—all constitutionally protected activities.

The Iranians who testified at the hearing were cross-examined by college lawyers about their political beliefs and associations.

Hearings on the suit were scheduled to resume April 13. Trials on the criminal charges will begin April 17.

Groups involved in the defense of the students are urging that letters of protest be sent to: President Grady Hogue, Bee County College, Route 1, Beeville, Texas 78102.

Miners' health care: a fight is still needed



Coalfield clinics face extinction without full federal funding

Militant/Nancy Cole

By Miguel Pendás

CHARLESTON, W.Va.—Now that the ranks of the United Mine Workers have approved a new three-year contract, one of the big questions left hanging is exactly how it will affect the coalfields' health-care system.

The 1978 agreement ratified last month eliminates the UMWA's "womb to tomb" health card, a pioneering plan won by the union in its 1946 contract battle. The union fund established through that fight provided working and retired miners and their families with free medical care. Now miners will have to pay deductibles of up to \$200 under private insurance plans such as Blue Cross.

In trying to sell this setback to the miners, the coal industry argued that private insurance plans could "guarantee" health care in a way that the union fund could not. The fund was financed by company royalties that depended on the amount of coal mined and hours worked.

The Bituminous Coal Operators Association also claimed that in real life the average miner would pay no where near the maximum deductible.

Whether or not this is true for the "average" miner, it certainly doesn't apply to the many who suffer a host of work-related ailments unmatched in any other industry.

Raymond Petri, for example, is a retired sixty-six-year-old miner from Cannelton, West Virginia. He has cancer, black lung, and a heart condition. He makes an average of five to six clinic visits each month. At \$7.50 per doctor's visit and \$5 per drug prescription, Petri will have paid his maximum deductible in only three months. That's on a pension of \$275 a month.

But the main problem with the new plan, according to many miners, is not so much the cash deductibles. It is that the new plan imperils the entire system of clinics and hospitals throughout Appalachia.

Before the introduction of the coalfield clinics beginning in 1950, health care in Appalachia ranked among the worst in the nation.

Most of the clinics were set up at the initiative of the UMWA, and the union's health and retirement fund subsidized them. They benefited not just UMWA members but all of Appalachia.

'Nobody turned away'

The Cabin Creek clinic, located about thirty miles southeast of Charleston, was formed by a nonprofit corporation started by miners in 1975. William Dodd, the clinic's administrator until last fall, told the *Militant* that the union health fund totally underwrote the clinic.

"We didn't turn anybody away," he said. The Cabin Creek clinic is run by a board made up of miners in its majority.

Pharmacist Terry Prettyman says that the clinic was a big improvement for the twenty-mile-long Cabin Creek area. It meant two more doctors, two nurse practitioners, a full-time pharmacist, and other personnel. Before, the 6,000 to 10,000 residents had only one doctor.

But in July 1977, the coal operators—who jointly administered the UMWA fund with union and "neutral" representatives—forced through cuts in the health benefits. Miners began paying up to \$500

in medical costs, and all subsidies to the clinics were ended.

The new contract makes that cutoff of clinic payments permanent.

With the drastic drop in income, the Cabin Creek clinic, and others like it, will probably be forced to cut back services or even shut down. This poses a serious threat to the health of Appalachia.

President Carter claims to be working toward a national prepaid system to guarantee Americans preventive medical care.

Yet not only has he put this legislation on the far back burner, he also took a big hand in negotiating and pushing through a contract that may very well destroy even a small-scale version of such a system.

During the miners' 110-day strike their health benefits were completely cut off. Clinic visits dropped drastically. A staff memorandum from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, however, found "no evidence of a current or impending health-care crisis in Appalachia."

Can't afford to get sick

HEW cynically explained that the decreased clinic visits were due to miners "adjusting their perceived requirements for care."

In other words, they couldn't afford to get sick.

The Appalachian Regional Commission estimates that at least 471,000 people in central Appalachia with no form of medical insurance—including Medicaid or Medicare—were served by the clinics' open-door policies. Without subsidies, these doors will close.

The ARC has voted \$4 million in grants and loans to Appalachian hospitals. HEW has allocated \$2 million for clinics, and another federal agency may come up with an additional \$2 million.

But a few million dollars on a one-shot basis is not going to save the Appalachian health system. The Carter administration and Congress should put our money where their mouths are and guarantee Appalachian health care.

Before the July cutbacks, the UMWA fund paid \$26 million a month to health-care facilities in the coalfields. That's \$312 million a year. Carter budgeted five times that amount to build just one Trident submarine next year.

Even though the UMWA strike is over and the contract signed, the ranks of the UMWA need not give up their fight for the right to adequate medical care. They would do themselves, Appalachia, and all working people a tremendous service if they were to actively demand that the government provide the funds to keep the clinics open.

It would be nothing new for miners. "The miners led a fight for medical care, black lung benefits, and safety laws that is outside the realm of what most unions do," Dave Lamm told the *Militant*. Lamm is a young miner on the Cabin Creek clinic board.

The clinics, he explained, "were set up on the basis that medical care is a basic human right. If miners have it, it's hard to say anybody else shouldn't have it."

That's true. And if miners and their supporters can win the full reinstatement of their benefits, in particular funding for the coalfield clinics, it will make it that much easier to fight for free, nationwide medical care for all.

Labor solidarity built through coal strike

Labor solidarity with the recent coal strike played a major role in helping the mine workers beat back the attempts to cripple their union. In California, labor-initiated support committees organized a series of rallies, union meetings, plant-gate collections, and campus speaking engagements for touring representatives of the United Mine Workers.

More than 2,000 people in northern California came to meetings for the UMWA speakers, including 1,000 at a February 24 San Francisco rally organized by the Miners' Strike Labor/Community Support Coalition.

An estimated \$65,000 was raised for the miners in the Bay Area through collections and union donations, according to coalition staff member Tom Tomasko of United Steelworkers Local 5649. On April 1 the coalition held a final solidarity rally, which drew 200 people and collected \$650.

In the Los Angeles area, \$30,000 was raised, much of it through the activities of the Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Coal Miners Strike. In the following 'Militant' interview Dave Jerome, a steelworker and committee activist, explains how the solidarity work was organized.

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Organized labor has always had an uphill fight here and the tradition of trade-union solidarity hasn't been the strongest. But thanks to the United Mine Workers strike, it's stronger today than before.

This is due in good measure to the excellent job done by the Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Coal Miners Strike, a committee established by local trade unionists to win financial and moral support for the mine strikers.

Dave Jerome, a member of United Steelworkers Local 2018, was on layoff during the peak of the committee's activity here and devoted full time to the support drive.

In a *Militant* interview, Jerome discussed what the committee accomplished.

Initially, the committee got together to organize a trade-union miners support rally. Activists in the Bay Area had the same idea so they jointly invited the United Mine Workers international office to send speakers to both cities.

The initiators of the Los Angeles rally were veteran activists in the steel union.

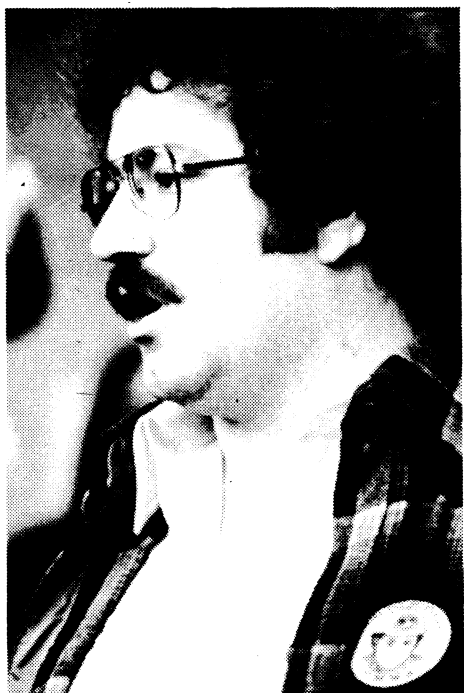
Some, like Jack Sheppard of Local 2058, had been involved in the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign for Ed Sadlowski in last year's USWA election. But they made a careful point, Jerome said, to involve others who had not been part of that campaign. They were intent on building the broadest union support for the miners they possibly could.

Andy Anderson, president of Bethlehem Steel Local 1845, joined in the initial effort, as did Bob Johnson and "Lalo" Sanchez, president and secretary-treasurer respectively, of National Can Local 5504.

Backing from the United Auto Workers included participation by Virgil Collins, legislative director of UAW Local 216, and Collin Lai, executive officer of the local.

Walter Lippmann, an executive board member of Service Employees International Union Local 535, also participated from the outset.

The UMW agreed to send two repre-



DAVE JEROME



Miner Matt Miller (left) and William Robertson, executive secretary of Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, at March news conference in L.A.

sentatives to speak at the Los Angeles and San Francisco support meetings.

The February 22 rally in Los Angeles won the endorsement of Robert Petris, USWA district director, and Jerry Whipple, UAW regional director.

Built mainly through plant-gate leafletting, the meeting was attended by 400 unionists and others.

An announcement was made at the rally that there would be regular planning meetings of a mine workers support committee. Such meetings were held weekly with an average attendance of 200.

The UMW agreed to send two of its staff to Los Angeles to work with the committee. With that, Jerome said, "the committee really blossomed."

The planning committee, he said, was composed largely of local union leaders and activists within the unions. "We started out with clear agreement on exactly what we intended to do, and how," said Jerome.

"We had two objectives: to raise money for the miners' relief fund and to build support for the strike.

"And," he continued, "we agreed that if we were going to get significant support for the miners, we had to involve the top union leadership on a local and district basis."

Fred Decker, and UMW organizer from Beckley, West Virginia, came to Los Angeles, along with Matt Miller, a Pennsylvania miner serving as a UMW legislative representative.

The first thing they did was to meet with William Robertson, executive secretary of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor. He made offices and phones available at the County Federation headquarters and organized a press conference at which he appeared with the UMW representatives.

A letter was sent to the federation's 400 affiliates urging their support. The support project was featured on the front page of the *Citizen*, weekly newspaper of the federation.

From the big weekly planning meetings, activists were recruited to working subcommittees. A media committee got the miners on several shows where they discussed the strike and asked that contributions for the UMW be sent to the County Federation of Labor. Some \$4,000 came in from these appeals.

A fund-raising committee produced an attractive button that raised another \$1,500. A scheduling committee lined up union speaking engagements for the miners. "The miners were speaking at four, five, and six union meetings a day," said Jerome.

Later the UMW sent two more miners out to speak—Chuck Simon, a Black coal miner from West Virginia and Everett Acord, a member of the union's safety committee.

"Support came from all layers of the

unions," Jerome said. "It was strong among the old-timers who remembered the role the UMW played in helping to build the early CIO unions.

"And for a lot of younger workers, it was a learning experience. I know when I got back to my plant after layoff, a number of people spoke to me about it. The miners began to give them a sense of what the unions once had been and what they could be."

A campus support meeting, built in a short time at UCLA, drew 150 students who contributed more than \$400 for the miners.

The biggest single collection was at the GM Southgate plant.

This was organized in advance by the Local 216 leadership. A leaflet was circulated the day before. The next morning union stewards and committee members were at the plant gates with collection cans. The workers responded with \$1,700.

The support committee's final activity, a public meeting March 30, was successful even though held a full week after the strike ended. Three hundred fifty people turned out.

With that final meeting, the support committee dissolved.

Everyone agreed with the dissolving, Jerome said, but with a certain reluctance. "People felt that what we had done for the miners was good and important," he explained. "But there was also a lot of feeling that it had been very beneficial for L.A. labor.

"We had many differing ideas, and some of us came from unions with long-standing rivalries. Yet we all worked together because we agreed so strongly on what we were doing. It promoted a sense of solidarity that everyone felt was long needed."

Farm strike leader salutes mine workers

By Mike Andrews

DENVER—"We hope organized labor will continue to support the farmers' strike," said Steve Close, a leader of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM), "and we will continue to support organized labor."

Close was addressing an April 1 "Salute to the Mine Workers" held here at the Denver Labor Center. The meeting was endorsed by the AAM, Colorado AFL-CIO, Denver Area Labor Federation, and more than twenty union locals.

"The mine workers benefited us all by showing what determined men can do when they stick together," explained Close. At the beginning of the coal strike, he recalled, the mass media ridiculed the miners. "But now they're not laughing at the miners, and they won't be laughing at the farmers either," he predicted. Accompanying Close at the meet-

ing was national AAM spokesperson Laurence Bitner.

In the past, Close explained, farmers took no position on labor struggles or were hostile to them. But during the coal strike, AAM activists in this area and elsewhere organized food caravans to the striking miners and addressed a number of strike solidarity meetings.

Other speakers at the meeting included Ellen Lavroff, president of the Colorado Federation of Teachers, Ray Marcouillier of the Coors Brewery Workers, and representatives of the United Mine Workers.

Jan Bell, co-coordinator of the Colorado National Organization for Women's labor task force, said:

"The UMWA has the unqualified support of Colorado NOW's labor task force in your continuing efforts to achieve a livable wage, a healthy work environment, and democracy at the workplace. . . . Your struggle is our struggle."

Support from Mexican labor

The Mexican electricians union (SME—Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas) donated \$1,000 to the striking United Mine Workers after hearing an appeal from a steelworker active in solidarity efforts in the United States.

Steve Warshell, a member of Steelworkers Local 2018 and the Los Angeles Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Coal Miners Strike, addressed a national meeting of 600 shop stewards in Mexico City on March 24. Warshell received a standing ovation from the electricians.

The telephone workers union (STRM—Sindicato de Telefonistas de la Republica Mexicana) invited Warshell to address its national congress subsequently. After his appeal, the congress voted unanimously to support the strike.

NY transit workers demand new contract

By Jay Ressler

NEW YORK—Hundreds of members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) here are demonstrating their opposition to the recently negotiated transit contract and their dissatisfaction with undemocratic procedures in their union.

Chanting "Vote NO!" some 250 TWU members protested outside the 207th Street Transit Barn during their lunch break April 10.

One worker swung an effigy of TWU President Matthew Guinan from the end of a hangman's noose. The effigy carried a sign reading, "Guinan is a sellout."

The next day, some 500 transit workers demonstrated outside the TWU headquarters in Manhattan.

The transit workers are demanding that the union renegotiate their contract.

"What we're after is to change the policy," one worker at the 207th Street demonstration explained to *Militant* reporters. "We're here to let the Transport Workers Union, and also the Transit Authority, know that we need more money to live. We're just asking to renegotiate."

TWU members are currently waiting to receive mail-in ballots on the proposed contract. The ballots are slated to be counted beginning April 25.

Neither the city nor the union has revealed the exact terms of the contract to the TWU membership. But some provisions have been reported in the press:

The city's contract offer is a stingy 6 percent raise over two years. There is a one-shot July 1979 cost-of-living adjustment, but only if it can be financed



New York transit workers demonstrate outside their union headquarters April 11

Militant/Barry Chann

from productivity increases—that is, from speedup.

Transit workers are already owed a \$500 cost-of-living payment under their old contract. All that they're now being offered of this is \$250—being palmed off as a lump-sum "bonus" in the proposed new contract.

So far, TWU members have not even been sent a summary of the contract by their union. All they've received is a

short letter from union officials urging them to vote "yes" on the contract.

The transit workers are angry over the union's undemocratic voting procedures.

"We don't believe in the mail-in ballot," said one TWU member at the 207th Street protest.

"We had trouble with it before," he explained, "and we don't like it. There's no way to count it fairly, because if you don't mail it in, it's counted as an automatic 'yes'! What kind of vote is that?"

Ralph Ramirez summed up the feelings of many members: "The union has the vote already fixed . . . We feel like we're being sold down the river again."

Most of the demonstrators said they favored voting by a show of hands or with a voting machine.

The Committee of Concerned Transit Workers has appealed for TWU members to help count the ballots to help hold down the vote fraud.

Lenny Bostic, a porter, explained, "We're trying to get the situation to where somebody representing the workers can be there to count the ballots."

At the demonstration outside the union headquarters, Henry Lewis, a spokesperson for the committee, told the crowd: "[The city] came to the bargaining table asking for some givebacks. Isn't it a travesty . . . when we don't have nothing to give to start with?"

Lewis pointed to stepped-up management harassment of workers on the

job. He said that this intimidation is aimed against union members' right to discuss their contract and vote as they see fit. "They say now we don't have the right to assemble on the job," Lewis said. "That we don't even have the right to pass a piece of paper between ourselves."

Health issues also concern many of the transit workers. Lewis explained, "We are suffering from noise pollution in our ears. Like the coal miners, we are suffering from black lung disease, because we are forced to breathe steel dust thirty hours a week, and they don't do anything about it. When all of us came on the job we were all healthy. Right? But when you talk to someone who has worked on the subways, he can't hear you too good."

On both demonstrations workers protested the contract provision permitting transit authorities to hire 200 part-time workers under the new contract.

Fearing that part-timers will not be required to join the union, the signs demanded, "No part-time workers. No scabs!"

Both demonstrations were more than half Black and Hispanic—as are the majority of the TWU members. The TWU leadership is overwhelmingly white.

One young Black worker spoke for many of the demonstrators outside the TWU headquarters:

"If this was a good union, we would be inside of the building instead of outside on the street."

Nursing home strike

By Arnold Weissberg

Twelve thousand nurses, aides, orderlies, maids, and kitchen workers struck seventy-four New York City nursing homes April 5 through 8. The strikers—members of Local 144 of the Hotel, Hospital, Nursing Home and Allied Health Services Union—sought a boost in pension payments, protection of employer-paid medical and dental plans, and a wage hike.

Despite a massive propaganda blitz against the strikers, depicting them as endangering the lives of nursing-home patients, the union was able to win a 20 percent wage hike over the course of a three-year contract. Other issues will be settled by binding arbitration.

Nursing-home operators claimed the workers' original demand was

beyond their ability to pay. However, as part of the settlement the state government agreed to increase Medicaid payments to the nursing homes. Operators of the struck nursing homes currently take in \$200 million a year in Medicaid.

The media propaganda campaign against the strikers ignored the real source of callous disregard for the elderly—the greedy nursing home operators. They are every bit as stingy with their patients as they are with their employees.

Most notorious is the case of Bernard Bergman. Investigations into his shady operations beginning in 1974 unearthed corruption and neglect for the aged not only in his business, but among other nursing-home profiteers.

SWP hits racist Cleveland school tax swindle

By Lynda Joyce

CLEVELAND—Voters here rejected a school tax hike by two to one April 6. According to the school board, the \$9.9 million levy was necessary to carry through a desegregated education order.

The board, aided by the news media, tried to pit Cleveland's predominantly Black East Side against the predominantly white West Side.

School board President Arnold Pinkey declared after the vote, "I think people are saying they are opposed to desegregation."

Eleven thousand teachers and other school employees have not been paid since March 22. For some time now,

Lynda Joyce is a member of Local 279, Cleveland Teachers Union.

the board has tried to lay the blame for the schools' financial crisis on federal Judge Frank Battisti's desegregation ruling.

Last November the board tried to close the schools, claiming that desegregation costs could not be met. The NAACP then showed that the board had actually spent millions of dollars to perpetuate Cleveland's illegally segregated educational system.

While claiming no money to pay staff, the board voted February 9 to appeal the latest desegregation order. This will cost thousands of taxpayers' dollars in legal fees and court costs.

Cleveland is one of 176 Ohio school districts short of funds because of indebtedness to banks and fiscal misdealings. Cleveland tax money went to pay \$61 million in interest to banks on

the school board's building fund alone.

Patricia Mitchell, a student at John Adams Senior High School, told the *Militant* that the board should reexamine its priorities and policies. "I don't feel the public or students should have to suffer because of the board's mismanagement of the funds," she said.

Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Pat Wright condemned the "hoax" the school board is trying to play on Cleveland workers. "The school board has led the fight against desegregation, and they used the school tax issue to try to score more points for segregated schools."

"Raising property taxes on residential homes hits workers hardest, while the rich get off scot free," she explained.

"While taxes for homeowners have increased, taxes paid by businesses on

equipment, inventory, and property have been reduced. Tax abatements granted to SOHIO, National City Bank, TRW, the Chessie System, and others have cost Cleveland schools millions."

East Sider William LeShure voiced the sentiments of many in the Black community. "We're being taken," he told the *Militant*. "We shouldn't have to work and pay all these taxes, and the people with the money aren't paying anything. I only make \$7,000 a year—how can I vote for a levy when I don't have enough even to survive?"

Socialist candidate Wright believes a "public campaign is necessary to force the board to keep the schools open and to implement the court order, which includes busing to achieve desegregation."

Demand universities divest

500 attend So. Africa conference

By Earl Williams

NEW HAVEN—Close to 500 people attended a conference on the liberation struggles in southern Africa at Yale University here March 31 through April 2.

The conference was sponsored by the Northeast Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, an umbrella organization comprised of student anti-apartheid groups from Amherst College, Brandeis, Hampshire College, University of Massachusetts Amherst and Boston, University of Connecticut, Wesleyan, Yale, Harvard, Dartmouth College, Mt. Holyoke College, Smith College, and Clark University.

The American Committee on Africa, American Friends Service Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, and National Student Coalition Against Racism are among other organizations active in the group.

According to Sally Rees, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and a conference organizer, the Northeast Committee picked Yale as the conference site because of its large investments—more than \$100 million—in companies doing business in South Africa.

The anti-apartheid coalition at Yale has been demanding that the university divest itself of its stock in these companies as a demonstration of opposition to South Africa's policies.

The conference opened Friday, March 31, with a panel of speakers on the freedom struggle in southern Africa. Among the speakers were New York State Supreme Court Judge William Booth, chairperson of the American Committee on Africa; Willard Johnson, Association of Concerned African Scholars; Rev. John Vannorsdall, Yale University Chaplain; Andrew Lukele, Black People's Convention; and Terry Kangai of the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) Patriotic Front.

Workshops on Saturday covered a broad range of topics—from the role of U.S. banks and corporations in southern Africa, to organizing opposition to U.S. involvement in South Africa, to the history of the liberation struggles in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia (Southwest Africa).

At a Sunday plenary session the conference decided to endorse and help organize a national conference on ending university complicity with South



February 24 protest at University of Chicago. School has \$65 million invested in firms operating in South Africa.

Africa at Duke University to be held next fall.

The plenary session also passed a motion denouncing the Carter administration's foreign policy in Africa and demanding:

- economic sanctions against South Africa and Rhodesia in accordance with United Nations resolutions;
- an end to all Export-Import Bank loans to those regimes;
- an end to tax credits on corporations' South Africa investments;
- a trade embargo on South Africa, imposing fines on violators; and
- an end to NATO support for the racist regimes.

In addition, the conference voted to denounce the proposed neo-colonial setup that Rhodesian Prime Minister

Ian Smith is attempting to portray as Black majority rule.

A number of anti-apartheid actions were endorsed by the conference:

- a week of coordinated protests April 14-22 demanding university divestiture of stock with companies doing business in southern Africa;
- a regional demonstration in support of the southern Africa liberation struggles April 30 in Boston; and
- a May 20 African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D.C.

The conference also endorsed the April 8 and April 15 demonstrations to overturn the *Bakke* decision.

The conference closed with a Sunday afternoon rally that heard speakers and messages from sponsoring groups and local organizations.

1st-round cuts

Mayor Koch's contract offer is even more outrageous when you consider what has already been done to city employees and other New York residents since the first round of cutbacks three years ago.

Since 1975 the city work force has been slashed by 23.3 percent—a loss of 62,100 jobs!

Wages have been frozen for those lucky enough to keep their jobs. They have deferred or given up at least \$636 million in scheduled wage increases and benefits.

In addition, transit fare has gone up 43 percent. The City University is charging tuition for the first time in history. And the list goes on.

New York's Black and Puerto Rican communities have been the hardest hit by these attacks.

—P.S.

...swindle

Continued from back page

approved a \$755-million tax cut March 22, for example. Aimed to help "keep businesses in the state," *Business Week* estimates these cuts will save at least \$230 million for big corporations and millions more for wealthy individuals.

New York City eliminated its stock transfer tax over the next four years—doling out a \$1 billion present to big business.

'No money?'

No money? Compare these billions in war spending and welfare payments for the rich to the \$457-million budget gap Mayor Koch estimates for next year! Or to the \$400 million the mayor says he can't afford to pay city workers!

How can New York City workers win back these millions that are being stolen from them? How can they defend their standard of living and their unions?

Democratic Mayor Ed Koch says workers should be willing to sacrifice during these difficult times.

And labor misleaders like Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37; Matthew Guinan of the TWU; and Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers only quibble with Koch over *how much* workers should be asked to sacrifice.

Gotbaum and Shanker accept the mayor's lies that there is no money—simply demanding that the banks give up a little also, that there be "equality" of sacrifice.

These labor misleaders even get working people fighting each other over the peanuts the city is willing to shell out, instead of uniting in a common struggle.

Following the strategy of giveaway artists like Guinan, Gotbaum, and Shanker, city workers have fallen further and further behind, while the bankers have gotten further and further ahead.

But city workers don't have to accept what Koch and Carter are trying to force on them.

The coal miners proved this during their recent strike. When the coal operators pleaded poverty, the miners shot back: "Open your books! Let us see how much you're making off our sweat and blood."

The miners showed that when working people stand firm and fight for their demands—and when other workers back them up—the bosses can be forced to retreat.

With that example in mind, New York City employees could challenge the poor-mouthing lies of the politicians.

They could not only win a decent contract for themselves, but strike a blow in defense of the living standards of all working people.

Univ. complicity is big campus issue

By Omari Musa

University complicity with the apartheid regime in South Africa is becoming a major issue on campuses from Massachusetts to California.

For example, 4,000 demonstrators in Nashville last month indicted the Vanderbilt University administration for its complicity with that racist government. Vanderbilt hosted the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup tennis matches.

But university investment in firms doing business in South Africa has clearly emerged as the central target of student protests. The Nashville demonstrators also demanded that Vanderbilt divest itself of such investments.

This issue hit the headlines last spring when 600 students at Stanford University rallied demanding that university officials divest the \$120 million Stanford holds in such firms. The administration's first response was to order the arrest of nearly 300 of the protesters who had staged a sit-in.

A week later, students at the

Santa Cruz campus of the University of California staged similar demonstrations demanding that UC divest \$312 million in holdings. Santa Cruz cops waded into the students and arrested 401.

Since that time, students in Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, and Massachusetts have organized picket lines and rallies demanding that their universities divest.

As a result of these protests—and the potential to mobilize even larger numbers of students around this issue—some universities have already sold their stocks. Among them are the University of Wisconsin, Ohio University, Hampshire College, Smith College, and University of Massachusetts in Amherst.

Commenting on the growth of this movement, a professor at Wesleyan University in Connecticut recently said, "The South Africa issue is the most vocal, visible, and unifying one in terms of bringing together groups of students since the Vietnam War."

An April 2 editorial in the *New York Times* also drew attention to

the resurgence of student protests around this issue.

"The campuses are astir again," the editorial says, "and the issue is South Africa. Students and teachers want to attack that nation's racist policies through the power of American corporations doing business there."

The editorial urges that universities, U.S. corporations, and the government take some greater distance from South Africa's racists. "Gradually, so that there is time for the message to sink in, Americans should be heading for the exit," the *Times* says.

But campus opponents of apartheid are demanding something more than a "gradual exit."

They want an *immediate* end to all university, corporate, and government complicity with the bloody South African regime.

It will take a powerful struggle in this country—similar to the anti-Vietnam War movement—to win those demands. We are seeing the beginnings of that movement on the campuses today.

By Duncan Williams

Leon Trotsky is best known as a leader of the Russian revolution of October 1917 and as the organizer of the Red Army during the civil war that followed. His literary reputation, for most people, is based on his *History of the Russian Revolution*, *The Revolution Betrayed*, and his autobiography *My Life*.

All three were written during his last exile, from 1929 to 1940. Yet they represent only a small part of his literary output during this time.

In addition to his uncompleted biographies of Lenin and Stalin, his *Diary in Exile—1935*, and other books, Trotsky wrote numerous smaller pamphlets, articles, and letters. Pathfinder Press set itself the task of publishing, or republishing, everything that Trotsky wrote for a public audience during this period that was not already in print and available, as well as a great deal that was never published at all.

A number of volumes are organized by country: *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*, *Leon Trotsky on China*, *Leon Trotsky on Britain*, *The Spanish Revolution (1931-1939)*, *Leon Trotsky on France*, and *The Crisis of the French Section (1935-36)*. (Both the China and Britain volumes also include material written before 1929.)

The twelve-volume series, *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929-40)*, which has now been completed, contains his published and some unpublished articles, pamphlets, interviews, and letters not included in his other works. Many of these writings have been translated and appear here in English for the first time. Others were only previously available in internal documents of Trotskyist organizations or in personal files. Almost all of them have been out of print until the current edition.

Because his autobiography only extends to 1929, Trotsky's life and work during his last exile have been at the mercy of his biographers, who have in general been neither perceptive nor charitable.

Two recent biographers are Joel Carmichael (*Trotsky: An Appreciation of His Life* [1975]) and Robert Payne (*The Life and Death of Leon Trotsky* [1977]). They attempt to compensate for their general political ignorance with cheap amateur psychology, indulging in bizarre speculations about Trotsky's inner feelings. Both claim to reveal Trotsky the man.

The Prophet Outcast (1963) by Isaac Deutscher is the best biography of Trotsky available. It also dwells on the personal aspects of Trotsky's exile, but Deutscher was admiring and sympathetic to many of Trotsky's views, and he generally records them faithfully.

Setting the record straight

The *Writings* series goes a long way toward setting the record straight on Trotsky's last twelve years. Many articles and letters touch on Trotsky's personal situation: his fight for political asylum, his relations with his family and friends, his travels and enjoyments. We have, for example, Trotsky's recorded reaction to the suicide of his daughter Zina, the death of his other daughter Nina, and the murder of his son Leon Sedov at the hands of Stalin's secret police, the GPU.

Each volume has a preface, chronology, and extensive annotation that provide a political and personal context for the writings.

What has generally been belittled and misunderstood by all Trotsky's biographers is his work after the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International in educating, orienting, and building a new revolutionary international organization. This culminated in the founding of the Fourth International in 1938. Carmichael and Payne can't begin to understand this work, and Deutscher dismisses it as a "fiasco."

This leaves a huge hole in any appreciation of Trotsky's life, and it is an injustice to Trotsky himself. In 1935 he made his own evaluation of the importance of his work in building the Fourth International: "... Still I think that the work in which I am engaged now, despite its extremely insufficient and fragmentary nature, is the most important work of my life—more important than 1917, more important than the period of the Civil War or any other."

'Indispensable'

"... I cannot speak of the 'indispensability' of my work, even about the period from 1917 to 1921. But now my

In 1937, Trotsky wrote that "nineteenths of my time is devoted to articles, pamphlets, letters for the revolutionary publications or for individual comrades" (*Writings 1937-38*, page 104). The *Writings* contain much of this material.

But not all. The editors calculate Trotsky's published literary output during his last exile as roughly twenty-eight average-sized volumes. They note, "He wrote much more, in the form of political letters to his co-thinkers in several countries, discussing questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics. ... The great majority is locked away in the 'closed section' of the Trotsky archives at Harvard Uni-

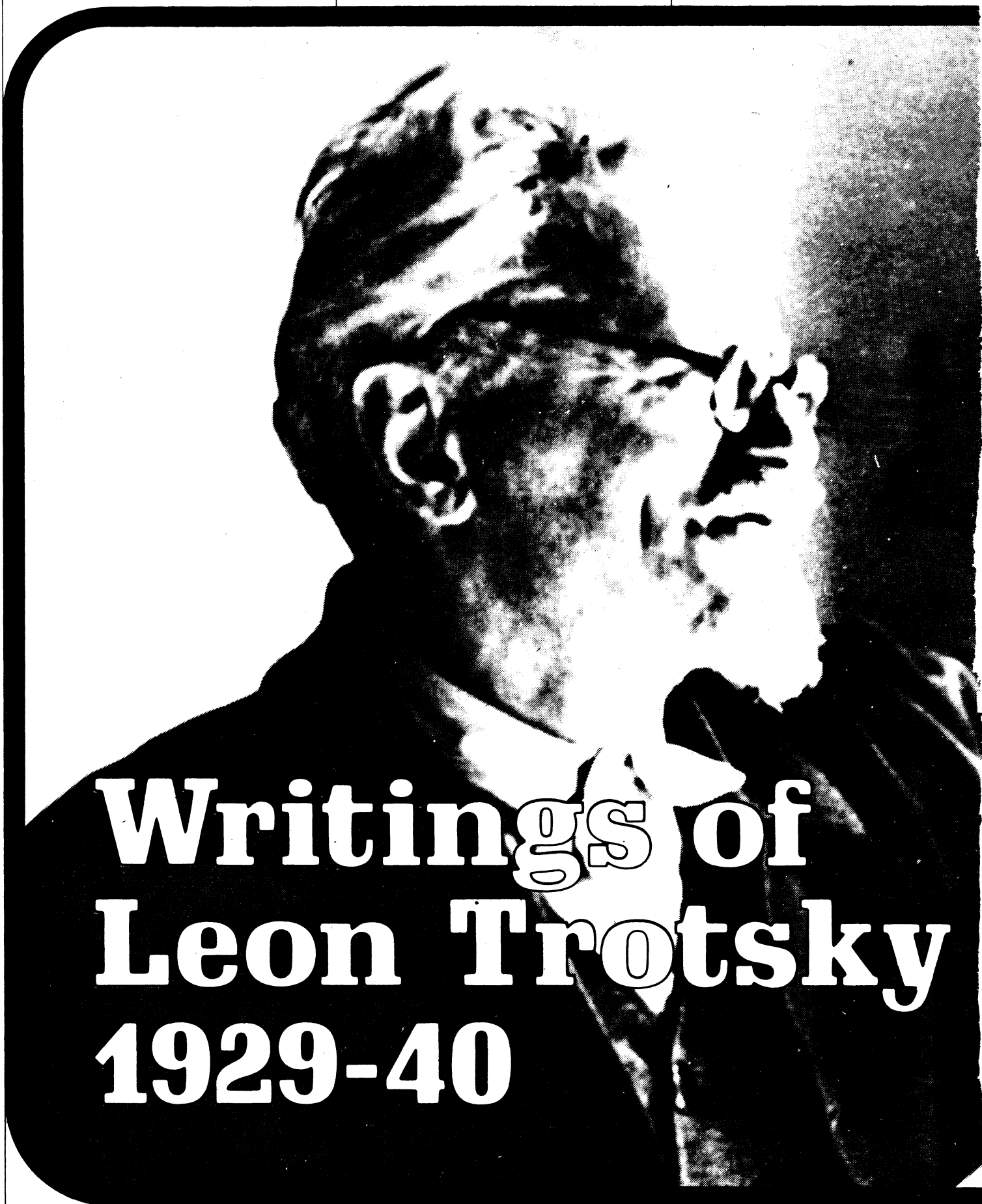
concept and necessity of a revolutionary international, particularly as opposed to the narrow conception of collection of independent national groups.

Most of Trotsky's key theoretical, political, and strategic contributions are included in other books.

His analyses of fascism and the united front are in *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*.

The question of the People's Front taken up in his books on France and Spain. The Spain volume also has some of the best expositions of the Leninist position on nationalism and self-determination.

Leon Trotsky on China contains his



work is 'indispensable' in the full sense of the word. There is no arrogance in this claim at all. The collapse of the two Internationals has posed a problem which none of the leaders of these Internationals is at all equipped to solve. The vicissitudes of my personal fate have confronted me with this problem and armed me with important experience in dealing with it. There is now no one except me to carry out the mission of arming a new generation with the revolutionary method over the heads of the leaders of the Second and Third International. ... I need at least about five more years of uninterrupted work to ensure the succession" (*Diary in Exile—1935*, pages 46-47).

versity. ... The archives are to be opened in January 1980. By the estimate of Isaac Deutscher, who visited the "closed section" in 1959, Trotsky's correspondence should fill thousands more printed pages.

Fourth International

What were Trotsky's contributions to the Fourth International? First of all, the very establishment of the Fourth International is due in large part to Trotsky's persistence. He had to overcome quite a few detours and obstacles, as well as hesitations and doubts among his cothinkers. In the *Writings* and in *The Crisis of the French Section (1935-36)* Trotsky elaborates on the

treatment of revolutionary strategy in the colonial and semicolonial countries, the counterrevolutionary character of their national bourgeoisies, and the role of the peasantry and the agrarian revolution in the socialist revolution.

In addition there are, among others the separate collections *Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions*, *On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*, and *On the Jewish Question*. *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* contains Trotsky's major work on revolutionary strategy, as well as preparatory discussions on the transitional method.

The *Writings* have additional mate

rial on all these questions, which helps to illuminate the evolution of Trotsky's views. The best example is his writing on the Soviet Union. Most of his longer articles and pamphlets are on this question: probably four separate volumes could have been published with this material.

Trotsky's major work on the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the analysis of the first workers state is *The Revolution Betrayed*, which he completed in 1936. Here he affirmed the class character of the Soviet Union as a workers state under a bureaucratic leadership.

He developed the Marxist explanation of the degeneration of the Soviet

against, its political misleadership.

What attitude to take toward the Soviet Union remains a decisive question of international strategy. An incorrect position on this question inevitably leads to other mistakes. The position developed by Trotsky in *The Revolution Betrayed*, the *Writings*, and *In Defense of Marxism* remains the position of the Fourth International today, and it is one reason for its continuing viability as a revolutionary organization.

Trotsky's ideas on the Soviet Union did not take shape all at once. They were the product of discussion, polemics, and debates within the Russian Left Opposition and the International

reaucratic collectivism," the historical analogies with the French revolution, and the sharpening of Trotsky's definitions and formulations, including the changes he made, for example, in his analysis of the Comintern and its member parties.

These articles are indispensable for understanding Soviet economics and history. But it is doubtful if they would have been written just for that. Trotsky's paramount aim was to arm the Fourth International with a correct theory and policy. "The fate of the Soviet republic," he wrote in 1929, "is determined by both the internal economic leadership and the leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the inter-

did not prove to be accurate, but his analyses certainly are more useful to understanding world history during the 1930s than those of any of his contemporaries and of most later historians, who have had access to far more documentary material.

Trotsky was not indulging in speculative fancies. He was preparing the Fourth International with a correct policy toward the coming war—revolutionary defeatism in the imperialist countries, defense of the Soviet Union, and support to wars of national liberation in the colonies and semicolonies. The codification of these views is in the pamphlet *War and the Fourth International*, included in *Writings 1933-34*.

Clarification

All the documents and resolutions that Trotsky wrote for the Fourth International and its preliminary conferences are included in the *Writings*, as well as in *Documents of the Fourth International*. But as anyone active in revolutionary politics knows, documents and resolutions are only the formal result of a process of ideological clarification. In the *Writings* we get to see this process and Trotsky's method of debate, polemic, and discussion with the sections and the individual leaders.

Both Payne and Carmichael portray Trotsky's work in building the Fourth International as a kind of tragic farce. We get the picture of Trotsky as a general without an army, attempting to translate his wild schemes for world revolution through a personality cult that would act on command. (Payne even imputes to Trotsky a desire to become "dictator of America" by inciting an armed uprising "in Minneapolis or St. Paul" in 1939 or 1940.) Like most of the stuff in their books, this picture is false.

The Fourth International, today as in the 1930s, is faced with the task of building parties and an international organization that can challenge the reformist organizations for leadership of the working class and eventually lead the struggle for power, a socialist revolution. There is no more difficult work in history. Probably the greatest value of the *Writings* is that they expound Trotsky's ideas on party building during this period.

Building parties

Trotsky brought to this task an incomparable amount of experience from his participation in the Second and Third Internationals, not only on questions of program, but on the character, composition, internal organization, and institutions of a revolutionary party. His experience was all the richer for having been a consistent opponent of Leninist organizational principles and methods up to 1917, when he came over to Bolshevism under the impact of the First World War and the Russian revolution.

For these reasons, Trotsky exercised great personal authority. But he recognized this as a weakness of the movement, which could only be overcome by its growth and maturation.

It was rare, however, that Trotsky's authority went unchallenged. How else are we to explain the sharp polemics, disagreements, and even splits?

Trotsky's attitude is summed up in the title to one of his letters in *Writings 1930-31*: "I Await Criticism from the Sections." He was not afraid to make mistakes and to take responsibility for them, and he sought to educate the leadership cadres in the same spirit. Here is an excerpt from a 1935 letter to a group of German comrades: "A leadership which in a critical moment cannot summon up the courage to carry out a turn within twenty-four hours, on its own initiative, without losing time, and while still reflecting the experience of the whole organization, is not worth calling a leadership. Of course, in doing so they run the risk of committing a blunder, of being

Continued on next page



Twelve-volume series just completed by Pathfinder Press

Communist Party, the development of a privileged bureaucratic caste, and the Stalin cult. This parasitic bureaucracy plays a thoroughly counterrevolutionary role in the Soviet Union and the world, having abandoned any perspective of world revolution. It has replaced revolutionary internationalism with the theory that socialism can be established in one country on its own.

Although this bureaucratic caste and its flunkies in the Communist International deserve no political support from revolutionaries, the Fourth International is duty bound to unconditionally defend the Soviet workers state against imperialism in spite of, and

Left Opposition (later the International Communist League and the Movement for the Fourth International) as the process of degeneration unfolded.

Marxist method

The *Writings* provide the reader with a unique opportunity to study the application of the Marxist method to a new historical-theoretical problem. In his articles on the Soviet economy, the Soviet state, and the Stalinized Comintern and Communist Party, one can see rough drafts of the fully developed chapters in *The Revolution Betrayed*. Here are the polemics against theories of state capitalism and "bu-

national proletariat. In the final analysis it is the latter factor that is decisive" (*Writings 1929*, page 365).

Another example is Trotsky's analytical articles on the general situation of world politics. Throughout most of his time in exile, the major imperialist powers were preparing for the Second World War, which Trotsky predicted as early as 1932. His articles cut through the diplomatic pretenses of disarmament and peace. He exposed the particular drives, relative strengths, and motivations of the imperialist powers and the USSR. For example, he predicted the Stalin-Hitler pact nearly a year before it was signed.

A number of his specific predictions

...Writings

Continued from preceding page

chastised by the organization, or even of being removed. Every profession has its hazards, and this in particular is the hazard of the leadership profession" (*Writings 1935-36*, pages 113-14).

No dogmatist

He avoided a dogmatic approach to organizational questions, always stressing the need for concrete analysis and tactical flexibility. "I [don't] think that I can give such a formula on democratic centralism," he wrote to American cothinkers in 1937, "that 'once and for all' would eliminate misunderstandings and false interpretations. A party is an active organism. It develops in the struggle with outside obstacles and inner contradictions. The malignant decomposition of the Second and Third Internationals, under the severe conditions of the imperialist epoch, creates for the Fourth International difficulties unprecedented in history. One cannot overcome them with some sort of magic formula. . . . The organizational forms should correspond to the strategy and the tactic. Only a correct policy can guarantee a healthy party regime. This, it is understood, does not mean that the development of the party does not raise organizational problems as such. But it means that the formula for democratic centralism must inevitably find a different expression in the parties of different countries and in different stages of development of one and the same party" (*Writings 1937-38*, pages 89-90).

Other examples are his comments on the danger of cliques; several discussions with American Trotskyists on the importance of a revolutionary youth organization; his comments on the responsibilities of a revolutionary newspaper; and his remarks on the internationalist duties of every section to take part in the internal life of the International and the other sections. (A good case study of Trotsky's organi-

zational method is in *The Crisis of the French Section (1935-36)*.)

The *Writings* are, of course, valuable to researchers and scholars. In his recently published *Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky*, author Baruch Knei-Paz notes in his bibliography: "[The *Writings*] are excellently edited and translated. One hopes that a similar collection, for the—admittedly longer—period before 1929, will also be undertaken."

Handbooks of politics

But they are of far greater value to the Fourth Internationalists carrying on Trotsky's work today. Taken as a whole, the *Writings* are the most thorough and useful application and example of revolutionary Marxist politics in the epoch of imperialist decay, that is, since the outbreak of the First World War. This, in my opinion, makes them even more useful for revolutionists today than other collections, such as the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels and Lenin's *Collected Works*.

While these occupy a central place in the development of Marxism, the authors could not predict the problems of strategy and tactics that history would produce. Because he lived later than they did, Trotsky, basing himself on their teachings and his own insights, is able to present Marxism as the living doctrine of class struggle it is. Although most of it is more than forty years old, his work remains the best guide to understanding and overcoming the theoretical, political, and organizational problems of building the Fourth International and its sections.

In 1937, Trotsky wrote, "*Pioneer Publishers* [predecessor of Pathfinder Press] from the very beginning set itself the task of bringing out a serious library of revolutionary thought for advanced workers and radical intelligentsia. . . . *Pioneer Publishers* can accomplish a great historic task." The translation, annotation, editing, and publication of Trotsky's *Writings* mark a giant step toward fulfilling this task.

These books are an essential part of every revolutionary's library.

Gay rights overdue, pass NYC bill now!

The following statement was released to the 'Militant' by Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from New York City's Nineteenth District, and Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for governor of New York:

New York City needs a law to protect the civil rights of lesbians and gays. A bill to outlaw antigay discrimination in jobs, housing, and public accommodations is long overdue.

Supporters of gay rights have been waiting seven years for the city council to pass an anti-discrimination bill. Such a bill was first introduced in 1971.

Why have we had to wait?

Because the Democrats and Republicans who control city council prefer to play politics with gay rights. For them it was expedient to give in to antigay bigots. They need to exploit every division among working people and the oppressed—including sexist, anti-gay prejudice.

The SWP is campaigning for a society that puts human needs before profits. A society that has no need to maintain divisive prejudices.

Therefore we welcome the militant

struggle of gays and lesbians for their full human rights.

The only reason the New York City Council will now consider gay rights is that gays have refused to compromise and have made their rights a social issue.

When Anita Bryant's reactionary crusade in Dade County made gay rights a nationwide political issue, gays did not retreat. They went into action, demonstrated their determination in the streets, took their cause to the public, won support for their rights, organized coalitions.

That self-reliance in action is what has won victories over the past year since Dade County: gay rights laws have been passed in Tucson, Arizona; Iowa City, Iowa; Wichita, Kansas; Champaign, Illinois; Eugene Oregon; and San Francisco.

We are confident that continuing activity by an independent and militant gay rights movement—such as the April 16 demonstrations organized by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights in New York—will win a gay rights bill here.

That movement deserves everyone's support.

N.C. protest: 'Free the 10!'



Militant/Jeff Miller

1,500 marched in Raleigh demanding full pardon for Wilmington 10

By Jeff Miller

RALEIGH, N.C.—About 1,500 people demonstrated here April 1 to demand freedom for the Wilmington Ten.

The demonstration came as North Carolina Gov. James Hunt, Jr., and local media were claiming that the case "seemed to be going away." Only two days before, Hunt claimed that according to a poll most Blacks in North Carolina supported his decision earlier this year to refuse to pardon the ten defendants.

"I think this is our answer to Governor Hunt," Elizabeth Chavis, mother of imprisoned Wilmington Ten leader Ben Chavis, told the spirited rally at the state capitol.

The march and rally were sponsored by the North Carolina Coalition to Free the Wilmington Ten.

Demonstrators, overwhelmingly Black, came from more than ten North Carolina counties. Buses and vans brought some from as far as New York and Baltimore.

The Wilmington Ten, nine Black men and a white woman, were convicted in 1972 of arson and conspiracy charges stemming from 1971 white vigilante attacks on the Black

community of Wilmington, North Carolina.

Last May, at a postconviction hearing called to hear new evidence in the case, all three major prosecution witnesses admitted they had lied at the original trial. They described bribes and threats made by the state prosecutor.

In the past few weeks, pressure to free the ten has escalated. A demonstration of 8,000 was held March 18 in Washington, D.C.

In written greetings to the rally here, defendant Anne Sheppard Turner, who was paroled last January, said the Wilmington Ten case was "only the tip of the iceberg."

Also speaking were Rev. Leon White of the United Church of Christ and James Ferguson, attorney for the ten.

"Last week Carter was in Brazil talking about human rights," Ferguson said. "But he has yet to speak about human rights in this country."

One of the people on the march was Calvin Randolph, a bus driver who brought sixteen students from Northedgecombe High School in nearby Tarboro. "They schooled me on the case as I was coming up," Randolph said.



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World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

As imperialists demand austerity

Mass upsurge in Peru wins concessions

By José G. Pérez

The Peruvian military government of Francisco Morales Bermúdez is caught between a rock and a hard place and there doesn't seem to be any easy way out.

The regime is being buffeted by two powerful and counterposed forces.

One is a cartel of imperialist financial interests headed by U.S. banks. They are demanding huge loan repayments and harsh austerity measures to make this possible.

The other force is the Peruvian workers and peasants, who have defended their living standards and demanded democratic rights through powerful mass mobilizations, including two general strikes.

These mass protests have won political and economic concessions, undercutting the government's plan to repay its loans from the pockets of the oppressed masses.

The latest concessions came in mid-March. The government announced on March 15 that Peruvians it had forced into exile would now be allowed to return.

The most prominent exile is Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco. An international defense campaign won Blanco's release from a life sentence in 1970. Since that time the Peruvian government has exiled him twice—in 1970 and 1975.

Five days after announcing that exiles would be allowed to return, the government agreed to reinstate seventy-eight workers to their jobs. These workers had been on a hunger strike demanding reinstatement of 5,000 workers fired after the July 19, 1977, general strike.

July 19 strike

In June 1977 Morales Bermúdez announced steep hikes in prices of basic necessities, including food. The masses responded with street demonstrations and other protests that peaked with the July 19 strike.

The government tried to crush the movement. Troops opened fire on demonstrators in Lima, killing at least six persons. Cops jailed hundreds of union activists after the strike, and some 5,000 workers were fired.

At the same time, the government announced that there would be a gradual transition away from outright military rule, with the election of a constituent assembly on June 4, 1978, and general elections for a civilian administration in 1980.

But the combination of concession and repression did not end the upsurge. In the months following the July strike, there were local or province-wide general strikes in Cuzco and Chimbote; strikes by copper miners, steelworkers, hospital workers, shoe and leather workers, and others; and mass trade-union rallies.

One expression of the depth of anti-government sentiment was the December 26 funeral of Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado, the former head of the military regime. Up to 400,000 people turned the burial into a protest.

(Velasco Alvarado, who came to power in 1968, used populist rhetoric and some limited anti-imperialist reforms to win support for his regime. In 1975 the Peruvian military ousted him in favor of Morales Bermúdez. Since then the economic situation has deteriorated, so the masses associate Velasco Alvarado with better times.)

Under the pressure of the protests, officials of the Confederación General



November 1977 trade-union rally of 25,000 in Lima demands democratic rights, end to austerity

Marka

de Trabajadores Peruanos (CGTP—General Federation of Peruvian Workers), the main union federation, have been pressured into calling and supporting some of the mobilizations.

The top councils of the CGTP are controlled by the pro-Moscow Peruvian Communist Party. The CP has supported the military rulers, although recently it has been critical of the austerity measures.

In December, a national delegates assembly of this federation called a general strike for January 23 and 24. A United Struggle Command was set up with other working-class and peasant organizations to lead the effort. But the top CGTP bureaucrats canceled the strike at the last moment.

The other organizations in the United Struggle Command and the CGTP membership were outraged, and the federation bureaucrats were forced to reschedule the strike for February 27-28. According to the United Struggle Command, the strike was 80 percent effective in Lima, and completely shut down several other cities.

Morales Bermúdez did not repress this strike as harshly as the one in

July. And two weeks later the government announced the return of the exiles, which had been a central demand of the protest.

In addition, the government has been forced to grant some economic concessions. This includes a general wage increase, which has softened the impact of the austerity measures.

These concessions, however, have gotten Morales Bermúdez in trouble with his imperialist creditors, who view them as a threat to their loan payments.

Peru has more than \$4 billion in foreign debts.

In the mid-1970s the government borrowed heavily for an ambitious industrial development program, including development of a petroleum-exporting industry and expansion of copper production.

Crushing burden

But the price of copper on the world market has plummeted, and the petroleum explorations have not yet panned out. In addition, anchovies, largely responsible for Peru having been the sixth-largest fishing nation in the world, have disappeared from coastal waters, compounding the economic problems.

As a result, the \$1 billion in foreign debt and interest Peru has to pay this year is a crushing burden.

At the insistence of his imperialist creditors, Morales Bermúdez has launched a savage assault on the standard of living of Peru's workers and peasants.

But even with these measures, the military regime still doesn't have the money, and Peruvian officials say they will run out of money by June 1 unless much of the debt is restructured into long-term loans.

So far, the big banks of the United States, Europe, and Japan have been unwilling to do this.

The U.S. financiers are reported to be particularly intransigent.

A delegation from the International Monetary Fund visited Peru in mid-March. Before granting further credits, they reportedly demanded new attacks

on the masses' living standard: further devaluation of Peru's currency; new taxes on telephone and electric service, vehicles, and rents; price increases on diesel fuel, other petroleum products, and possibly gasoline; and more big cuts in government spending.

However, it is doubtful that the present regime can successfully push through such measures. The impact of austerity measures already announced has been limited by the concessions won through mass struggles. Explosive new struggles that would further weaken the government would undoubtedly result if it adopts the IMF's program.

Elections

It is in this context that the June elections for a constituent assembly will take place.

Morales Bermúdez has already made clear that he intends to stay in power no matter who wins. The assembly is limited to writing a new constitution—and Morales Bermúdez has announced that if it writes one the military doesn't like "the government of the armed forces will dissolve the assembly and that will be the end of the story."

In addition, up to 3 million people (out of Peru's total population of 16 million) will be denied the right to vote on the pretext that they are illiterates. This measure will affect primarily Indian peasants.

And to top it off, the military maintains a stranglehold over the mass media—radio, television, and the daily newspapers.

The masses, however, have a different idea of what the elections should be. A poll of Lima residents showed that more than half of those who knew about the elections thought they would be electing a new government or a new president.

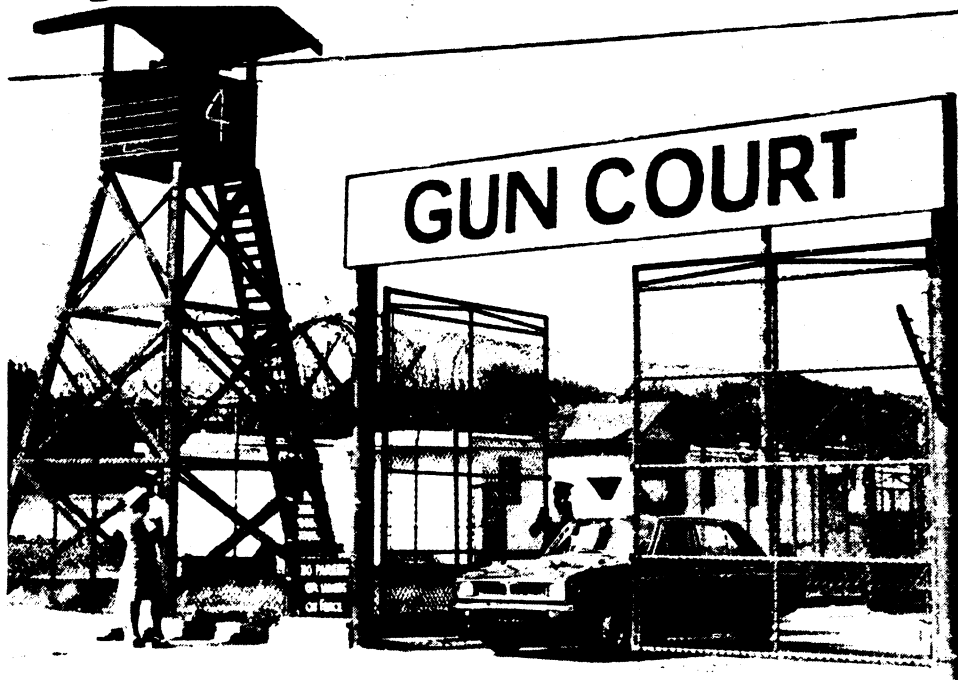
When asked why elections were being held, only 3.4 percent gave the official reason ("to institutionalize the changes"). Two-thirds gave reasons indicating hostility to the government, such as "erosion of political support"; "inability to govern"; and "because of popular pressure."



HUGO BLANCO

Unrest in Caribbean

Jamaican workers face crackdown by 'socialist' regime



Gun Court Prison: Manley's solution to unemployment and poverty

By Sheila Malone

The author is a member of the Caribbean Socialist Group in Britain.

In April of last year, the International Monetary Fund granted Jamaica a loan of J\$74 million [US\$67 million]. In October, the World Bank promised a further J\$68 million.

The conditions for this aid were a wage freeze and three devaluations of the Jamaican dollar—of 37%, 3%, and a further 15.5% this year. (The devaluations did not apply to the tourist or export-sales exchange rate, however, creating a two-rate system.) The Jamaican dollar is now worth about half what it was a year ago, in relation to U.S. currency.

The effects were seen over the past year, as prices rose and workers' living standards plummeted. Unemployment jumped to 30% as thousands were laid off, including dock, construction, and tobacco workers.

Harsh repression

Growing opposition to this situation was met with harsh repression from the government. Security forces were used to break up a strike by Esso workers. Women protesting against shortages were harassed and intimidated by police.

On September 7, 1977, pickets from Standard Building Products were put on trial for murder. This followed an incident in which their boss attempted to drive a front-end loader through their picket line, but ended by losing his own life.

In November all marches and public meetings were banned.

It is more than a year now since Michael Manley, who first came to power in 1972, led the People's National Party to a resounding victory at the Jamaican polls in December 1976, on a platform of "democratic socialism."

The PNP won massive popular support because it promised basic reforms and improvements in living standards

through creation of jobs, crash housing programmes, and increases in social expenditures. It promised to curb the power of the big capitalists, landowners, and imperialists, and to end the so-called crime wave. (Incidents in which firearms were used had escalated rapidly on the island, mainly involving unemployed youth.)

In regard to foreign policy, Manley gave verbal support to African liberation movements such as the MPLA,* championed the cause of the "Third World" with his support for a "new economic order" as an alternative to imperialist exploitation, and established good relations with Cuba and the Soviet bloc.

However, despite a vicious anticommunist smear campaign by the right-wing opposition Jamaica Labour Party, Manley made it quite clear from the beginning that "democratic socialism" for him meant a "mixed," basically capitalist, economy, and that foreign investment was welcome.

Although he imposed a tax levy on bauxite, much of this most profitable resource was left in American or Canadian hands. While some companies, such as Kaiser, were partially nationalised, 49% of the ownership remained in foreign hands.

Manley also kept the Labour Relations and Industrial Disputes Act—modeled on the Tory Industrial Relations Act in Britain.

State of emergency

In June 1976, prior to the election, Manley introduced a state of emergency on the island, following gang warfare between rival PNP and JLP supporters in which at least 300 persons died. (The American CIA was widely suspected of having a hand in instigating the violence.) The state of emergency was not lifted until the following March, three months after the election.

*MPLA—Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

Manley imposed harsh repressive measures to deal with crime, utilising in particular the Gun Court legislation of 1974.

Under this law, police were given powers to arrest and detain anyone suspected of possessing or using firearms. Detainees, most of whom were under twenty-one years of age, were taken to a barbed-wire-enclosed compound in the poor area of West Kingston, tried there, and given sentences that could actually be unlimited in length.

These police powers have now been curtailed. But the Gun Court remains as the government's panic solution to the problem of unemployed, destitute youth drawn into crime.

When Manley returned to office, unemployment was around 25%, and the cost of living was soaring. Businessmen had sent J\$300 million in capital out of Jamaica, and foreign reserves were exhausted. The government stood at a crossroads. It was evident that failure to deal radically with the private sector and with foreign interests would preclude carrying out promised reforms. Instead it would mean accommodation to those big business and foreign interests. It was clear also that the only forces that could be relied on to carry through policies that challenged capitalist and imperialist domination were those who had always suffered the effects of that domination—namely, the working class and the oppressed.

'Power to the People'?

Despite Manley's radical rhetoric—slogans such as "We Are Not For Sale" (to the imperialists), "Socialist Time Now," and even "Power to the People"—he has in fact shown his real attitude toward the movement of the masses by first trying to head it off and then by clamping down on it.

The spontaneous attempts to translate some of these slogans into action through factory occupations and land seizures are now dealt with ruthlessly. Whereas before and just after the election, Manley was not prepared to evict workers from the Colony Hotel occupation or the land take-overs in Mapen or "squats" in Kingston, he now strongly condemns such activities as against the "national interest" and represses them.

Significantly, although the government created a special new post for supervising protest activity—minister of mobilisation—the man appointed to fill it, D. K. Duncan, who was also general secretary of the PNP, has now been forced to resign both positions after a vicious witch-hunt by the right wing. Duncan said he had been accused of plotting against the prime minister, and, later, that there had been two attempts to poison him (reported in the November 12 *Star*).

Duncan's resignation and the expulsion at the same time of another opposition figure, Hugh Small, marks the defeat of the left within the PNP. This left wing of petty-bourgeois radicals had previously had some effect in pushing the party in an anti-imperialist direction and in pressuring Manley himself. Their departure now leaves Manley firmly in control, but after a definite shift to the right.

Manley's visits in December to the United States and Europe to discuss business deals confirmed this shift, as did Andrew Young's visit to Jamaica in August. In contrast, the visits to Jamaica of Samora Machel and Fidel Castro yielded nothing significant, and should be seen as an attempt by Manley to keep some kind of a left face.

Meanwhile the opposition JLP and the right have seized the opportunity to exploit the present crisis.

Shortages of basic consumer goods like soap and cooking oil are being used to whip up the hostility of the middle class, especially middle-class women.

Washington-supported organisations of the extreme right such as the Friends for a Free Jamaica are recouping their support.

The right-wing press, particularly the *Daily Gleaner*, are conducting a campaign against the left similar to the one they carried out before the election.

There is a continuing refusal to invest by businessmen.

Members of the middle class, with their skills and money, are still quitting the island at an alarming rate (15,000 last year).

Workers fight back

However, there has been a determined fight-back against the government's attacks on living standards and democratic rights. As a result of mounting unemployment, a rise in prices of 7.5% between January and June of last year, and the wage freeze, there have been strikes of oil workers, cement workers, fire fighters, government workers, health workers, journalists, and others.

Thirteen unions, representing the majority of organised workers in Jamaica, have called on the government to withdraw the wage guidelines and for wage rises linked to the cost of living.

The PNP Youth Organisation produced a sharp criticism of the government in its Position Paper of last July, in which it called for the taking over of land, banks, and insurance companies, and for a united struggle against capitalism and imperialism by the workers, small farmers, unemployed youth, and students.

The Stalinist-influenced Workers Liberation League has been in the forefront of some of the major struggles, including the large demonstration against capitalist control of the media last August. But it has been hindered from showing an effective way forward by its policy of relying on pressuring the lefts within the PNP.

Given the decisive defeat now of this left, there is more than ever a need for linking up with and organising the present fight-back, in which the struggle against the wage guidelines and the defense of democratic rights are central. But it points equally and urgently to the need for a political alternative to Manley and his capitalist policies, through the development of a programme of demands linked to these struggles.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



MANLEY: Radical rhetoric & repression

World news notes

Peking regime admits crimes—selectively

By Jon Britton

More than 10,000 persons victimized during the Cultural Revolution have been "rehabilitated" by the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, according to a March 14 dispatch of Hsinhua, the Chinese news agency.

Rehabilitation measures, Hsinhua reports, included "canceling wrong verdicts, stopping unjust punishment and adjusting improper work assignments."

The acts committed by the frame-up victims, Hsinhua says, included putting up big-character posters and writing letters to Mao "exposing the gang [of four]." The dispatch does not reveal whether the letters reached Mao; or, if they did, why Mao didn't respond to the writers' appeals.

Information on these points would have raised even more awkward questions. By now everyone in China knows that the "gang of four" is simply another name for the Mao faction of the Chinese Communist Party, deposed after the Great Helmsman's death, and that the expanding list of crimes attributed by the current leaders to the "gang" were actually perpetrated under Mao's leadership and direction.

On the other hand, these same leaders helped to create the Mao cult (every bureaucratic regime must have its supreme arbiter). And they supported, and continue to support, the fundamental policies of the Mao regime, if not the extremes of know-nothingism that it promulgated. To survive in power they must deflect the simmering grievances of the long-suffering masses away from themselves. Hence the useful fiction that past abuses were entirely the doing of the nefarious "gang of four."

Hsinhua claims that "the gang and their followers tried to place Shanghai under a fascist dictatorship but ran into distrust and opposition from the city's people throughout the Cultural Revolution."

It should be recalled that it was to Shanghai that Mao "retired" in late 1965 to launch the Cultural Revolution, with the stated aim of placing the revolutionary proletariat in power and

deposing capitalist restorationists. (Shanghai was to remain the headquarters and main bastion for Mao's faction throughout the Cultural Revolution.) What the present leaders are saying now is that the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was a mass purge and frame-up from the very beginning.

More than 3,000 persons accused of putting up posters against Chang Ch'un-Ch'iao, one of Mao's top lieutenants, "were forced to 'give an account of themselves,' made the targets of struggle sessions, placed under house arrest or held in detention," Hsinhua reports. One-sixth of the students and teachers at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music were similarly victimized, as were 270 workers and party cadres at Shanghai's industrial plant No. 5703.

Now all is forgiven, Hsinhua assures us, and "rehabilitated comrades are taking up the revolutionary cause with new ardour."

But there is one group of victimized dissidents Hua Kuo-feng and Company have said nothing about, in regard to either their possible rehabilitation or their fate. That group is the 200 or so Chinese Trotskyists who were arrested in the early years of the Mao regime and who have not been heard from since.

The persecution of these militants, many of whom were veterans of the resistance war against Japanese imperialism and the fight against Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule, is one of Mao's biggest crimes. The Trotskyists were conscious advocates of socialist democracy and opponents of bureaucratic privilege. They were silenced because their views represented a political threat to the rising bureaucratic caste headed by Mao.

It should not be surprising, then, that the present rulers in Peking, who represent the same caste, have not seen fit to rehabilitate these victims of Mao's rule. But in recognizing some of the grave injustices done to thousands of citizens under Mao, they have provided a new opportunity for the international workers movement to once again speak out for the release of the Chinese Trotskyists.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Panama Canal pact: trouble for Torrijos

The Panama Canal treaties are causing Gen. Omar Torrijos "the most serious political problems of his 10-year-old military regime," wrote Alan Riding in an April 11 *New York Times* New Analysis. The problems stem from the U.S. Senate adoption of the DeConcini reservation, a rider giving the United States the "right" to send the marines anytime it claims the canal is being "interfered with." This gave the lie to Torrijos's promise to the Panamanian people that the treaties would end U.S. domination of their country.

"Torrijos is apparently still looking for a face-saving formula that would enable him to accept the reservation," Riding reported. But Panamanian sentiment against the pacts is now so strong that "an experienced Panama-watcher" told Riding, "There's no way Torrijos can accept DeConcini and expect to stay in power indefinitely."

Another dispatch in the same day's *Times* reported that the White House was also "deeply worried about the rising tide of public opposition to the two treaties in Panama."

Some of that sentiment was evident in Panama City April 7 as hundreds of young Panamanians hung and burned an effigy of President Carter carrying a briefcase labeled "treaties/amendments."



'No to the treaties—No to the amendments—Sovereignty now' reads a banner at recent protest in Panama City. The banner is signed 'LSR,' Spanish-language initials of the Revolutionary Socialist League, Panamanian sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Millions in Europe protest unemployment

In a coordinated protest by unions representing 40 million workers in eighteen countries, millions of West European workers walked off the job, rallied in plants, or demonstrated in the streets April 5 against rising unemployment. The unemployment rate in the nine-nation Common Market was 5.9 percent in February, compared to 5.4 percent a year ago and 5 percent in 1976.

Women have been especially hard hit by layoffs. In France women are only a third of the labor force but are more than half the unemployed. In Belgium the unemployment rate for men stands at 4.2 percent compared to 11 percent for women. And in Britain, the number of women looking for work has increased twice as fast as men over the past two years.

Apartheid gets a whitewash

Feeling the heat from international protests against its racist policies, the South African government has announced some cosmetic reforms of the apartheid system.

Typical is the replacement of the word "Bantu"—comparable to the American "nigger"—with the designation "Black" or "African" in official documents.

Even the usually staid *New York Times* reported April 9, "A 'Bantu' by any other name is still a disenfranchised South African black. That is the essence of a set of 'reforms' introduced by the white Government in recent months. . . ."

Canadian students hit cutbacks

Some 12,000 Canadian students took part in demonstrations against education cutbacks in front of provincial legislatures in Edmonton; Alberta; and Toronto, Ontario, last month.

Speakers at the March 15 Edmonton protest included Alberta Federation of Labor President Harry Kostiak, New Democratic Party leader Grant Notley, a representative of the Federation of Alberta Students, and Nick Cooke, a member of the Young Socialists, Canadian sister organization of the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance.

The Toronto demonstration was held the following day. It had been preceded by many other protests, including building occupations on six campuses.

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Begin regime steps up repression

Democratic rights under attack in Israel

By Y. Saleh

Anyone who knows what Zionism means for the Palestinian masses—expulsions, thefts of land, torture, and massacres—may well wonder what meaning the concept of democratic rights can have in Israel, and how much further attacks on human rights can go in the Zionist state.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that real democratic rights exist within the Israeli territories occupied before June 1967, at least for the Jewish population.

However, Zionist "democracy" represents a basic contradiction. A colonial state in permanent conflict with its surroundings, a military bastion under siege, cannot easily tolerate democratic norms, even when they are applied to the colonialist population. History has repeatedly proved that a people that oppresses another people cannot itself be free.

In fact, after the 1967 war, the brutal, terrorist methods used by the Israeli forces against the occupied Palestinian population gradually began to have an impact on political and social relations, among the Jewish population—antistrike legislation, putting workers under military orders, reinforcing the "moral climate," censorship, and so on.

The electoral triumph of the Zionist far right partly reflects this stiffening of the Israeli state, and it was with good reason that the majority of commentators predicted, when Menachem Begin's party won, that the Jewish state was bound to undergo a harshening of its internal climate.

One of the first indications that the regime's stance was hardening was the arrest and indictment of Hans Lebrecht, one of the veteran contributors to *Zu Haderach*, the weekly paper of the Israeli Communist Party.

Lebrecht was suspected of "contact with a foreign agent," based on information that he acknowledges having supplied to a Cypriot colleague, the Communist journalist Panayotis Pascalis, who was also arrested in Israel for contacts he allegedly had in the past with members of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

This double arrest is a warning to the entire left. What Hans Lebrecht did (giving a colleague the Israeli census yearbook and official maps of the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, which the Ministry of Information distributes free to anyone who asks for them), dozens of others have done before him.

By arresting Lebrecht for such commonplace activities, the authorities want to clamp the lid on the contacts that nearly all the left groups, including the Zionists, have with PLO representatives.

Alongside this attack on the CP, several anti-Zionist groups have been subjected to renewed harassment for some time. A vicious media campaign has been launched by Amnon Lin, a deputy in the Knesset from the Likud Party and a specialist in Arab questions, against the activities of the Palestinian Communist Group and the Revolutionary Communist League in Haifa.

A veritable witch-hunt is under way among high school students in that



Militant/David Frankel

Palestinians attend Trotskyist rally in village of Tira, Israel. Peaceful, legal activities of this type are met by threats and harassment from Zionist officials.

city to ferret out possible troublemakers. Wiretapping and mail opening are becoming more and more blatant, and several members and sympathizers of the RCL have been summoned to interrogations by the security department, as though the latter were seeking to collect information with a view to possibly indicting several of its leaders.

The censorship of a television film, "The Ruins of Hizbeh," is another indicator. The film is about the expulsion of the Palestinians during the 1948 war, and was written by one of the most famous Zionist writers, who is also a former deputy of the Zionist right.

So far, repression has hit Arab students the hardest. In fact, after the radical slates run by the Union of Arab Students in Haifa and Jerusalem won the student elections, an unprecedented campaign was launched by right-wing students, with the active support of all the Zionist media, against the Arab students.

Under pressure from the student confederations, the university authorities decided to withdraw the right of the Union of Arab Students to use meeting rooms on the Jerusalem university campus, and to prohibit them from exercising any democratic rights (handing out leaflets, setting up literature tables), which are generally granted to student groups.

Not to be outdone, the Jerusalem police prohibited the Arab students from organizing a demonstration against the plan for "autonomy" of the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. For several weeks, a virtual pogrom atmosphere has prevailed on the Jerusalem campus.

To be sure, in two basic ways the present government is continuing the

Repression on West Bank

Outrageous as the violations of democratic rights in Israel are, they pale beside the policies of the Zionist regime in the Arab territories seized by it in June 1967. Following the invasion of Lebanon, which sparked a wave of protests, repression by the occupation regime increased sharply.

Christian Science Monitor correspondent Trudy Rubin reported one typical incident of random terrorism against the Palestinian population in a March 28 article:

"In the town of Beit Jalla, next to Bethlehem, Israeli soldiers mounted to the second-floor outdoor balcony of a government elementary school, shouted inside for the children to close the windows, and tossed tear-gas cannisters (CS gas made in Pennsylvania) inside. Several of the students panicked and jumped out of windows. . . . Ten children wound up in the hospital with bone fractures. . . ."

The Reverend Audeh G. Rantisi, an Anglican minister in the town of Ramallah, described the Israeli reaction to a demonstration by children at the Ahlieh Roman Catholic School.

"In minutes," Rantisi told *New York Times* reporter Nicholas Gage, "the school area was surrounded by Israeli troops and the military governor of the whole West Bank arrived to direct operations."

"They beat up students, arrested 40 of them, shaved their heads and brought them before the military court."

Rantisi added: "The occupying forces treat us like animals. They abuse and humiliate us at every opportunity. A number of us know Hebrew and we hear the way they talk about us—exactly the way racists talk about blacks in America."

main points of the policy of previous Labor governments. First, by refusing to recognize the Palestinians as a national entity and repressing all attempts at encouraging nationalist manifestations on the part of the Palestinian Arab people. Second, by gradually but inexorably limiting democratic rights, as all colonialist societies must.

It may well be, then, that if the Labor government were still in power it would be taking the same measures that Begin is now. That is why it is misleading and dangerous to wage a fight to protect democratic rights today

under the banner of a struggle against the governmental coalition.

On the contrary, the duty of revolutionists today is to struggle fiercely against all new attacks on democratic rights. With that aim, we must reject all sectarian approaches, even toward some Zionist currents that are willing to fight on this issue.

But it is equally important to carry on unceasing propaganda around the logic of these latest repressive moves, which are bound up with the very nature of the Zionist regime.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Marcos claims victory amid protests

Sham election backfires in Philippines

By David Russell

Supporters of Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos claimed to have won a sweeping victory in the first elections held since Marcos put the country under martial law five and a half years ago. But the phony elections were marked by such vigorous displays of opposition to the Marcos regime, and by such clear indications of massive vote fraud, that they turned into a sharp political defeat for the dictator.

Marcos hoped that the April 7 election would quiet some of the international criticism against his dictatorial regime, and strengthen his position at home. The reverse was true.

On April 4, more than 20,000 workers demonstrated in Manila, chanting "Marcos, Hitler, dictator," and "Down with martial law." Two days later, tens of thousands of people in Manila honked car horns, banged pots, and shot off fireworks in a protest against the regime.

According to *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield, the demonstration even extended to enlisted soldiers and their families in Fort Bonifacio, where one of the main opposition candidates, former Senator Benigno Aquino, Jr., is imprisoned. "According to one woman who lives there," Butterfield reported, "the soldiers beat on tin cooking pots and pa-



Opposition leader Aquino (left) and Marcos. Dictator was so busy rigging vote in Manila that he forgot about country's second-largest city.



raded around shouting anti-Government slogans until 1 A.M."

Some rallies of the People's Force, a procapitalist opposition bloc in which Aquino's Liberal Party plays a prominent role, drew as many as 60,000 people.

When leaders of the People's Force, including four of its candidates, led a march in Manila April 9 to protest vote fraud in the election, all 600 people taking part in the protest were arrested. The commander of the Manila police announced that those arrested

would be tried by a military court on charges of violating a presidential decree forbidding political demonstrations.

Marcos obviously never intended to take any chances on the vote. To begin with, he reserved the posts of president and prime minister for himself, along with veto-power over any actions taken by the new National Assembly.

Prior to the election, permits for some opposition rallies were refused, and opposition groups were refused television time and newspaper space.

During the counting of the vote, Butterfield walked in on a group of counters who were preparing a tally sheet of the results without even looking at the ballots. The tally sheet that he saw indicated no votes for the opposition.

The contrast between the growing opposition to the Marcos regime and the phony election returns in Manila were heightened April 9 by the report that a local opposition party in Cebu, the country's second-largest city, had completely shut out Marcos's New Society Movement.

Apparently Marcos was so preoccupied with the threat from the People's Force grouping in Manila that he forgot to rig the vote in Cebu, where the People's Force fielded no candidates.

Statement by Fourth International

Israeli troops out of Lebanon!

The following statement was issued March 22, 1978, by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The Zionist state has unleashed a new war of aggression against southern Lebanon. It has bombed Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese cities and villages. It has used the most barbaric weapons employed by American imperialism in Vietnam. It has massacred hundreds of men, women, and children. It has caused a tragic exodus of people driven from their land and stripped of all means of support. It has launched a wave of repression in the territories already under occupation. Once again, it bears the responsibility for creating a situation with the potential to lead to a war that might have fearful consequences for the entire world.

Cloaking its move with false pretexts, Jerusalem hoped to inflict on the Palestinian resistance one of the heaviest blows it has ever taken. It seeks to establish control over southern Lebanon—which includes collaborating with Lebanese reactionaries—in order to ease the way for establishing a "peace" accord based on denying the Palestinian people their most elementary rights, and on preserving all the territorial conquests of Zionist expansionism.

At the urging of the U.S. government, which wants to enable the Arab ruling classes to save face, the United Nations has adopted a hypocritical resolution that avoids explicitly condemning the invasion of Lebanon in any way, and calls for a fresh dispatch of "blue helmets." Their job can only be to protect the new status quo from the Palestinian movement, once the

Zionist army has carried out its "mopping up" operation.

Once again, the Arab states have revealed their basic aims. The so-called steadfastness front remained immobile, thereby proving that its resounding declarations were nothing more than demagoguery.

The Egyptian government fears the outbreak of a crisis for its regime as a result of the pitiful bankruptcy of Sadat's "peace" diplomacy. Syria, which oversees the "Arab peacekeeping force," was hardly about to rush to the aid of the Palestinians. In fact, all of the Arab ruling classes proved by their attitude that they do not wish to take any risk in order to defend the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. They are looking forward with cynical complacency to the weakening of the Palestinian resistance, which is now tragically isolated.

The Zionist authorities seized on the terrorist action in Tel Aviv to try to justify the invasion of southern Lebanon, with the support of the world press.

The truth is that this military operation had been planned for some time. They were only waiting for an excuse. The disastrous action by the Fatah commandos unfortunately provided them with one.

Alone and desperate, the *fedayeen* put up a fierce resistance to the Israeli blitzkrieg. Abandoned by the Arab states, and driven into a blind alley by the strategic orientation of the Palestine Liberation Organization leadership, the courageous fighters of the Palestinian resistance are more than ever in need of the broadest international solidarity.

Working-class organizations the world over must mobilize in opposition

to the genocide committed by the Zionist government. They must demand immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and condemn the deployment of UN troops, moving in behind the Israeli tanks. They must protest the closing down of PLO offi-

ces, which some governments are contemplating.

We should support the Palestinian movement in its heroic struggle for existence and for its legitimate rights.

Israel out of Lebanon!
No to UN intervention!

Prisoners win victory

TEL AVIV—For several years, political prisoners in Israel have been fighting to win the right to read political literature.

Even though the Israeli Supreme Court ruled three years ago that any reading matter permitted outside the prison walls should automatically be allowed inside, the fact remains that political prisoners only rarely receive permission from prison authorities to read revolutionary literature.

About six months ago, Udi Adiv, sentenced to seventeen years in prison in the 1973 Haifa "espionage" trials, made a new appeal to the Supreme Court, asking that it instruct the Ramleh prison administration to let him receive *Inprecor*, *New Left Review*, *Matzpen-Marxisti*, and the writings of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, and Mao.

A common-law prisoner, Yossef Frankel, demanded the right to obtain Felicia Langer's book *With My Own Eyes*, as well as a pamphlet by Professor Israel Shahak, *The Truth About Zionism*, published by the Revolutionary Communist League, the Israeli section of the Fourth International.

During the first court hearing, the prosecutor announced that he had

no objection to the "classics" of socialist literature being read in the prisons. However, he maintained his opposition to the other publications.

On February 16 the hearing resumed. Lea Tsemel presented a lengthy brief, calling attention to the international standing of the periodicals in question and of their publishers. She also pointed out that while some articles might deal with the torture and mistreatment of political prisoners (as alleged by the prosecution), the prisoners did not need newspapers in order to confirm or deny the truth of these charges, which they knew from firsthand experience, and that in any case, all newspapers, even Zionist journals, had to undergo prior censorship by the prison administration.

The court decided to authorize *New Left Review* and *Inprecor*, noting, moreover, that what applied to *Inprecor* would also apply to its continuation in combination with *Intercontinental Press*.

As for the Shahak pamphlet on Zionism, the book by Felicia Langer, and *Matzpen-Marxisti*, the Supreme Court gave itself a few weeks in which to render its verdict.

Where is UFW headed?

End of boycott reflects shift in strategy



By Harry Ring

What is happening to the United Farm Workers? That question was posed when UFW President César Chávez announced the end of the union's boycott of Gallo wines and scab grapes and lettuce earlier this year.

This announcement was largely a formality, since widespread public boycott activity came to a halt well over a year ago and had been on the decline before then.

The boycott wasn't called off because victory has been won. The union has only one contract among the scores of California vineyards. In lettuce, several thousand workers are covered by contracts, but this is only a fraction of the huge industry. And Gallo hasn't signed a contract.

In all, the union has 100 contracts covering at peak season 30,000 workers. That's out of an estimated 250,000 farm workers in California and 2.5 million throughout the country.

The UFW has not fully recovered from the union-busting attack it suffered in the spring of 1973 when grape growers and Teamster union bureaucrats got together and signed sweetheart contracts behind the backs of the field hands. Before that attack the UFW had 150 contracts covering 60,000 workers.

Why then did the UFW leaders give up the boycott?

"Despite temporary setbacks and continuing maladministration, the Agricultural Labor Relations Act is alive and functioning," and the farm workers look upon 1978 with "cautious optimism," Chávez explained.

This is in line with the approach Chávez outlined at the August 1977 UFW convention: "We have the right under the law to organize, so that we have less need for boycotts and strikes."

A question of strategy

What's involved here is a question of strategy.

The strategy now being proposed by the UFW leadership is reliance on the capitalist government instead of on the power of boycotts, strikes, and other activity aimed at mobilizing the ranks of the farm workers and their potential allies.

On the political level, this strategy means support to Democratic Party politicians such as California Gov. Jerry Brown and President Carter.

The increased reliance on such methods at the expense of class-struggle methods marks a shift to the right by Chávez and other UFW leaders.

The boycotts had once been an effective tactic for mobilizing nationwide support behind the UFW, despite many weaknesses in the way they were promoted. In 1970 the California table-grape industry as a whole was forced by the boycotts and the support these generated to sign contracts.

In 1975 a Harris Poll found that 12 percent of the American people were boycotting grapes, 11 percent were boycotting lettuce, and 8 percent were boycotting Gallo wines. The *Los Angeles Times* said at the time that the poll showed the UFW was carrying out "the most effective union boycott of any product in the history of the nation."

The more recent boycotts were launched in response to the sweetheart contracts signed by growers and Teamster bureaucrats in 1973 with the aim of destroying the UFW. The UFW leadership didn't project the boycotts in conjunction with any ongoing campaign of large-scale educational activities, rallies, picketing, and other direct actions. The Harris Poll figures are thus all the more significant, since they indicate the depth of mass support for the UFW.

Turning point

The August 1977 UFW convention marked a turning point in the union leadership's approach. Chávez declared that there would be less marching and picketing and that the UFW would now function more like other unions.

Chávez also announced at the convention that the volunteer staffers, who have played a big role in the boycott for more than a decade, would be largely eliminated. He said this was being done to professionalize the staff and involve more rank-and-file farm workers.

Marc Grossman, however, who in the past couple of years has become Chávez's principal aide, gave a more candid explanation. He charged that many of the staffers were radicals who wanted to impose their views on the union.

Grossman left no doubt that red-baiting is what is involved when he had a reporter for *Workers Vanguard* thrown out of the convention. "This is our convention, and we don't want any fucking commies here," Grossman exclaimed.

The antiradicals purge first became public after the November 14, 1976, resignation of two top union staffers, Nick and Virginia Jones. Nick Jones was head of the boycotts, and Virginia Jones worked in the boycott department. The *Los Angeles Times*

obtained a copy of their letter of resignation to the union's executive board and reported it December 22, 1976.

'Harboring leftists'

The Joneses said that they had been accused of "harboring leftists and disrupters in the union." They charged there had been bureaucratic firings of staffers "suspected of being subversives."

Grossman did not deny the Joneses' charges. He only said that "some of the instances they referred to dealt with problems of incompetence, not ideology."

Another report of widespread purges was published in the November 19, 1977, *Nation*. Former union staffer Michael Yates said, "In the past year there have been at least two mass firings. . . . Dedicated, hard-working men and women . . . were accused, on little or no evidence, of being radicals, spies for the employers, troublemakers, complainers." He explained that by the end of the second wave of firings in April 1977, "the union's central staff had been reduced by more than a third."

Getting rid of the volunteer staff—people who worked hard for the union for room, board, and five dollars a week—is another indication that the Chávez leadership is moving away from viewing the union as a social movement, *la causa*.

These young activists had been attracted by the UFW's record of not only defending the immediate economic interests of field hands but the broader social interests of farm workers, Chicanos, and other working people.

They were attracted by the UFW's participation in the antiwar movement; its support for civil rights; its overall commitment to social justice.

Philippines dictatorship

Another example of how far the UFW leadership has departed from earlier conceptions is shown by Chávez's friendly relations with Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos.

Last summer Chávez went to the Philippines as a guest of the government and accepted an award from the hated dictator. He praised Marcos for announcing an election—even though the election was rigged to ensure Marcos's continued rule. In August Chávez invited representatives of the antilabor government to address the UFW convention.

All this provoked protests and questions, both inside the union and among its supporters. Filipino

activists picketed Chávez, and a group of clergy threatened to withdraw long-standing support.

Chávez answered the criticisms in a speech he made at Delano, California, last October 15. A summary was mailed out to various union supporters.

"I went to the Philippines because of the Filipino farm workers, who play an important role in the farm workers union," Chávez said. "Since the beginning of the Delano grape strike in 1965, I have pledged to them that I would visit their homeland to learn firsthand of their culture, history, and people."

But that does not justify establishing friendly relations with a dictatorship.

Visit opposed

The Marcos visit was opposed by Philip Vera Cruz, a Filipino founding vice-president of the UFW. Vera Cruz told the *Militant* that in the union executive board he had argued strongly but vainly against Chávez accepting the Marcos invitation.

"I don't believe you can achieve democracy and freedom through martial law," Vera Cruz said.

And, he added, if there are Filipino workers in this country who mistakenly support Marcos, then it's the job of the union to educate them, not reinforce their wrong ideas.

At the UFW convention, Chávez refused to recognize Vera Cruz when he tried to get the floor to respond to Marcos's representatives. At that convention Vera Cruz, who is seventy-two, retired from union office.

Headlong retreat

Altogether, these developments represent a big retreat by the UFW leadership. In the past, the UFW effectively used methods such as boycotts, marches, and picketing. It won the allegiance of the field hands and their supporters in part by offering something different from that offered by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. The UFW was a social movement fighting for an end to oppression and injustice.

That's how the growers were brought to terms in 1970.

That's how the UFW forced the Teamster bureaucrats to end their strikebreaking.

That's how *la causa* became a national and international issue.

Yet Chávez and those associated with him are now headed in the opposite direction. While they still speak of *la causa*, they also talk about building a "stable" union—by which they seem to mean one more closely resembling the unions headed by the conservative union officials. Officials such as AFL-CIO President George Meany have placed tremendous pressure on UFW leaders while doling out material support to the UFW with an eyedropper.

One illustration of Meany's role: After the 1973 union-busting attack on the UFW, the union turned to the boycott as its principal defense.

But the AFL-CIO officialdom did next to nothing to aid the boycott. Imagine the impact if the resources of the 15-million-member-strong AFL-CIO had been mobilized in rallies, caravans, and mass picketing to support the farm workers. A small taste of what it could have been like was shown by the recent solidarity actions with the miners, which involved union members and local leaders in many areas and in some cases forced top officials to make sizable contributions to the miners union.

Instead, Meany closeted himself in with Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons. Rumors of an impending settlement regularly emanated from these negotiations, undercutting the urgency of the boycott campaign. In addition, Meany made it clear that the boycott should be kept in low profile. Nothing positive ever came of these negotiations.

Reliance on Democrats

But the main thing pushing the UFW to the right is its leadership's reliance on the Democratic Party. In part this also reflects the pressure of the AFL-CIO officialdom, who are totally subservient to big business's two-party system.



Militant/Len Goodman

Throughout the UFW's history, the leadership has always endorsed some Democratic Party politicians. But especially since Jerry Brown's successful campaign for governor of California in 1974, they have increasingly subordinated *la causa* to Democratic "friends of the farm workers." The UFW leadership has come to rely so heavily on these Democrats that it has been unable to fight them when they break their campaign promises and betray the UFW.

For example, during his 1974 campaign, Brown promised to back a UFW-sponsored farm labor law. When he got into office, however, he offered a "compromise" acceptable to the Teamsters and growers.

Chávez branded the compromise "deceptive," and other union leaders said they were "prepared to fight" it. But Brown successfully pressured them into accepting his law.

Despite weak and outright antiunion provisions of the law, the UFW's support among field workers was so overwhelming that the union consistently outpolled the Teamsters by a two-to-one margin.

The Democrats responded to the UFW successes in the elections by letting the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, which had been set up to enforce the farm labor law, die for lack of funding.

Democratic Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy played a central role in blocking a measure to give more money for the ALRB.

On March 11, 1976, Chávez denounced McCarthy for playing the growers' game. Five days later, Brown appointed McCarthy head of his unsuccessful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Proposition 14

Left high and dry by the Democrats, the UFW turned to its supporters throughout California. Within a month's time it collected a record 700,000 signatures to put an initiative on the ballot that would include recognition of union rights left out of Brown's law and guarantee funding for the ALRB.

Under this pressure, the legislature gave more money for the ALRB—but only after Brown replaced pro-UFW board members with hacks acceptable to the growers.

Unfortunately the UFW leadership then turned around and relied on the same Democratic Party politicians who'd stabbed them in the back.

The union campaigned for Carter and Democratic Sen. John Tunney in the fall of 1976 elections because they promised to support Proposition 14. But they didn't.

For example, the Democrats wound up their fall campaign with a rally in downtown Los Angeles the day before the elections. The UFW devoted considerable effort to publicizing this meeting—effort diverted away from the Proposition 14 campaign.

Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley, Governor Brown, Senator Tunney, and Carter all spoke. None of them even mentioned Proposition 14. And Chávez, who was announced as one of the speakers, never got to say a word.

As a result of the Democrats' back-stabbing the growers' multi-million-dollar campaign against Proposition 14 had a big impact, and the measure was defeated.

Apparently, it was criticism by some UFW staffers of this reliance on Democrats to get Proposition 14 passed that led to the firings in November 1976.

ALRB's record

When he called off the boycotts, Chávez cited the existence of ALRB as the reason why such tactics were no longer necessary. But the record does not support such a conclusion.

The UFW now has 100 contracts in California, but there are 100 other ranches where the union has won representation elections but still hasn't obtained a contract.

In Coachella Valley last spring, the UFW won at five vineyards. But not one of them has yet signed a contract.

In the spring of 1975 the union won at seven important Delano vineyards. None have yet signed.

Nor is the problem simply balky growers.

Back in September 1975, a crucial union election was held at Gallo. A number of votes of UFW members were challenged. If they were counted, as they clearly should be, the union would be the winner. But two and a half years after the voting, the Gallo election is still "pending" at the ALRB.

Last summer the union staged a drive to win an election at Giumarra Vineyards in Delano. Giumarra is the biggest grape grower in the country. The result was 900 votes for "no union" and 673 for the UFW. The election was marked by fraud, intimidation, and victimization of undocumented workers who were pro-UFW.

The UFW filed charges of unfair labor practices with the ALRB. Five months later, on February 10, ALRB investigators announced there was merit to the UFW accusation and filed charges against Giumarra.

The ALRB will now consider these charges. Many more months will go by. Even assuming the charges are upheld, will the UFW be recognized, or at least the election be set aside?

No.

The ALRB complaint proposes ordering Giumarra to make a public apology to his workers, promise not to do it again, and rehire workers illegally fired.

Typical

These are not isolated incidents. They typify how the ALRB functions.

Harry Delizonna, general counsel to the ALRB, is so biased against the UFW that virtually since he assumed the post the UFW has been demanding his removal. In 1976, after he permitted a company union on the ballot, the UFW filed a \$2 million damage suit.

Who appointed Delizonna, and who refuses to remove him?

Governor Brown.

There lies the essential problem. Because Chávez supports Brown and the Democratic Party, he cannot mount effective pressure on Brown to quit playing the growers' game.

The false notion that a capitalist-controlled party such as the Democrats can represent the interests of farm workers stems from another false notion. That's the idea that the interests of the growers and the field hands can be reconciled.

Chávez's myopia on this was illuminated by something he said at the UFW constitutional convention back in 1973. Discussing the growers' refusal to renew the contracts they signed in 1970, Chávez said:

"We thought then that having the contracts was the end of the fight. Little did we know that the growers had signed only because the boycott had pressured them into it but that they had no intention of creating good relationships with the union."

They still don't have any such intention. Nor will the courts, the boards, or the Democratic Party make them mend their ways. That's not what they're paid for.

Union wins citrus vote

LOS ANGELES—The United Farm Workers scored an important gain in Oxnard, California, March 31 when employees of the Coastal Growers Association, the biggest citrus harvesting contractor in California, voted 897 to 42 to be represented by the union.

The state Agricultural Labor Relations Board conducted the vote two days after the 1,100 workers—all thirty-two of the company's crews—walked out and then contacted the union, asking that it represent them.

Following the election, César Chávez addressed a rally of 800 strikers. He said their action would "unify farm workers throughout the state" and that the vote would "signal the beginning of a major organizing drive" across California.

According to the state farm labor law, contract negotiations must now await certification of the election results by the ALRB. The decisive action by the workers, however, may speed up that usually snail-like process.

—H.R.

...FBI officials indicted

Continued from page 3

crimes would have gone back to the wiretaps Franklin Roosevelt ordered against mine workers leader John L. Lewis. Back to the bugs and smear campaigns ordered by John F. Kennedy against Martin Luther King, Jr.

Attorney General Bell piously told the press that he felt he "ought to prosecute the wrongdoers."

But at the same time, Bell dropped charges against John Kearney, the FBI agent who headed the illegal break-in operations in New York. He also assured the other sixty-eight agents involved in the New York case that they would face no criminal charges. At worst, they face formal discipline inside the agency.

Bell has claimed that the statute of limitations prevents him from prosecuting agents who committed crimes more than five years ago. But he has never tried to prosecute the Denver FBI agents who had their informer Timothy Redfearn repeatedly burglarize the SWP from 1973 to 1976.

Bell assured the press that FBI crimes are "not likely to recur, given the present attitudes and safeguards in the FBI and the Department of Justice."

A closer look at that "present attitude" is not so reassuring. Bell's decision to end the probe of FBI crimes, along with his appeal to the Supreme Court in the SWP suit (see article on page 3), show what that attitude is.

Bell is trying to close the book on past crimes and establish new "rights" for FBI agents caught in future crimes.

Bell's appeal to the Supreme Court in the SWP suit is aimed at establishing two of these new "rights." It tries to make informers' "right" to secrecy more important than civil liberties.

Moreover, it tries to set a precedent. It would give the government the right to delay trials indefinitely by taking questions about evidence and secrecy to the Supreme Court before a trial can be held.

Bell's actions are a signal to the FBI. If break-ins are done by informers as they were in Denver, the FBI doesn't need to worry about prosecution. Only some break-ins done by agents, as in New York, are risky.

And even if agents are caught, they can avoid going to trial by saying they were just obeying orders. That's the lesson of the dismissed charges against Kearney.

Ever since Watergate, the FBI and Justice Department have been promising that their political spying, disruption, and crimes were over. But in 1975, at the same time the FBI was swearing before the Senate committee that the break-ins had stopped, it was still removing materials from SWP offices.

In a recent speech Bell complained "that our country must put suspicion and carping behind us" and get out of what he called the "Watergate syndrome."

Bell and his boss in the White House would certainly like that. But the SWP, through its lawsuit, is pressing for full exposure of government crimes. Only by opening all the FBI and CIA files—by revealing the full truth about the crimes of political police agents and informers—can Americans safeguard their civil liberties.

Sundesert: Calif. nuke plant dangerous & unnecessary

By Nancy Brown

SAN DIEGO—Anti-nuclear power sentiment in California right now is focused on the fight against the proposed Sundesert plant. A group of utilities, led by San Diego Gas & Electric, wants to build the plant at Blythe, a desert community on the Colorado River 200 miles east of here.

Sundesert would have cost \$2.3 billion if built according to the original SDG&E plans. However, the state Energy Commission recently ordered the utility to scale down the project by half.

Sundesert has been held up by a 1976 law that forbids construction of new nuclear power plants until the state Energy Commission rules that facilities exist to safely store the plant's radioactive wastes. The commission has ruled just the opposite, however—much to the chagrin of nuclear power advocates.

The commission's ruling is ironic, since the 1976 law was passed by the legislature—with the backing of Governor Brown—to head off a stiffer law that was on the ballot for voter approval.

Now, however, with this weaker law being put to some good use, the nuclear industry is crying "foul."

Flexing its political muscle, the industry has gotten the state senate to exempt Sundesert from the waste disposal requirement. A similar exemption is pending in an assembly committee.

Radioactive wastes

This campaign, typical of the nuclear industry, ignores the extreme hazard to human health posed by radioactive wastes.

By-products of the natural decay of uranium, these radioactive substances—although many are produced in minute quantities—are fiendishly dangerous. Plutonium, for example, causes lung cancer if one-millionth of a gram is inhaled.

Wastes at varying levels of radioactivity—used reactor fuel—have been stored in pools of water beside nuclear power plants all over the country because there is no place else to put them.

No one knows how to dispose of these wastes permanently. They must be kept away from air and water for as long as they are radioactive. Plutonium remains radioactive for 500,000 years.

The new federal Department of Energy admitted in March that it could not possibly have a waste disposal site ready before 1988.

That doesn't bother the nuclear industry, though, in its mad drive for profit.

Rate hikes

Because Sundesert is so expensive to build, SDG&E hopes to finance it by a rate hike. This would charge the utility's customers for construction costs in advance, in effect taxing them for a facility they don't need and one that constantly endangers their health.

But California's Public Utilities Commission—normally all too happy to grant higher rates to the gas, phone, and electric companies—may veto the request, according to reports published in the *Los Angeles Times*.

The state energy commission, commenting on reports received from the PUC, noted that SDG&E "is currently earning the highest rate of return ever granted to a California electric utility, but a significantly higher rate of return would be necessary to pay for Sundesert."

If the PUC does turn down the rate hike, it won't be a decision that just fell from the sky. It's no coincidence that last month, voters in central Califor-



March 7 protest at San Diego Gas and Electric offices. About 175 people joined picket line.

nia's Kern County defeated by a two-to-one majority a proposal to build a giant nuclear power complex. Public sentiment against nuclear power is clearly on the rise.

The problem of financing Sundesert is the same problem facing utilities all over the country. Until recently, building nuclear power plants was virtually risk-free for the utilities.

State "regulatory" agencies would guarantee the electric companies a "fair return" on their investments. So the more a company spent on electrical generating facilities, the more money it could expect to make.

The money, of course, came out of the pockets of working people, who were forced to shell out ever-increasing tribute for the right to switch on a light bulb.

But that cozy relationship is under some strain now. The regulatory agencies have had to take account of increased public opposition to nuclear power.

Rising costs

Meanwhile, the utilities are getting badly squeezed by skyrocketing construction costs. Costs are rising mainly for two reasons: first, inflation; second, public concern over nuclear safety, which has forced plant designers to include more safety features.

Adding to the costs of nuclear power was a sevenfold increase—manipulated by an international cartel—in the price of uranium fuel

between 1973 and 1976.

Last year, SDG&E estimated Sundesert construction costs at \$1,260 per kilowatt (already well above the company's original estimate of \$644/kilowatt). But even that figure is probably too low. According to an analysis by Jim Harding for Friends of the Earth, published in the mid-March issue of *Not Man Apart*, the real cost of Sundesert will be about \$1,700/kilowatt. (Harding added that it would be as low as \$1,500 and as high as \$2,400.)

That would make Sundesert more expensive than oil- or coal-fired generating plants.

SDG&E argues that Sundesert is necessary because southern California will face a severe energy shortage by 1985.

This claim should be examined carefully. Right now, southern California capacity is one-third greater than peak electricity demand. In fact, for much of the year, southern California utilities sell electricity to Oregon and Washington.

No matter whose figures you accept, however, the simple truth is that there are many safe, clear sources of energy: solar, geothermal, tidal, and more. Solar energy is a proven technology and could be widely used in southern California.

But the utilities and other corporations have shown little interest in developing solar energy. Perhaps because, as Ralph Nader said, you can't meter the sun.

Set antinuclear actions

By Arnold Weissberg

Actions around the country this month will protest the continued dangers of nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

An April 30 rally is planned at the Barnwell, South Carolina, site of a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant that is 99 percent completed. Used nuclear fuel will be sent there so that the reusable elements can be extracted and shipped out to fuel fabricating plants.

The April 30 march and rally, and a May 1 sit-in, are sponsored by the Palmetto Alliance, an anti-nuclear power group, and other groups around the southeast.

A weekend of protests is planned for Rocky Flats, Colorado, near

Denver April 29 and 30. The Rocky Flats plant manufactures the plutonium "triggers" for hydrogen bombs.

The weekend will begin with a rally at the Denver federal building on Saturday, followed by a car caravan to Rocky Flats. After a rally there, a "symbolic blockade" is planned.

The actions are sponsored by the Rocky Flats Action Group, the Mobilization for Survival, and local groups.

Antinuclear activists in New Orleans are planning a protest at the Taft, Louisiana, site of a proposed nuclear power plant, April 30. Taft is about thirty miles upriver from New Orleans. The protest is sponsored by the Oyster Shell Alliance.

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins



State of Black politics '78—II

Over the past ten years, according to the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS), the number of Black elected officials has increased from fewer than 500 to more than 4,300. And the Black vote has been decisive in a number of elections since 1976.

On the basis of these facts, the JCPS—a think tank for Black Democratic and Republican officeholders—concludes that the state of Black politics in 1978 has improved.

This conclusion is contained in the March issue of the JCPS magazine *Focus*, which summarizes a longer report to be released this month.

At least two facts reported in the synopsis contradict the JCPS's conclusions.

Blacks still account for less than 1 percent of elected officials thirteen years after the 1965 Voting Rights Act was passed. In addition, Black voter participation—like voter participation in general—is declining. From 57.6 percent in 1968 to 48.7 percent in 1976.

Though the JCPS think-tankers offer no explanation for these two facts, the reasons are fairly simple:

- the Democratic and Republican parties were never set up to promote genuine Black representation in public office; and

- for that reason among others, Black voters are getting fed up with the two-party shell game.

The increase in Black elected officials did not occur out of the goodwill of the Democratic or Republican parties.

After decades of excluding Blacks from public office—North and South—the Democrats in the late 1960s began to open up a few slots for Blacks.

This cosmetic move was a calculated response to the massive rebellions in the country's Black ghettos. It was designed to head off the deepgoing sentiment for independent political action, generated by the 1960s upsurge in the Black movement, and channel it back into the two-party system.

While this maneuver succeeded in winning some well-paid offices for ambitious Black politicians, it brought nothing to the vast majority of Blacks. As the JCPS itself states, "The full story . . . must also record the fact that very few new policies and programs have resulted directly from Black political activism during the past ten years."

You have to go a step further though to get at the whole truth.

Not only have these BEOs not implemented a single new program or policy of any significance. But Black mayors in particular have implemented cutbacks in social services, opposed school desegregation, carried out strikebreaking assaults on city workers, ordered police attacks on Black communities and covered up for cop brutality, and done nothing about Blacks' depression-level unemployment.

Such actions only benefit those whom these Black Democratic and Republican officeholders really serve—the capitalist ruling class that profits from Black oppression and runs both big-business parties.

As more and more Blacks recognize that, they have begun to express their displeasure by not voting for these Judases.

Nonetheless, political action is key to winning the fight against racial oppression. What form such action should take to help advance this fight will be the subject of a future column.

Women in Revolt

Women & the 'right to work'

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—"How can anyone be against the 'right to work'?" I heard a woman ask here at the mid-Atlantic conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW). She asked the question after the conference had discussed a resolution asking NOW's support for repeal of section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley law.

There wasn't time for a full discussion of the resolution, and many women were confused about what section 14-B means. The resolution failed, unfortunately.

Section 14-B gives states the power to outlaw the union shop. When a company has a union shop, workers hired are automatically represented by the union.

Section 14-B and the laws it authorizes are falsely called "right to work" laws. But these laws have nothing to do with guaranteeing everyone a right to work for a decent wage.

Backers of the antiunion measure call it a "right to work" law for the same reason anti-abortionists call themselves "right to life" advocates. They want to sound like they are protecting rights when they are actually attacking them.

Bosses argue that the "right to work" laws protect workers from unions. That is just like Phyllis Schlafly claiming she wants to protect women from "being forced out of the home" by the ERA.

Section 14-B attacks unions through a "states rights" device. That is, it gives each state the right to enact its own antiunion laws. That is one of the tactics the anti-abortion reactionaries are trying too. There are eleven bills before Congress to give back to the states the right to enact anti-abortion laws.

What does section 14-B mean for women?

Look at J.P. Stevens. 14-B has been a major club against the textile workers at J.P. Stevens who have fought for decades for a union. The textile workers, both women and men, need union protection to fight sweatshop work conditions, low wages, and brown lung.

Eighty-five percent of the J.P. Stevens workers are women. As Eleanor Smeal, NOW national president, told a September 15, 1977, meeting of the United Auto Workers union staff, "J.P. Stevens is not only a labor cause, but it is a women's movement cause."

Diane Wang



In every industry, as in textile, the worst job conditions and lowest wages fall to women, Blacks, and other doubly exploited workers. Women earn only 57 percent of what men earn. But only 4 million of the nation's 35 million working women have the protection of union membership.

NOW has a big stake in supporting the struggles of working women—they are the very people who should be joining NOW!

Moreover, women should note that of the fifteen states that have not passed the ERA twelve have "right to work" laws. And most "right to work" states have refused to pass the ERA.

As Smeal explained to the UAW, "It is no coincidence that right-to-work states are primarily states that have not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment. Our opposition is one and the same."

Defeating this common enemy requires a real alliance between the women's movement and labor movement. It only makes sense to get the power of organized labor behind women's demands. It makes sense, too, for women to lend our support to the goals of labor. This kind of solidarity will strengthen NOW and the unions on all fronts.

The American Way of Life

'Justice' in New York & Houston

Two stories appeared side by side on the front page of the April 6 *New York Times*. One involved the May 1977 killing of a young Chicano, Joe Campos Torres, by six Houston cops. The other was about the death of two New York cops in a shootout.

The Black man accused of killing the two cops was an inmate during the 1971 Attica prison uprising. The big-business press seized on this fact, describing him as unfit to be on the streets. Acting as judge and jury, the *New York Post* labeled him "cop killer" and accused him of being a member of a "terror group" of "ex-convicts."

Amid this racist hysteria, Mayor Edward Koch declared, "I hope the death penalty becomes the law of the state. . . . Those who killed should be faced with the same punishment they inflicted."

But it's a different story in the case of the murdered Chicano. This is a clear-cut case of murder—the six cops beat Torres and then drowned him. That's already been established in two courtrooms.

But you don't hear Mayor Koch crying about

justice here. And Koch uttered not one word of public protest last November when an all-white jury cleared New York cop Robert Torsney of any wrongdoing, although he admitted gunning down an unarmed Black youth in cold blood.

Joe Campos Torres is just one among many Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans who are regularly harassed, beaten, and murdered by cops in every city in this country. In the past year alone, nine cops in southwestern states have been charged with the murder of Chicanos.

Victims of cop terror are finding out that the only way they can squeeze any justice out of this system is by fighting for it. After a state court gave Torres's murderers one-dollar fines last October, an outcry in the Houston Chicano community forced the federal government to bring the cops up on charges of violating Torres's civil rights.

When the second slap on the wrist was announced recently—one-year probationary sentences for three of the killer cops—500 people rallied in Houston. "Is the life of a Chicano worth nothing?"

the protesters demanded to know. "Killing a Chicano is a misdemeanor!"

Three days later the Justice Department issued a formal motion requesting a review of the case, calling the sentences "illegal."

This partial victory was only won because the government feared the possible consequences of simply letting the sentence stand. This is clear from the statement issued by the Justice Department: "The United States has grave concern that the imposition of probation in this case will cause citizens of all races and backgrounds to believe that the sentence was a result of the continuing inequality of treatment accorded to minorities."

"... Public perception of inequality and the belief that the life of a Mexican-American citizen has little value can only do damage to the respect for the laws and for the belief in justice," the statement said.

But it will take more and more protests, raising a louder and louder outcry, to ensure justice for Joe Campos Torres.

—Priscilla Schenk

Chile deports bombing suspect

The Chilean military dictatorship deported Michael Vernon Townley April 8. Townley is an American under investigation in connection with the September 1976 bombing murder of Chilean exile Orlando Letelier and his associate, Ronni Moffitt. Letelier had been a close adviser of the late Chilean President Salvador Allende, who was killed in the bloody 1973 CIA-backed rightist coup.

Townley, who has lived in Chile for most of the past twenty years, worked for the DINA, the military regime's brutal secret police.

A month before Letelier was killed, Townley had entered the United States with

an official Chilean passport, but under a false name.

The U.S. and Chilean investigation has crept along at a snail's pace. But international protests against Chile's reign of terror has made it difficult for either Washington or its Chilean allies to simply sweep Letelier's murder under the rug.

The April 9 *New York Times* quoted an "informed source" in Chile as saying, "If Townley was not flown to U.S. custody, . . . public disclosures would have been made on what investigators have learned already."

Townley was arrested and held as a material witness on his arrival in Miami April 8.

NO MORE DAY IN COURT

An April 3 decision by the Supreme Court will make courtroom opposition to nuclear power plants more difficult.

In a seven-to-zero decision, the high court ruled that judges may not order full-scale reviews of nuclear power plant approvals issued by state and federal agencies.

While the courts have been no friends of the antinuclear movement, the decision closes off one channel that could have been used to challenge construction of the highly dangerous plants.

UNIVERSITIES VS. WOMEN

The number of women faculty members in universities and colleges has not increased at all in the past six years, according to a recent study by the American Association of University Women.

The number of full-time female faculty members remains at 25 percent, the study found, with the greatest number in the lowest ranks. Women hold only 8 percent of full professorships, the top professional rank, and only 16.5 percent of all tenured positions.

The study cites "antagonistic attitudes within the university community" as the biggest obstacle to sexual equality on the campuses.

ANTI-ZIONIST PROTESTS

One hundred supporters of Palestinian rights marched on the Israeli consulate in New York City April 9 to commemorate the 1948 massacre of 250 Arabs in the village of Deir Yassin. The slaughter was carried out by the Zionist terrorist organization Irgun, led by Menachem Begin, now the prime minister of Israel.

"We condemn Nazi atrocities in Auschwitz and Zionist atrocities in Deir Yassin," said Dr. M. T. Mehdi, head of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations, which sponsored the action.

Two hundred students, mostly Arabs and Iranians,

Hit cop entrapment of gays

More than 200 people demonstrated at the Boston Public Library and city police headquarters April 1 to protest police entrapment and harassment of gays at the library.

More than 100 men were arrested at the library in one two-week period recently and charged with "open and gross lewdness."

Gay activists charge that cops have initiated many of the contacts that resulted in arrests.



LEGALIZED MURDER

The Alabama Court of Criminal Appeals April 5 upheld death sentences against two men, Gilbert Franklin Beck and Billy Ray Williamson. The court ruled that the state's death penalty law conformed to U.S. Supreme Court guidelines.

The two men were sentenced under a 1975 law.

NEW YORK PRESS LYNCHING

On April 2 an incident in Brooklyn left two cops and former Attica inmate Mariano González dead and another former Attica inmate, Cleveland Davis, badly wounded. Since then, New Yorkers have been barraged with sensationalized news stories portraying the two ex-prisoners as crazed cop killers.

On April 10 Davis's attorney, Robert Bloom, told reporters that his client is "not guilty—emphatically, categorically, and unequivocally." Bloom said that the actual story would be fully documented in court.

Bloom also said that officer

James Dennedy had "viciously and brutally beaten" Davis after the arrest. Bloom accused Dennedy of "attempted murder."

Davis suffered two skull fractures and a broken jaw. Cops claim the injuries were incurred after an auto chase.

But Dennedy had previously been disciplined by the police department for beating several people he had stopped on the street and using racist insults.

Deputy Police Commissioner Ellen Fleischer called these incidents "a minor infraction."

ROSENBERG TRIBUTE

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg will be marked June 19 by a Day of Tribute in New York's Union Square. The action has been called by the Ad Hoc Committee for the 25th Anniversary of the Executions of the Rosenbergs. On that day in 1953 tens of thousands held a vigil at Union Square demanding life for the Rosenbergs until the moment of their electrocution.

picketed a speech by former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at the University of Kansas in Lawrence April 6. Rabin turned down a challenge to debate but said he would answer all questions after his speech. However, after about three minutes, he was whisked away by university officials.

Three days later the university announced it would take disciplinary action against the students, claiming they had "disrupted" Rabin's speech. The administration also claimed the protesters were responsible for bomb threats before the speech.

UFW SUES DEPUTY

Three members of the United Farm Workers union have sued a Hidalgo County, Texas, sheriff's deputy for \$30,000, charging her with assault and other civil rights violations. The three were among eight farm workers arrested March 28 in McAllen while picketing fields owned by McAllen Mayor Othal Brand.

The eight farm workers,

charged with trespassing, were arrested, strip searched, and fingerprinted.

The farm workers filed fourteen complaints against Brand, but he wasn't even forced to show up in court. His attorney posted bail for him.

POOR GET POORER

The percentage of families living under the poverty level in Los Angeles jumped by 50 percent from 1970 to 1977, according to a recent study.

While the city's population increased only 3.6 percent, the "inner city" increased 11.4 percent, and the Latino population increased by one-third, now comprising about 24 percent of the city's population.

Family income in the city rose 33.2 percent over the seven years, but the cost of living shot up 56.9 percent.

The figures reveal a trend typical of America's cities—the number of poor Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans is increasing, and their poverty is increasing even faster.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

S.F.: MISSION BRANCH

A DEBATE ON THE JARVIS-GANN AMENDMENT. Speakers: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California; others. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

COLORADO

DENVER

ROCKY FLATS AND THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION. Slide show and speaker from Rocky Flats Action Group; Ed Levering, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 21, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

CARTER IN AFRICA: A CHANGE IN U.S. POLICY? Speakers: Tegegne Haile; Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m. Georgia State Univ. Urban Life Building, Room 206. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO

PLAN FOR NATIONAL VETERANS

MARCH ON WASHINGTON AND TENT-IN JUNE 1-10.

Attend Veterans for Peace meeting, Sun., April 23, 2:30 p.m. St. Mary's Church, 23 E. Van Buren. Speakers: Tom Wynn, national coordinator, National Association of Black Veterans; McKinley Olson, author of *Unacceptable Risk—The Nuclear Power Controversy*; Russ Eggert, Environmental Control Division on Nuclear Waste. For more information call (312) 922-0065 or (212) 690-6980.

CHICAGO

THE NAZIS IN SKOKIE

HOW TO FIGHT RACISM & FASCIST TERROR. Speaker: Malik Miah, leader of the Boston desegregation struggle, member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., April 21, 7:30 p.m. Blackstone Hotel, 636 S. Michigan Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA

INDIANAPOLIS

LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE. Speaker: Dan Forrster, United Steelworkers of America, Socialist Workers

Party. Sat., April 22, 4 p.m. 4163 N. College. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE

WHY IS THE GOVERNMENT TRYING TO SILENCE HECTOR MARROQUIN? LET HIM TELL YOU. Speaker: Hector Marroquin. Tues., April 25, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Louisville Humanities Building, Room 205. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MINNESOTA

MINNEAPOLIS

THE RIGHT WING: PROFAMILY OR ANTIWOMAN? Speaker: Chris Frank, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

ST. PAUL

FUNDAMENTALS OF MARXISM. A six-part series. Class #3: *Imperialism & national liberation struggles.* Thurs., April 20, 7:30 p.m. Macalester College. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

HOW TO DEFEND GAY RIGHTS IN ST. PAUL. Speakers: Libby Moser, Socialist Workers Party candidate for

mayor; representative of St. Paul Citizens for Human Rights. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m. Macalester College. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY

FREE THE WILMINGTON TENI Speaker: Anne Sheppard Turner, defendant in the Wilmington Ten case. Tues., April 18, 1 p.m. Penn Valley Community College, Room CC 401. Ausp: Black Student Union & Student Coalition Against Racism. For more information call (816) 444-9103.

THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND THE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION.

Speaker: Shirley Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board, Kansas City School District. Fri., April 21, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALIST UNITY. Speaker: Bruce Levine, national committee, Socialist Workers Party, former national secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

NYC: LOWER EAST SIDE

CARTER'S WELFARE PROGRAM: ASSAULT ON THE POOR. Speakers: Diane Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York; representative of New York Unemployed and Welfare Council. Fri., April 21, 7 Clinton St. 8 p.m. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore/Libreria Militante. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NYC: QUEENS

FIGHT AGAINST DEPORTATIONS. Speakers: Yvon Rosemand, Regroupement des Forces Democratiques Haitiennes; Nicomedes Sanchez, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 21, 7:30 p.m. 90-43 149th St. 2nd fl. Jamaica. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

OHIO

CINCINNATI

LESSONS FOR LABOR HISTORY—A SOCIALIST EDUCATION CONFERENCE. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m.: Oakland General Strike of 1946: Lessons of the Fight for a Labor Party. Speaker: Paul Montauk, Socialist Workers Party National Education Department. Sat., April 22, 1 p.m. & 3 p.m.: two classes on labor history. 8 p.m.: party. 940 E. McMillan. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



KING MEMORIAL MARCH

Two thousand people marched in a memorial to Dr. Martin Luther King in Memphis April 4, the tenth anniversary of his assassination there. The march was sponsored by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. A strike by AFSCME Local 1733 in 1968 had brought Dr. King to Memphis to help the strikers.

'JUST LIKE BULL CONNOR'

New York Mayor Edward Koch ordered the arrest of four Black ministers April 5. The ministers had come to city hall to ask that Koch provide 200,000 summer jobs for Black and Hispanic youth.

After Koch told them there would be only 55,000 summer jobs available, the ministers sat down in front of the mayor's office.

Quote unquote

"The safety of Western Europe and the preservation of Western culture depends on it."

—Former President Gerald Ford extolling the neutron bomb.

"Tell the cops they have got to be put out," Koch ordered.

"We won't go back to the days of sit-ins," said one of Koch's aides.

One of the ministers said that Koch "is just like Bull Connor," referring to the former sheriff of Birmingham, Alabama, who gained international notoriety for his brutal treatment of civil rights demonstrators in the early 1960s.

No comment

CIA

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—ad in the April 2 New York Times

Take that, and that!—Commonwealth Edison, one of the country's top nuclear power companies, was fined for a fifth time by the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission for safety or security violations. Asked if the violations were serious, an agency spokesperson responded, "We do not issue fines for items we do not consider significant." The five fines total \$105,500.

Touchy—The Tampa chapter of the National Organization for Women noted the Xmas card sent out last year by Anita Bryant's employer, the Florida Citrus Commission. The card included the words of "Deck the halls with boughs of holly," but omitted the line, "Don we now our gay apparel."

Congressional timber—A Massachusetts woman wrote to Sen. James Allen of Alabama disagreeing with him on the Panama Canal treaty. An aide responded, advising her she was a "crackpot" from a state that was "a melting pot for neurotics, cranks, and other individuals with subnormal mentalities." Sounds to us like they all belong in Congress.

Lookalikes—To help clutter your desk, Geary's, a California department store

chain, is offering an acrylic replica of a Big Mac. At a glance, the ad says, you can't distinguish it from the real thing. Probably the same with a quick bite.

City crisis—If New York's Mayor Koch decides to ignore public objections and start using that city-owned Cadillac, he may have to ride up front with the chauffeur. Finding a nest of mice in the back seat, exterminators took the seat out, put it near the tail pipe, and doused it with exterminating fluid. Someone started the car and the fluid ignited.

Have a ball—This year's April in Paris Ball will be held in April in Paris, not as the usual October in New York. How to make it? Easy. Bon voyage party at the New York Pierre, supersonic Concorde charter to Paris, several receptions, then the big bash. Round trip, complete, \$5,000 a couple. For more info call the Baroness de Cabrol in Paris.

Miners improve mail service—A misaddressed postcard—with a five-dollar bill taped on the back—actually made its way to the United Mine Workers Relief Fund. It came from an Austin, Texas, resident who signed himself, "Son of a union man."

Union Talk

AFSCME & war budget

This week's column is by Steve Beumer, a member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 26.

DETROIT—Should the government be spending billions for bombs, tanks, and missiles, or should our resources go to meet human needs? In the January 1978 issue of *Public Employee*, monthly newspaper of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Secretary-Treasurer William Lucy devotes his column to this question.

He reports on a study titled "Military Policy and Budget Priorities," which concludes that the war budget should be cut by \$38.6 billion. The study was funded by AFSCME and other labor and community groups.

Many of the points Lucy makes are correct. He states that "unfortunately, we are still fighting the same priorities battle which has gone on for many years. Congress continues to short change the cities, and other claimants who ask for a fair share of federal attention. Congress continues to react to the Pentagon's horror stories with a gasp and an appropriation. . . .

"You can't eat a bomber. You can't live in it. You can't wear it. You can't make something useful with it."

As the article continues, however, defense of the Pentagon's warmaking comes through loud and clear. Lucy turns away from concerns for the shortchanged cities and sounds a warning against cutting the Pentagon's budget too much. "Military products, like tanks, rockets, and fighter planes are surely needed to serve the needs of our defense planners," he writes.

The problem, as Lucy sees it, comes "when we lavish billions on bombers and aircraft carriers that go beyond our real defense needs. . . ."

The glaring contradiction is there: Lucy wants to have his cake and eat it too. He wants to please the ruling class and its warmakers in the Pentagon, while at the same time he feels obligated to speak to the needs of the AFSCME membership.

But you can't have it both ways. You can't maintain the war budget and meet the needs of working people, particularly those in our devastated cities. Look at a very specific case—my home state of Michigan.

In a recent study the Public Interest Research Group showed that between the years 1970 and 1974, Michigan lost about 155,000 jobs each year because of money thrown away on military spending.

In another study conducted in the early 1970s, the loss of Michigan tax dollars to the Pentagon was probed, and startling results came out.

It showed that \$.50 of every Michigan tax dollar going to Washington went to the Pentagon. Broken down even further, it meant that Detroit paid \$936 million in tax revenues to the Pentagon; Flint, \$108 million; Grand Rapids, \$116 million; and Lansing, \$80 million.

All of these heavily industrialized cities are in desperate need of those tax dollars to rescue deteriorating social services.

Cutting the \$126 billion war budget by \$38.6 billion won't do much to restore those services.

But AFSCME's top officials don't go further than talk of trimming the war budget, because they're more interested in staying in the good graces of the Democrats and Republicans and their tin-soldier friends at the Pentagon than in representing the needs of the AFSCME membership.

It's not in the interests of any AFSCME member—or any other trade unionist for that matter—to give one cent to the warmakers.

Why should working people's money go for military aid to repressive regimes like those in Israel, Iran, South Korea, or the Philippines? This question will more and more arise among AFSCME members as they are increasingly caught in the squeeze between military appropriations and funds for human needs. And it's a question that the AFSCME officialdom won't have any better answers for than they do now.

OREGON PORTLAND

FEMINIST SOCIALISTS: WOMEN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

Speaker: Rita Shaw, member of the Socialist Workers Party for thirty years, official of Wash. State NOW, and a leading participant in the fight for abortion rights and the ERA. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

PITTSBURGH

LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE.

Speaker: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

TEXAS

SAN ANTONIO

COINTELPRO: FBI CRIMES AGAINST THE CHICANO MOVEMENT.

Speakers: Armando Gutiérrez, Chicano Legal Defense Fund; 'Para La Gente'; Miguel Pendas, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m. 1317 Castroville Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

THE ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON: WHAT IT MEANS FOR THE MIDDLE EAST. Speakers: Meryl Farber, Young Socialist Alliance; a Palestinian student; a Lebanese student. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN WEEKEND.

Fri., April 21, 8 p.m.: *Socialist Strategy for the Labor Movement*. Speaker: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party; Sat., April 22, 1 p.m. & 3 p.m.: Two classes on *Black Liberation and Socialism*. All classes at the H.S.P. Room, Houston Hall, 34th & Spruce St., Univ. of Penn. \$2 for all three classes or 75¢ per class. Sat. night: *Socialist Workers Campaign Rally*. Speakers: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Mark Zola, SWP candidate for governor; Linda Jenness; Naomi Berman, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Ben Bailey, SWP candidate for Congress, 2nd C.D. Reception: 7 p.m.; rally: 8:30 p.m. 218 So. 45th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (215) EV7-2451.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Birth of antiwar movement



Washington, D.C., April 17, 1965

On April 17, 1965, 20,000 people marched in Washington in the first major national demonstration against the Vietnam War. Over the next half decade, April was to be a big month for antiwar protests.

Two years later, on April 15, 1967, 475,000 marched in New York City and San Francisco.

And on April 24, 1971, nearly 1 million people marched in Washington and San Francisco against the war. This was one of the largest demonstrations around any issue in U.S. history.

From the very beginning of the antiwar movement, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance worked to build public opposition to the imperialist war. They joined together with many other organizations and individuals in antiwar coalitions such as the Student Mobilization Committee, National Mobilization Committee, and National Peace Action Coalition.

Many important aspects of the SWP and YSA's strategy in the antiwar movement were anticipated in a front-page editorial that appeared in the April 26, 1965, 'Militant' following the 1965 march. Below are excerpts from that editorial.

The April 17 March on Washington to protest the U.S. war in Vietnam exceeded the most optimistic expectations of its initiators and supporters. Some 20,000 people, most of whom were students, demonstrated their opposition to the war the Johnson administration is waging against the people of Vietnam.

This huge outpouring reflects the growing opposition to the war on the nation's campuses. The success of the march is also an indication of the uneasiness over the war felt by wide sections of the population as a whole.

The Students for a Democratic Society, which organized the march, and the other youth organizations and individuals who helped build it are to be congratulated for a job well done.

The success of the march was due not only to the real growing opposition on campus to the war, but also to the policies carried out by the organizers of the march which helped build it and maintain its militant spirit.

The original call for the march told the

truth about the war. It described the war as a civil war. It didn't buy the view that "both sides" are "equally to blame," and concentrated its fire on the U.S. government. . . .

All who agreed that the war should be ended now were invited to support the march. Under this policy of non-exclusion the support of revolutionary socialists was welcomed. . . .

Part and parcel of capitalism's increasing warlike stand has been the development of a huge military machine. An unholy alliance between big business and the military has been formed. At the apex of this military-industrial complex stands the president as its chief executive and commander-in-chief.

This capitalist power structure is maintained through the two capitalist parties. Both the Democrats and the Republicans are committed to maintain and perpetuate the system responsible for the war in Vietnam. . . .

The mass of young people who joined the march on Washington against the war in Vietnam were in fact placing themselves in opposition to the Johnson administration and the whole system. If they follow the logic of their opposition to the war in Vietnam, they will break entirely with the system's political parties and institutions which are carrying out the war. By doing so they can lead others to do the same.

The April 17 demonstration is only a beginning. The next step is to continue without letup the campus demonstrations and discussions on a local, state, area and national scale against this war, and to turn the campuses into citadels of opposition to the war. But the organization of protest should not stop there.

The students are today in the forefront of the fight against the war in Vietnam, but by themselves they cannot stop it. The protests against the war should be carried to wider sections of the population who do have power—the working people, organized and unorganized, and the Negro freedom fighters.

The labor movement, the Negro people and the students all stand to lose by a resurgence of McCarthyism which is bound to be the result of unchecked escalation of the Vietnam war.

The labor movement and civil-rights movement, in their own interests, should now join the students who have led the way, and fight against this dirty war in Vietnam.

Letters

Defense of socialism

I wish to call attention to a letter printed in the *Militant* (March 17). Richmond White informs us that pessimism is the basic view of the socialist. No, I think the shoe is on the other foot. Revolutionary socialists see a world without wars, racism, poverty, and inhumanity. The daily threat to our lives of a nuclear armageddon would be eliminated.

All of this, I'm sure, sounds absurdly utopian to our friend White. Marx and Engels completed the *Communist Manifesto* telling us to unite, we have nothing to lose but our chains. Our "optimistic" friend appears to be content with those shackles. All he wants is enough slack on the chain to enable him to snag a professional career and solve his individual problems. Once we remove White's thin integument of optimism, we discover the cynicism that runs deep. He looks introspectively and finds apathy, greed, and selfishness. He then judges everyone by his own character. As if to say you can't change "human nature," he instead claims a socialist economy will never work.

Although one has to admit that White is far from alone, the world fortunately isn't completely inhabited by abject cynics. Armed with this optimism, we will be able to convince the American working class that "they have a world to win."

Craig McKissic
Silver Spring, Maryland

Clearly a better strategy is needed that would involve organizing the unions' rank and file in defense of hard-won gains of the past and, even more basic, the unions' right to exist. The potential for such a movement was indicated in early March when 3,000 unionists gathered at the state capitol on three days' notice to urge the defeat of "right to work" legislation.

These antiunion forces will not limit their attack to Missouri.

Mimi Pichey
Kansas City, Missouri

Words & action

I have read your pamphlet *Socialism and Individual Freedom*, and I am interested in becoming actively involved and learning more about socialism.

I am presently incarcerated and had the occasion to receive some of your material and found that a lot of what was said I already knew. However, knowledge and words without action are really useless.

Please send any materials your office can forward. As I said, I am incarcerated and without funds. I have read *Cointelpro* and *What Socialists Stand For*. I would appreciate anything you deem necessary reading for a beginner.

A prisoner
New York

Convinced to join SWP

I just wanted to tell you how the *Militant* convinced me to join the Socialist Workers Party.

I have been reading the *Militant* for a couple of years, and reading it, more than anything, has convinced me that we cannot rely on the Republicans and Democrats.

As a gay person, I know what oppression is like. It was the coverage of the fight in Miami and the solidarity with the gay movement that finally convinced me to join the SWP.

The *Militant* continues to champion the cause of gay rights and the rights of all people.

Bill Bakker
Denver, Colorado

Well put together

I discovered two recent issues of your paper as I was browsing among the works of Marx at the library. Someone intentionally left them there to share with others, I am sure. Upon examination, I realized that your paper looked well put together. Finding your offer to new readers, I decided to get the trial subscription.

Larry Slack
San Francisco, California

Defend union rights

Recently a campaign has been launched by antiunion forces to turn Missouri into a "right to work" state. These so-called right-to-work laws are a euphemism for the open shop and are aimed at weakening and destroying the unions. After a defeat in the state legislature, the right-to-work forces announced a petition drive to place the issues before Missouri voters in November.

The unions in Kansas City have responded by setting up a "right to truth" committee. This committee's perspectives include disseminating information, gathering endorsements from other organizations, and initiating a voter registration drive of union members to defeat the proposed laws through the ballot box.

Israel—opposing view

After reading your articles concerning the Israeli-Lebanese conflicts, I feel that I have never read such unjust, unfair, and totally disgraceful articles in a long time.

Don't you have any feelings for the Israeli nation and what they have had to go through in order to live in peace? This entire retaliation in southern Lebanon would not have occurred if it weren't for the massacre by the PLO on the Tel Aviv-Haifa road.

The PLO has a strong reputation for violence and murder. Israel's goal is simply to halt terrorist attacks on

Learning About Socialism

Marxism vs. individual terrorism

innocent men, women, and children in Israel.

The *Militant* claims that it stands for peace and justice. Why don't you let your readers know of the violent, cold-blooded massacres staged by the PLO. You only mention the false statement that Israel is wrong to defend itself.

Your coverage of Israel's affairs is biased, uncivilized and totally disgraceful.
A.C.

Newton, Massachusetts,

Israel—Zionist terror

In your [March 24] editorial, "Israeli state: the real terrorist," you blamed Palestinian resistance for the March 11 event. In regard to that, I'd like to mention that the one to be blamed for the loss of these mainly Jewish victims, and the loss of many more past and present Arab and Palestinian, Moslem, and Christian victims, is the terrorist Zionist movement.

It is because the Zionist Israeli government ordered the soldiers to shoot at the Palestinians, who were merely trying to take hostage the passengers on buses in order to pressure Vampire Begin, Dyan, Weizman, and Gur to achieve their political goal of setting their Palestinian comrades free from Israeli imprisonment, supremacism, racism, humiliation, and oppression.

It was unfortunate that the public opinion got as usual "sucked in" by Zionist propaganda, which sidetracked it from questioning who were the real committers of the March 11 incident. I am sure that many wise people have not been deceived by such Israeli dirty tricks, however.

These wise people have condemned the Israelis for this event, as well as thousands of others like it.

A. L.
Annapolis, Maryland

[In reply—The *Militant* agrees that the fundamental responsibility for the deaths that occurred March 11 belongs on the Israeli state. That was the point of our March 24 editorial, "Israeli state: the real terrorist."

[Nevertheless, it is also necessary to oppose the tactic of individual terrorism adopted by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). As our editorial pointed out, this tactic stands in the way of mobilizing the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in struggle against Zionism, and helps the oppressors win sympathy internationally.]

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.

Actions such as the kidnapping of Aldo Moro, leader of Italy's Christian Democratic Party, by the "Red Brigades" have made terrorism headline news in the capitalist press.

The ruling class takes full advantage of the isolation of such terrorist bands and of the popular disapproval and confusion that follows their actions. Politicians demand new restrictions on basic civil liberties, while smearing all struggles against injustice as potentially or actually terrorist.

Socialists come in for a heavy dose of these slanders. One example is the frequent description of terrorist groups as "Marxist." This is absurd.

The irreconcilable opposition between Marxism and terrorism stems from the Marxist recognition that only the working class and its allies can change society. The weapons of these millions—the great majority of the population in every country—include strikes, mass movements, and working-class political action.

The job of socialists is to persuade these millions of their need and capacity to establish a workers government and replace capitalism with socialism.

Terrorists view the working masses as being politically on the sidelines incapable of changing society. The abolition of capitalism, they hold, will be the work of a bold band of individuals who will bring the old order down through kidnappings and similar acts. Terrorists seek to carry on an all-out military struggle against the ruling class and its state in the name of the oppressed but without their participation.

Despite scare headlines in the capitalist newspapers about the need to protect "civilization" against destruction by terrorists, the unequal combat carried on by these groups has always resulted in the isolation, defeat, and often the brutal extermination of the self-proclaimed emancipators.

Some of the most cogent Marxist criticisms of terrorism were written by Lenin and Trotsky. They contended with terrorist formations that were quite active in the anti-Tsarist struggle in Russia during the early part of this century. Some of Trotsky's writings on the subject can be found in *Against Individual Terrorism*, published by Pathfinder Press. It costs fifty cents and can be obtained at the socialist headquarters listed below.

Trotsky's critique of the Russian terrorists' assertions that assassinating government officials shook up the rulers and blasted open the road to a new society are relevant

today in reply to the similar boasts of Moro's kidnappers:

"But the smoke from the [bomb] explosion clears away," wrote Trotsky, "the panic disappears, the successor of the murdered minister makes his appearance, life again settles into the old rut, the wheel of capitalist exploitation turns as before; only police repression grows more savage and brazen."

"In our eyes," he continued, "individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it *belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness*, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes toward a great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission." Trotsky called instead for building a party capable of leading the working people in revolutionary mass action.

The strategies of Marxists and terrorists were tested in Russia. While terrorist assassinations—numbering many hundreds—left the structure of Tsarism unmoved, mass actions of workers and peasants brought down the autocracy and culminated in a socialist revolution in October 1917.

When Carter, Begin, Andreotti, and other bourgeois politicians throw up their hands in horror at the small-scale violence of terrorist groups, they are being hypocritical. They defend a capitalist class that, in two world wars and in smaller wars such as Vietnam and Korea, has killed tens of millions to defend its interests. To protect capitalist profits, these leaders consign the unemployed, the unorganized, women, immigrant workers, the aged, oppressed nationalities, and the superexploited masses in the neocolonial world to deepening misery.

Terrorism is a distorted expression of the outrage generated by these crimes, as well as a symptom of capitalist society's decay. When the ruling class cynically denounces terrorist violence, they are like burglars who create a diversion by yelling, "Stop, thief!" in order to make a clean getaway.

To enraged young people in Italy or elsewhere who may consider terrorism a solution to social injustice, revolutionary socialists repeat the words of Trotsky:

"Seek another road! Not the lone avenger, but a great revolutionary mass movement can free the oppressed, a movement that will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression and racial persecution."
—Fred Feldman

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3204 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, 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358. 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.

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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) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

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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.

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Is New York really broke?

Carter & Koch's billion-dollar swindle

By Peter Seidman

NEW YORK—The second round in the battle by big business to beat down city workers and slash social services here is now in full swing.

"There is no money." That's the war cry the bankers and their mouthpiece, Democratic Mayor Edward Koch, are raising against the city workers.

Koch has offered the city's most powerful union, the Transport Workers Union, a contract that will leave them worse off than they were two years ago. And he says 225,000 other municipal employees will have to settle for even less.

The cost of extending the terms of the transit pact—traditionally the pacesetter for municipal labor contracts—to other city employees, Koch says, would be \$900 million.

This is some \$400 million more than the city can afford, the mayor claims.

Koch insists that city employees will have to settle for a \$600 million contract—and agree to give back \$100 million in hard-won benefits at the same time!

Included in the givebacks Koch is demanding are: \$50 million in night-shift pay differentials; \$22.5 million in pension benefits; and \$13.5 million in city payments to annuity funds.

But that's not all. The city has offered only a 3 percent raise in each year of the proposed two-year contract—a miserly 6 percent! Inflation is already zooming at 8.4 percent this year alone, and it is expected to get worse.

How does Koch expect to get municipal workers to accept these tight-fisted terms?

He warns them that if the new

agreement exceeds his offer, the White House and Congress will refuse to approve a \$2 billion long-term federal loan program.

The mayor argues as though New York is a bad-risk borrower asking the federal government for a handout to help the city avoid bankruptcy.

The truth is that New York City has paid back—in full and on time—every penny of the billions of dollars worth of federal loans since 1975. And not only that. The U.S. Treasury has turned a pretty profit on these loans—\$40 million in interest.

Koch knows all this. Yet he cynically brandishes the danger of a federal loan cutoff as a club against city workers.

Skinflint chorus

An April 15 editorial in the New York Daily News echoed Koch's arguments:

"New York is busted. And we can hardly go asking the rest of the nation for a helping hand financially if we are busy striking labor deals we can't afford."

President Carter's Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal also joined the skinflint chorus:

"Only a labor settlement reached quickly and reflecting extreme restraint will permit favorable congressional action on the administration's proposed New York City financing legislation."

Blumenthal warned that even Koch's miserly transit contract offer represented "a trend toward expensive labor settlements."

Far from being "expensive," Koch's proposed two-year transit pact reportedly offers the city's 33,000 transit workers a paltry 6 percent wage increase the first year, and the promise of a cost-of-living adjustment in the second year.

TWU members say they need a 17 percent wage increase just to compensate for inflation since their previous agreement.

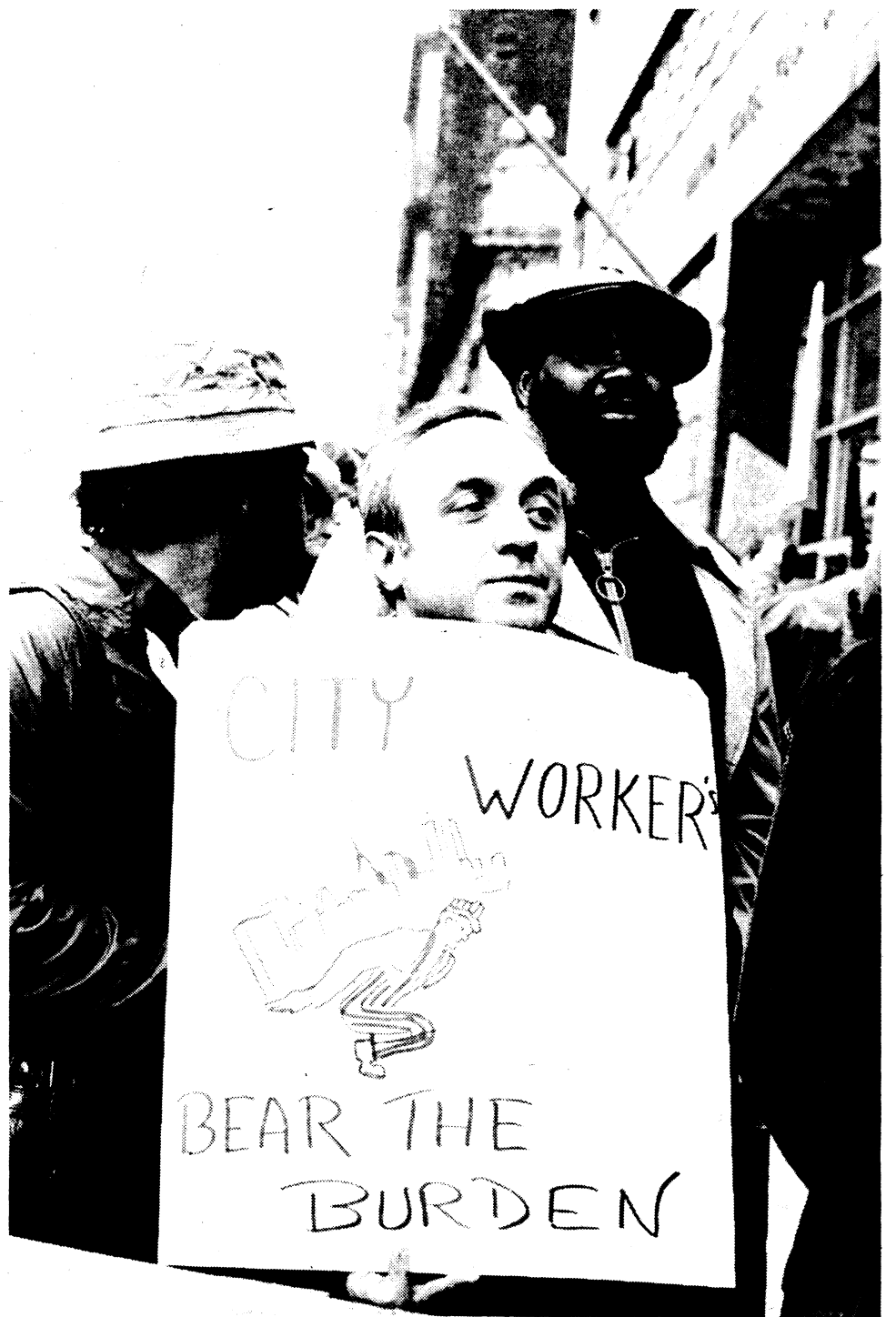
Accept a rotten contract, or let the city face bankruptcy—these are the only choices according to Koch, Carter, and New York State Gov. Hugh Carey.

And city employees fear that if the city goes bankrupt their own union pension funds—with 35 percent of their assets sunk by union officials into municipal bonds—would also go down the drain.

Social disaster

Koch and other capitalist politicians want us to believe that the so-called city crisis is a natural disaster like an earthquake or a flood. Something outside their control.

This is a lie. It is a social disaster. It is caused by the drive of a handful of greedy banks and corporations to squeeze New York's working people harder and harder to increase their own profits.



Militant/Anne Teesdale

The Democratic and Republican parties are helping the ruling rich carry out this offensive not only in New York, but throughout the country. That's why the coal miners had to fight so long and hard to turn back the employers' union-busting assault.

In every case, the bosses and politicians sing a common refrain: "There is no money."

That's what they're telling New Yorkers right now.

But there is plenty of money in New York.

Plenty of money to meet the needs of city workers.

Plenty of money to maintain and improve social services for all New York workers.

But that money is being redistributed—taken from working people and put at the service of the rich.

What about the \$4 billion gap between what New York State sends to Washington each year in taxes and what it gets in return? (Some estimates of the gap go as high as \$14.7 billion.)

Most of this surplus is poured into the \$126 billion federal war budget for weapons of death and destruction.

Another big chunk goes into government giveaways to big business. This is largely what President Carter's newly announced urban policy is all about, for example.

"The principal thrust of this program," says U.S. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Roger Altman, "is a reliance on the private sector."

That's administration code language for continuing the federal rip-off of working people in New York and other cities.

For example, the Carter plan proposes some \$7 billion in big-business tax allowances through 1980—more than twice as much as is projected in direct aid to the cities. It would increase nationwide spending to help the cities by only \$792 million next year.

Washington siphons billions out of New York for the war budget and big-business giveaways. Why couldn't this money be used instead to finance a crash program that could put everyone who needs a job back to work—rebuilding housing, parks, hospitals, and schools in New York and other cities?

Still more money

What about the \$1.6 billion in tax-free interest payments on municipal bonds—most of which goes to Wall Street banks?

This is the third-largest expenditure in the city's budget. The wealthy few who hold the \$13 billion in currently outstanding city bonds will rake in a total of \$7 billion in tax-free interest payments.

Corporations also benefit from the systematic undervaluation of their real estate holdings by the city. This saves them millions in taxes.

One estimate by the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association said that New York City could have realized "\$534.9 million more in real estate taxes these past six fiscal years if it had levied up to the legal limit."

Koch, Carey, and Carter are also planning millions of dollars in tax giveaways to the wealthy.

New York State legislative leaders

Continued on page 15

Blood money

Central Harlem is a Black section of New York particularly hard-hit by cuts in social services.

A recent study of Health Department records shows how people there pay with their lives to meet the demands of the bankers.

The study showed that the 1976 death rate was 14.5 per 1,000—almost 50 percent higher than the city-wide average!

Behind the discrepancy? New York Times correspondent Michael Sterne explained, "With a shrinking roster of physicians, troubled and overworked hospitals and a decline in the number of city health centers caused by the fiscal crisis, preventive care is becoming less accessible while the need for it is growing."

—P.S.