

THE MILITANT

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

No U.S. troops to Africa!

Protest Carter's war threat in Zaire

On May 16 the Carter administration placed the paratroopers of the Eighty-second Airborne Division on alert and rushed air transport planes to their headquarters at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

One of the pretexts given for this military alert was to make possible the evacuation of U.S. citizens in Shaba

arations for a joint U.S.-French-Belgian airlift.

Just last year France came to the aid of the Zaïre government by airlifting Moroccan troops to fight against Kantangan exiles.

Meanwhile, U.S. paratroopers remain on alert, and the danger of U.S. intervention continues. Washington and its European allies are looking for ways to shore up the shaky regime headed by Mobutu Sese Seko.

An immediate response to Carter's saber-rattling is needed. The American people should answer his threats with emergency protests demanding, "U.S. hands off Zaïre!"

Putting the paratroopers on alert is only the latest in a series of alarming moves by Carter directed at preparing public opinion for escalated U.S. involvement in Africa.

Carter's recent speeches attacking

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Fort Bragg troops on alert in 1973 Mideast crisis. Carter is following in Nixon's footsteps with threatened intervention in Zaïre.

An editorial

(formerly Katanga) province in Zaïre, where Katangan exiles are fighting against the Mobutu regime.

As the *Militant* goes to press, CBS news reports that the government of Belgium, taking a cue from Washington, is airlifting troops into Zaïre, saying that this is necessary to rescue Belgian and other foreign nationals. And Agence France Press reports prep-

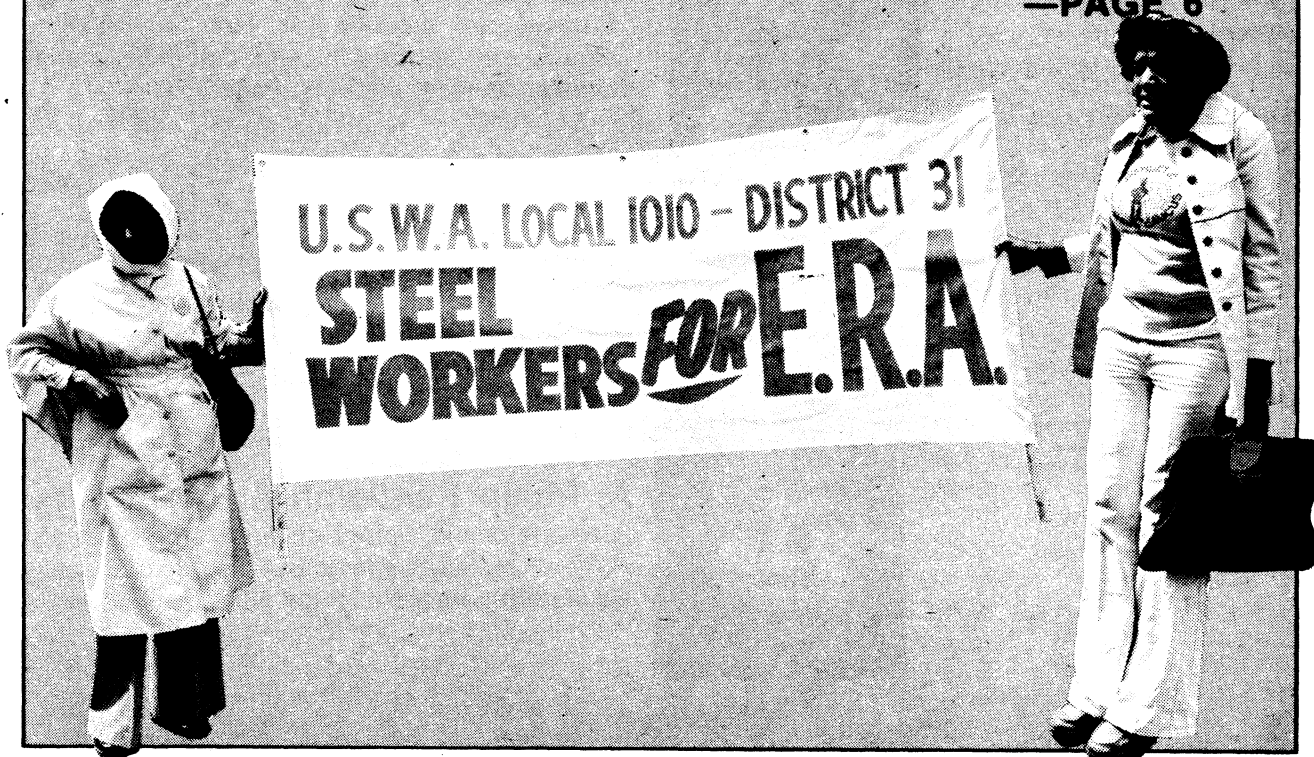
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defeat
Nazi
threat
in Skokie**

Debate
over strategy

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for July 9 ERA march**

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...Africa

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Cuban and Soviet forces in Africa must be seen in this context. Carter clearly wants to confuse and disarm those who would oppose U.S. intervention in Africa. This makes it all the more important to mount protests against U.S. intervention in Zaïre.

Washington's attempt to justify military intervention with talk of "evacuating" citizens is nothing new.

This was the pretense the Johnson administration used in November 1964 when U.S. planes airlifted 600 Belgian paratroopers into Stanleyville (now called Kisangani) in northeastern Zaïre.

Stanleyville was a stronghold of Congolese nationalists opposed to the imperialist-backed regime of Moïse Tshombe.

The paratroopers—with the aid of mercenaries from South Africa, Rhodesia, Britain, and the United States—massacred thousands of Congolese.

Worldwide protests finally forced Belgium to withdraw its troops.

Six months later, the Johnson administration sent 20,000 U.S. marines to the Dominican Republic to crush a popular uprising against the U.S.-backed military dictatorship there. The cover for this operation was again protection of U.S. citizens and "stopping the spread of communism."

The record of the U.S. government has been one of repeated invasions of colonial and semi-colonial countries to protect imperialist interests. But the antiwar sentiment of the American people—which became widespread as a result of the Vietnam War—has made such "gunboat diplomacy" harder to carry out.

This antiwar sentiment imposed a brake on deeper U.S. involvement in the Angolan civil war in 1975 and 1976.

Carter must also contend with the spread of nationalist consciousness in the Black community and its closer identification with African liberation struggles. Already there is growing opposition in the Black community to Carter's domestic policies. If U.S. troops were dispatched to Africa it could set off an explosion of protests.

Carter would like to undercut this resistance to U.S. intervention abroad. In this regard his eyes are not only on Zaïre. The struggle for Black majority rule in Namibia; Zimbabwe;

and South Africa, the strongest bastion of imperialism, are beginning to heat up.

If Carter can get away with even a limited intervention in Zaïre to prop up Mobutu, then it will help set a precedent for sending U.S. troops to crush these struggles for Black majority rule.

This points out the need for the largest possible protests by the American people to oppose any U.S. intervention in Zaïre.

Already this spring, protests have swept the campuses, demanding an end to university investment in South Africa. Four thousand demonstrated March 18 in Nashville to protest the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup tennis match. On May 13, 4,000 people marched in Washington, D.C., in support of African liberation struggles.

Black groups, unions, women's organizations, and students should continue this momentum by uniting in emergency picket lines and protests to demand: No U.S. troops to Zaïre! U.S. out of Africa!

Rights under fire in Houston

In the wake of the May 7 Chicano rebellion against police brutality, the Democratic Party-controlled Houston city government has launched a dangerous attack on democratic rights. In quick succession, the government has:

- Occupied a small Chicano neighborhood with up to 350 troops, including SWAT squads armed with M-16 automatic rifles;
- Beaten, arrested, or otherwise victimized scores of young Chicanos;
- Indicted three members of People United to Fight Police Brutality on trumped-up rioting charges, holding them for an outrageous ransom of \$1,500,000 bail;
- Arrested activists for leafleting, marching, and using a bullhorn;
- Given the mayor emergency powers, including authority to set curfews;
- Launched a witch-hunt in the media against "outside agitators," in a crude attempt to blame groups such as the Socialist Workers Party and Revolutionary Communist Party for the May 7 events.

The cause of the May 7 rebellion is no secret. It was the first anniversary of the brutal police murder of Joe Campos Torres. Both the state

and federal courts handed out only token sentences after finding the cops guilty. When cops waded into a Chicano celebration in Moody Park on May 7, the justified outrage of the community boiled over.

The cops are the real—and only—"outside agitators."

The city administration hopes to crush the protest movement around the Torres case. If it succeeds in terrorizing the barrio, the Black or labor movements could be next.

Chicano and Black groups, the unions, and working people as a whole should unite in protests to demand:

- Drop the charges!
- Cops out of the barrio!
- Justice for Joe Campos Torres!

Defend gay rights

The U.S. Supreme Court has committed another "abominable and detestable crime" against human rights. On May 15 it let stand North Carolina's sodomy law.

The high court refused to even hear arguments that the sodomy law violates the constitutional right of gays to privacy. The judges declined to review the case of a gay man convicted in 1974 of what the North Carolina law describes as an "abominable and detestable crime against nature."

By remaining deaf and dumb on the issue of gay rights the Court adds fuel to the drive against gay rights laws in this country. Already this month, bigots have managed to repeal civil rights ordinances for gays in St. Paul, Minnesota, and Wichita, Kansas.

We must not permit the courts, legislatures, or city councils to make gays and lesbians second-class citizens!

That was the message of hundreds of New Yorkers who recently protested the Wichita referendum. That was the message of the 1,200 people who marched in Hollywood on May 9 protesting the proposed antigay referendum in California.

What is needed is a massive education campaign to explain that a denial of gay rights makes everyone's rights vulnerable.

The nationwide Christopher Street Day demonstrations at the end of June can be a focus for this important educational job. It will be an occasion when not only gays and lesbians but all supporters of human rights can declare: we will not let human rights be denied to anyone!

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Cops out of the Houston barrio!

Protests are mounting in Houston against the police occupation of the Chicano community and witch-hunt against political activists. **Page 7.**

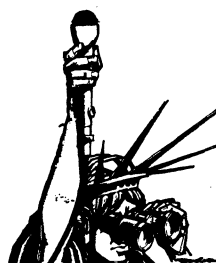
Socialists vs. FBI informers

A lawsuit filed by socialists is challenging claims by the FBI's new top cop that informer secrecy is sacred. **Page 8.**



A. Philip Randolph & the porters union

A review of the history of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters can tell us a lot about the role of Black workers in the struggle for freedom. **Page 18.**



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Zaire crisis: Carter raises new specter of U.S. military intervention in Africa

By David Frankel

When President Carter put the Eighty-second Airborne Division on alert May 16, he raised the specter of direct U.S. military intervention in Africa.

The motives behind Carter's saber rattling are not, as he claims, to "protect American citizens," or to fight "communist aggression."

Carter's real aim is to defend the dictatorial regimes that protect U.S. investments in Africa and make possible the superprofits of U.S. corporations.

A May 11 rebellion in Zaire's mineral-rich Shaba province (formerly Katanga) provided the immediate backdrop to Carter's alert.

Fourteen months ago there was a similar rebellion—led by exiles who had fled to Angola in the 1960s. The Zaire regime was able to put down that uprising only because it received Moroccan and French aid.

Washington is clearly worried about the future of the pro-imperialist Zaire regime. A senior State Department official commented to *New York Times* reporter Bernard Gwertzman, "It took the Katangans 80 days last year to fail to reach Kolwezi. Now they've captured it in two."

From Washington's point of view, the economic and political stakes in Zaire are high. One-third the size of the continental United States, Zaire is strategically located in central Africa and is rich in raw materials. In addition to about \$200 million in direct U.S. investment, American banks hold about \$1 billion of Zaire's outstanding loans.

The security of these investments was directly threatened by the Shaba uprising. As a May 15 Reuters dispatch noted, "with [Zaire's] economy stagnant and inflation running at the rate of 75 percent discontent is so widespread that the [Shaba] conflict could ignite conflagrations elsewhere."

Nevertheless, the Carter administration has sought to blame the plight of the Zaire regime on the Cuban presence in Angola. One administration official, striking an ominous note, told *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Daniel Southerland:

"It looks like the same problem as last year. Except last time it was very early in the administration and we made it clear we were not going to plunge into a great-power confrontation over it."

"This time the atmosphere is different. Our attempts to keep this sort of thing down haven't been reciprocated by the Russians and Cubans [emphasis added]."

Carter's military alert must be viewed in light of such statements. As the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* warned May 16:

"Failure to repel the invaders into copper-rich Shaba, formerly Katanga, and to hold Zaire together under a pro-Western government would have grave implications for all Africa. This must not be allowed to happen—and the United States may have to be prepared to jump in with more substantial aid than it has been willing to provide so far."

This concern with "all Africa" underscores Washington's readiness to "jump in" with troops—if necessary—as its imperialist interests are increasingly threatened by liberation struggles. The danger of U.S. intervention is not limited to Zaire, but the government is aggressively seizing on each new event like this as an opportunity to prepare public opinion for such a move.

That is what was behind Carter's strident attack on Cuba May 12, in which he accused Prime Minister Fidel Castro of standing in the way of "peaceful settlement of disputes" in Africa.

Carter had the gall to accuse *Cuba* of trying "to subvert other people through military means."



Congo, 1964. Under guise of 'evacuating citizens,' Johnson administration helped arm and finance imperialist operations that killed thousands of Congolese rebels.

What a transparent effort to divert world attention from South Africa's invasion of Angola only eight days earlier. Hundreds of unarmed refugees were murdered in that attack.

Similarly, Carter blames *Cuba*, not the intransigent stand of the ruling white minority in Zimbabwe for blocking the "peaceful settlement of disputes" there. Carter called on Castro to announce "that he was going to refrain from injecting Cuban troops into Rhodesia in the future. . . ."

Carter's May 12 statement came one week after a speech in Spokane, Washington, in which he loosed a tirade against Soviet involvement in Africa. With almost unbelievable shamelessness, Carter attacked the Soviet regime for "its innate racism toward black people," while boasting of the "absence of racism against black people" in the United States.

Carter threatened Moscow. He said that its policy in Africa was "a major obstacle to trust on the part of the American people that the Soviets want peace and want to have a successful détente effort."

There is a note of desperation in the recent declarations from the White House. What is behind this tone?

Certainly it is not concern for the oppressed Black masses, forced to live under racist minority regimes in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. The worst racist atrocities by these regimes never called forth more than mild expressions of regret and disapproval from Carter.

Neither has there been any sharp shift in policy by either Moscow or Havana that would explain Carter's sudden concern.

The thing that is making Carter trigger-happy is the upturn of the African liberation struggle itself. The U.S. ruling class is afraid that the process that began with the crumbling of the Portuguese empire and the liberation of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, will sweep over the imperialist stronghold in southern Africa.

A glance at events in Africa over the last few weeks is enough to show why Carter is so worried.

- Beginning in the second half of April, the French government had to pour reinforcements into Chad to prop up the military dictatorship there. (See story on page 24.)

- On April 28, the new coalition regime in Zimbabwe entered a crisis with the dismissal of Black Justice Minister Byron Hove. This was a severe blow to the credibility of the coalition regime among Zimbabwe's Black majority.

- On May 4, South African troops invaded Angola. Striking 150 miles north of the Namibian border, the South Africans massacred approximately 600 people in a refugee camp at Cassinga.

- On May 5, the French government announced that its jet fighters had resumed bombing raids against guerrilla forces fighting for independence in Western Sahara.

- Finally, on May 11, the crisis in Zaire broke out.

Carter's propaganda offensive against Cuban troops is designed to help justify possible future direct U.S. military intervention wherever the oppressed masses in Africa threaten to overturn the status quo—in Zaire, in Zimbabwe, or South Africa.

But, Carter's anti-Cuba campaign is not just demagoguery. Washington genuinely fears the presence of Cuban troops in Africa. In the context of the explosive struggles taking place there they represent one more force that could threaten U.S. interests.

Under these circumstances, Carter's propaganda campaign against Cuba could easily escalate into a military campaign.

The most important thing the American people can do to force Washington to back off from this interventionist course is to demand, quickly and loudly:

*Hands off Zaire!
U.S. out of Africa!*

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No solutions to attack on Black rights

NAACP hosts nat'l summit conference

By Omari Musa

CHICAGO—On May 5-7 the NAACP held a "National Leadership Summit" conference here. In his opening remarks, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks told the 200 participants:

"We are here not only to analyze the problems, not only to propose solutions, not only to recite again and again the evils of our oppressors; we are also here to reassess our own strength, to develop our own skills, to utilize our own resources, and to develop a strategy for the permanent mobilization of our numbers—to help gird ourselves for struggle."

The two central themes of the meeting were the mounting attacks on affirmative-action programs and the depression-level unemployment in the Black community.

'Bakke' case

Eleanor Holmes Norton, commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, ignited controversy at the first night's session. In her keynote speech, Norton downplayed the importance of the *Bakke* case in the fight to defend affirmative-action gains.

"*Bakke* is not the new *Brown v. Board of Education*," she declared. "Neither the set-aside places of the *Bakke* case nor the occasional quotas courts order are central to affirmative action."

"*Bakke* will be decided on narrow grounds," she concluded. "It is an unfortunate accident of history."

NAACP leaders responded the next day by issuing a statement disagreeing with Norton's evaluation.

"We view the *Bakke* case as a serious challenge to the principle of affirmative action," the statement said. "What all Americans must not forget, least of all officials charged with the interpretation and enforcement of laws against discrimination, is that a basic problem was and is race and the treatment of race."

But the statement did not take up Norton's dismissal of the need for quotas to enforce affirmative-action programs.

Affirmative action and quotas were also a big part of the discussion in the labor and employment workshop.

Madeline Anderson of the NAACP's recruitment and training program in New York City traced the role of the civil rights and women's movements in the affirmative-action fight.

She warned that the struggle to defend quotas is in for more attacks. "I expect more [court] decisions holding quotas and set-asides unconstitutional," she said.

Humphrey-Hawkins bill

Harry Austin, civil rights director of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, also spoke, urging support for the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which supposedly would provide jobs for Blacks.

The NAACP's director of labor programs, Lewis Carter, agreed with Austin. He said the bill "provided a place to start."

During the brief discussion period, Maceo Dixon, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, took strong issue with the panelists who supported the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

"There is not one provision in that bill that provides jobs," Dixon said. "What we need is a massive public works program."

"The U.S. government will spend \$126 billion on weapons this year alone. We should demand that this money be used to put everybody in this country to work building—instead of destroying."

To back up the demand for public works programs, Dixon explained, "the NAACP, other civil rights groups, the unions, and women's organizations



NAACP leaders Margaret Bush Wilson and Benjamin Hooks

Militant/John Hawkins

should call a march on Washington for jobs and freedom. Just like we did in 1963."

The proposal reported out of the workshop urged "full NAACP support of the current version of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, with increased concentration on its present legislative intent, and ongoing pressures toward providing continued legislation to strengthening its purpose."

Women's rights

The role of the women's movement in the fight to defend affirmative-action gains was also discussed during the session. Many speakers spoke out against efforts to pit women and Blacks against one another, pointing out they are allies against a common enemy.

The issues of abortion rights and the Equal Rights Amendment also came up during the conference.

SCLC President Joseph Lowery blasted attacks on the right of women to choose abortion. "The moral issue in public funding of abortion," Lowery said, "is not whether abortion itself is moral or immoral. The issue is whether or not a system is moral which provides choices for the well-to-do woman and denies choices to the poor woman."

NAACP Board Chairperson Margaret Bush Wilson announced at a well-attended news conference that the national board had reaffirmed its support for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The international affairs workshop focused on the current situation in southern Africa and South Africa's invasion of Angola.

The workshop report condemned the racist regime's invasion and called upon "our government to strongly condemn it, and call upon the American people, and especially Black Americans, to express publicly their disapproval in a variety of mass actions."

The workshop reaffirmed the NAACP position for "disinvestment and the cessation of the flow of capital and the provision of credit to South Africa."

NAACP strategy

The conference reflected in a very limited way the pressure building up in the Black community against the policies of the Carter administration. The NAACP leadership is coming under increasing pressure to respond to these attacks on Black rights.

But the NAACP leadership's strategy, as presented at the conference by Hooks, offered no effective solutions.

Flanked by the Democratic Party National Chairman John White and his Republican counterpart Bill Brock, Hooks announced a "mass voter-registration, voter-education project and get-out-the-vote" campaign.

The object of this campaign, according to Hooks, is to register 75,000 people by the November 1978 elections.

The campaign is to be carried out jointly with the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE).

While it is necessary and important to register as many Black voters as possible, this alone will not halt the attacks on Black rights. This is especially true if these campaigns are tied to voting for Democrats and Republicans.

The report from the political arena workshop called for coalitions to be formed to elect "worthy candidates." It was clear these "worthy candidates" would be Democrats and Republicans.

The most recent "worthy candidate" supported by the leaders of civil rights groups was Jimmy Carter. The Black community is reaping the fruits of Carter's vote hustle with higher unem-

ployment, inflation, and attacks on school desegregation and affirmative-action programs.

Hooks, Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, and Vernon Jordan of the Urban League have also suggested that some Blacks might support the Republican Party "to keep both major parties honest."

But the Democratic and Republican parties are jointly carrying out the cutbacks on social services sorely needed in the Black community.

The Black elected officials (BEOs) are coming under increasing fire from the Black community because of their inability to counter the attacks on Black rights. In a growing number of cities, BEOs are actually carrying out the attacks.

New strategy needed

A strategy that keeps the Black community trapped like a ball in a ping pong match between the Democratic and Republican parties is a dead end.

What is needed is a new strategy.

James Harris, National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) coordinator, raised an important component of a new strategy during the final session of the conference.

"It is not enough to state the problems confronting the Black community," Harris said. "One of the most important things this conference should have done was call a national conference of the whole Black community to map out a mass action campaign to halt the attacks on our rights."

"A conference of the Black community could call a national march on Washington to demand jobs and freedom. I have full confidence that the Black community would respond in massive numbers to such a call," he concluded.

Such an independent action campaign would also pose the need to break completely with the Democratic and Republican parties, to run candidates independently of these parties, to form an independent Black political party.

Such a party would seek to mobilize the power of the Black community in action for jobs, affirmative-action programs, and against the attacks on women's rights.

An independent Black party would oppose U.S. support to the white racist regimes in southern Africa and mobilize the Black community in the streets and workplaces against any U.S. intervention in Africa.

A strategy of independent Black political action—in the streets and in the voting booths—is urgently needed to combat the crisis faced by the Black community. These ideas were not on the agenda of the NAACP's conference here. But to growing numbers of Black people, the need for such a course is becoming increasingly clear.



Militant/Omari Musa

NAACP's recent protest against U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup match in Nashville. Summit conference failed to propose campaign of further actions.

Help get out truth on Carter's Zaire threat

Sales of this issue end circulation drive

By Nancy Cole

With sales of this issue of the *Militant*, we are going into the last week of the spring circulation drive for the *Militant* and Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party across the country will be making an effort to get this issue that sounds the alarm on Carter's threats to intervene in Zaire into the hands of as many people as possible.

Sales reported this week fell considerably below our national goal. Eleven cities made their goals.

Among these are Houston and Indianapolis, which had lowered quotas because they are petitioning to get SWP candidates on the ballot. When Houston socialists received their bundle of the *Militant* with the story on the Chicano rebellion in Moody Park, they organized a special sales effort. In three days they sold 150 *Militants* (to be reported in next week's sales results).

Los Angeles had a record sales week for *PM* with a total of ninety sold. One salesperson, Alan Hicks, sold fifty *PMs* at a Central American conference.

In Detroit last week socialists sold about 100 *Militants* to auto workers. Besides regular auto sales, a socialist campaign supporter at the giant River Rouge plant suggested they try selling to workers going to vote in the local union election.

So socialists, including SWP gubernatorial candidate Robin Mace who is herself an auto worker, talked to members of the United Auto Workers as they went to the polls at the union office adjacent to the plant. Fifty papers were sold in three days.

They report that two features were of particular interest to the auto workers. First was the front-page statement and inside news story on the West Virginia cooling tower accident that killed fifty-one workers April 27. Workers were angry about the accident and convinced they would never allow their company to make them work under such murderously unsafe conditions.

The second item of interest was the two-page feature on the sectarian policies of the Revolutionary Communist Party. It seems the RCP has set up a caucus in the plant, so there was some familiarity with the Maoist group.

Weekly sales results

(Results from 'Militant' issue #18, dated May 12)

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Minneapolis	100	132			100	132	132.0
Morgantown	100	117			100	117	117.0
Albuquerque	113	125	7	7	120	132	110.0
Salt Lake City	115	127	10	2	125	129	103.2
Louisville	100	103			100	103	103.0
Cincinnati	85	85			85	85	100.0
Cleveland	100	100			100	100	100.0
Houston*	60	60			60	60	100.0
Indianapolis*	50	50			50	50	100.0
San Diego	100	110	25	15	125	125	100.0
Toledo	75	75			75	75	100.0
San Jose	100	100	10	7	110	107	97.3
Tacoma	90	86			90	86	95.6
Portland	90	85			90	85	94.4
Detroit	300	278			300	278	92.7
Kansas City	90	87	10	2	100	89	89.0
Los Angeles	375	306	75	90	450	396	88.0
Baltimore	100	87			100	87	87.0
Boston	165	125	25	35	190	160	84.2
Philadelphia	250	210			250	210	84.0
Pittsburgh	125	105			125	105	84.0
Seattle	150	120		1	150	121	80.7
New York	575	478	75	43	650	521	80.2
New Orleans	150	118			150	118	78.7
Denver	105	79	5	5	110	84	76.4
Chicago	282	213	18	16	300	229	76.3
Miami	90	66	10	5	100	71	71.0
Berkeley	138	97	12	2	150	99	66.0
St. Paul	80	52			80	52	65.0
Washington, D.C.	230	116	20	26	250	142	56.8
Oakland	150	85			150	85	56.7
Atlanta	250	140			250	140	56.0
Raleigh	85	47			85	47	55.3
San Francisco	220	120	15	4	235	124	52.8
St. Louis	200	101			200	101	50.5
Newark	130	65	20		150	65	43.3
Milwaukee	120	48	5	1	125	49	39.2
Albany**	60				60		.0
Dallas*	115		10		125		.0
Phoenix*	75		10		85		.0
San Antonio*	100		10		110		.0

TOTALS 5988 4498 372 261 6360 4759 74.8

*Petitioning

**Not Reporting



Selling to General Electric workers in Louisville

Militant/Charles Rosenberg

How she sold 100 'Militants' one week

By Nelson Blackstock

LOS ANGELES—The idea behind the national *Militant* circulation drive is to give thousands of people their first opportunity to read a socialist newspaper.

One person who is particularly good at getting the *Militant* into the hands of new readers is Nancy Uhl. During one week alone—the week of expanded sales of the special issue assessing the miners' strike—she sold 100 papers. How did she do it?

"There's really no big secret trick," she says. "What it boils down to is talking to people about what's in the *Militant*, about why you think it's politically important, and why you think they need to read it."

Uhl is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and a student at California State University at Los Angeles. She sold most of her 100 papers on campus, but she also sold elsewhere, including outside industrial plants.

"In order to explain to somebody why they need to read the paper, you need to be able to talk to them a little while. So, I often find it most convenient to approach someone who's sitting alone in the cafeteria or out on the campus. I just go up, excuse

myself, and start talking about the paper.

"It's important to read the paper and be familiar with what's in it yourself. I try to show them the paper, leafing through the entire thing. The *Militant* covers a lot of issues, and they might have a special interest in one or another subject you wouldn't suspect.

"The week I sold 100, I sold mostly around the miners' strike. Some people might wonder why students in Los Angeles are so interested in coal miners in Appalachia. But you have to remember that—contrary to the image painted in the media—students realize they're part of this society, they know what's going on, and they're concerned about it.

"If you take a couple of minutes to explain why you think the coal miners' strike was so important, then they quickly get what you're talking about. And they'll buy a copy to read more about it."

The second major issue she talks about is the Equal Rights Amendment. Again, she says, it's necessary to take time to talk to them about the ERA—why it's in danger and what the *Militant* says needs to be done to win it.

"When I'm selling, I tell people I'm



NANCY UHL

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

a socialist. People I talk to want to know what socialists think about things. I explain that this is a socialist paper. It puts forward realistic proposals about what can be done to change society.

"I was particularly excited about selling the issue with the *International Socialist Review* article on the transitional program. Because, as I explained, it outlined a method for reaching socialism."

She says she sells to workers in the same way she sells to students.

"I try to find a way I can stop them and spend a couple of minutes talking. Sometimes I have discovered it's better to talk to them while they're leaving work."

Mainly it's a question of having a political discussion.

"After selling a lot of papers, you can start to get mechanical about what you're saying. I try to avoid this. I look at each person I talk to as a potential socialist—somebody who might join our movement after reading this paper and getting to know some more about us.

"I often get names for *Militant* Forum mailing lists. Or I point out the phone number and address of our bookstore and urge them to call or come by."

NJ NOW holds ERA rally

'We must pour out thousands for July 9'

By Joan Paltrineri

NEWARK, N.J.—More than 200 people rallied for the Equal Rights Amendment at Essex Community College in Newark May 13. The successful rally, sponsored by the New Jersey National Organization for Women, was an important step in mobilizing support for NOW's national march for the ERA in Washington, July 9. NOW National President Eleanor Smeal was the rally's keynote speaker.

"The ERA has suffered from overconfidence," Smeal said. "Somehow, we thought they would give it to us. But nothing has ever been given to us!"

"If the ERA loses," she continued, "we will have taken a giant step backwards. The gains of the past will also be jeopardized. The courts will take the cue, and there will be reversals of court decisions."

That is why July 9 must be the "largest march in the history of the ERA," Smeal told the enthusiastic crowd. "We are descendants of the suffrage movement, and we should remind ourselves of that. We must turn out not just one busload, but hundreds and hundreds of busloads. We must pour out thousands of people. We must demonstrate our commitment. We must show Washington and the world that the women's movement is alive and does not intend to go away."

The response to Smeal's speech was loud and clear.

A table selling bus tickets to Washington was surrounded by women handing over their ten dollars to for the round-trip fare. A young Black member of Trenton, New Jersey, NOW told the *Militant* that July 9 had stirred up more interest than she had expected. Several people in Trenton had already approached her for tickets to Washington.



ELEANOR SMEAL: 'We must show Washington and the world that the women's movement is alive'

Clara Allen, New Jersey Communication Workers of America director, told the rally that labor unions must actively demonstrate their support for the ERA. "[George] Meany has given support to the ERA, and so have many unions," she said. "But organized labor should give more than vocal support."

Allen reminded the rally that anti-ERA forces are the same forces out to weaken the labor movement as a whole. "The ERA must be passed to create a new atmosphere where employers recognize the fact that women must be treated properly, must receive equal pay, and can no longer be used as a cheap labor force," she said.

Bill Johnson and Walt Harris, president and vice-president of Steelworkers Local 12243, District 9, were among the ERA supporters present. They told the *Militant* that up until nine months ago, their plant had been all male. "Times have changed," said Johnson.

"There are some women now. They are doing the work, and they deserve the pay."

Harris, inspired by the rally, said he was thinking of going to Washington on July 9.

Women from the New Jersey Coalition of Labor Union Women who attended the rally said they are planning a June conference highlighting the problems of working women. They added that CLUW intends to actively build the July 9 march.

Ruth McClain, a delegate to the Houston International Women's Year Convention and a member of the Newark Commission on the Status of Women, told the rally she is asked many times why Black women are involved in the women's liberation movement. "Because these are our issues!" is her answer. "The ERA is necessary. We have to fight for it. Join us on July 9."

By Andrea Morell

NEW YORK—At a "Day for Women's Rights" teach-in May 13, sponsored by the New York National Organization for Women, more than 250 people heard leaders of the women's movement call for redoubled efforts to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. NOW-New York President Noreen Connell chaired the day's meeting and urged everyone present to join NOW in building support for the July 9 March on Washington.

Former New York Congresswoman Bella Abzug told the teach-in that the Houston International Women's Year Conference proved to women that "they have a movement that is nationwide, big and powerful."

"We have to mobilize that movement. We have to bring a mighty convocation of women and their supporters to Washington July 9."

Brenda White, representing District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, said, "If I have one message from my union it is this: Don't be discouraged—keep on fighting!"

District 37 printed all the leaflets for the teach-in, and White promised her union's continued support for ERA activities.

Brenda Feigen-Fasteau, a well-known feminist attorney, and Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman (D.N.Y.), chief sponsor of the bill in Congress to extend the ERA's ratification deadline, also spoke.

After a lively discussion period, Connell convened a meeting for those interested in working to build July 9. More than twenty-five women remained to discuss how to mobilize support for the march in the New York area.

Ariz., Fla.: campus rallies for women's rights

By Michael Boys

TUCSON, Ariz.—Three hundred people rallied at the University of Arizona here May 9 to defend the independence of the campus women's center. They then marched into the student government's offices with petitions supporting their demands.

The rally and petitions are part of a continuing struggle, initiated by the staff of the women's center, to stop the student senate from dictating center policies.

Earlier this spring the senate passed a resolution barring the center from participation in political activities. The ban was a direct response to the center's support of a campus rally defending affirmative action. The senate's decision would prevent the center from participating in struggles for the Equal Rights Amendment—still not ratified in this state—or for the right of women to choose abortion.

The May 9 rally was triggered by further restrictions on the center. The senate's executive vice-president, Scott Finical, appointed a new director for the center to replace the person chosen by the staff itself. At this point the staff voted to become independent of the university.

"A women's center is not a women's center unless it is controlled and run by women," outgoing Director Ginny Morrow said. The center must be involved in political activities if it is to be effective in helping women, she added.

Speakers at the rally viewed the attacks on the campus women's center as an extension of the attacks on women's rights nationwide.

"One of the reasons the women's

center was started was to empower women," said Susan Swain, a teacher at the center. "And if women don't have the power to choose their own leadership, then the original purpose is defeated."

On May 13, 200 supporters of the ERA rallied in Tucson's Himmel Park. The action was sponsored by the Tucson National Organization for Women and was covered by local television stations.

By Linda Thalman

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—One hundred and fifty ERA supporters rallied at Florida State University here May 14. Organized by the newly formed Human Rights Ad-hoc Committee of Gainesville, Florida, the rally was endorsed by and featured representatives from NOW, the National Women's Political Caucus, the Young Socialist Alliance, Women for Racial and Economic Equality, and local feminist groups.

The campus rally was one stop on an ERA caravan that departed from Key West, Florida, on May 11. ERA supporters organized activities in several cities as the caravan passed through. On May 14 the 100-member caravan reached the state capitol in Tallahassee, where a spirited rally of 250 was held.

After the rally, a large contingent entered the empty chambers of the state senate and carried out a mock passage of the ERA. The women then sat in the offices of Florida Gov. Rubin Askew demanding that he convene a special session of the Florida legislature to pass the ERA. Askew would not meet with the demonstrators.

Marching toward July 9



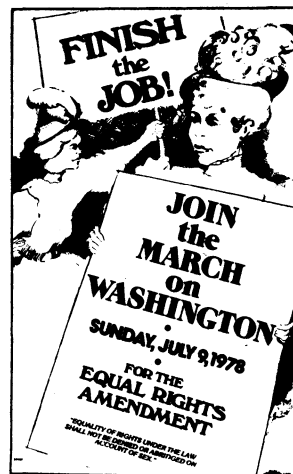
The National Organization for Women has called for a national march on Washington July 9 to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Beginning with this issue, the 'Marching toward July 9' column will feature reports on activities planned by NOW chapters, students, trade unions, and civil rights organizations to build the demonstration.

Chelsea NAACP

At its May 10 meeting the New York Village-Chelsea NAACP voted to endorse July 9 and "help build participation from the Black community in the march."

Minority women's conference

Brigid Douglas reports that July 9 was a topic of discussion at NOW's Conference on Minority Women held in Detroit May 12-13. NOW National Minority Women's Committee leader Valerie Caffee urged the conference participants to go to Washington for "the biggest march in current feminist history."



Leaflets ready

At the May 13 Newark rally for the ERA, NOW-New Jersey Coordinator Nancy Stultz reported that 50,000 July 9 leaflets, hot off the press, are ready for distribution.

Seattle, Knoxville conferences

The second Northwest Women's Action Conference will meet June 17-18 at the University of Washington in Seattle. One topic for discussion will be mobilizing support for a July 8 ERA solidarity rally called by the Washington ERA coalition.

The May 6-7 Mid-South Regional NOW conference in Knoxville unanimously voted to support the July 9 march.

—Shelley Kramer

In wake of cop invasion

Houston activists form barrio defense coalition

By Rick Berman
and Olga Rodríguez

HOUSTON, May 16—Activists here have begun organizing against the city government's campaign to terrorize Chicanos and other working people in the wake of the May 7 Chicano rebellion against racist cops.

Last night, more than fifty people jammed into the Centro de Aztlán, a Chicano community center, and voted to form the Moody Park Barrio Defense Coalition.

Those present included members of Raza Unida Party, Casa de Amigos, Association for the Advancement of Mexican Americans, Texas Farm Workers Union, Socialist Workers Party, National Lawyers Guild, Brown Berets, Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), and Workers World Party.

The coalition's goal is to organize public opposition to the police invasion of the Chicano community following the May 7 events. It will also defend those the government is trying to railroad to prison on charges stemming from the rebellion.

The most severe charges have been placed against three members of a small group initiated by the Revolutionary Communist Party, the People United to Fight Police Brutality. The three are Travis Morales, the group's spokesperson, Mara Youngdahl, and Thomas Hirschi.

\$500,000 bond

They were arrested May 12 on felony rioting charges and held in lieu of *one-half million dollars bond each*.

The district attorney claims the three started a riot. Under Texas's guilt-by-association riot law, anyone involved in a riot is guilty of all crimes committed during that riot, even if the person had nothing to do with a particular act.

Thus, the three are being accused of responsibility for nine felonies, including four arsons and three aggravated assaults. The maximum sentence for

arson is twenty years; for the other crimes, ten years.

In addition, authorities have filed charges against at least thirty of the people arrested during the rebellion and the days following it.

Immediately after his arrest, Morales said, "It's just one more railroad job against political people in this country."

Cops started it

The claim the activists started the rebellion is a government cover-up to draw attention away from the real instigators of violence in the barrio—the cops.

Cops touched off the events by disrupting the traditional commemoration of a Mexican holiday, Cinco de Mayo, at Moody Park. The young Chicanos who participated in the rebellion were particularly hostile to police because Cinco de Mayo (May 5) was the first anniversary of the Houston police murder of Joe Campos Torres. And only a few weeks ago, a judge gave Torres's killers token one-year sentences.

As soon as the rebellion started, scores of police poured into the area, leading to several hours of clashes. An occupation force of up to 350 cops remained for several days.

Although most uniformed cops have been withdrawn, community residents say there are still large numbers of plainclothes officers in the area.

On May 10, Democratic Mayor Jim McConn obtained a resolution from the city council giving him the power to declare a "state of emergency." This gives him authority to close public facilities, stores, and impose curfews.

Arrests for marching

The city administration also announced they wouldn't give out permits for demonstrations or sound equipment in the Moody Park area. As a result, two members of the Progressive Labor Party and two members of the Committee Against Racism were

Raza Unida blasts city officials

HOUSTON—The Harris County Raza Unida Party issued a statement here May 10 condemning Democratic Mayor Jim McConn and the city administration for their attacks on the Chicano community following the Sunday, May 7, Moody Park rebellion against cop terror.

"It should be stressed, above all, the Moody Park incident is an event which has profound roots in the general political, economic, and social isolation and subordination of the Houston Mexican-American community," the statement said. "Politically and economically, the Chicano community is controlled by Anglo outsiders."

"This racism, class exploitation, cultural genocide, and the presence of overly excited policemen of limited mentality are the fundamental causes of the Moody Park affair."

The statement also opposed victimizing the young Chicanos who participated in the rebellion. "They represent the idea Raza Unida

stands for . . . dignity . . . self respect . . . and self determination."

The statement said the witch-hunt being carried out by the Democratic Party city administration was designed to prepare "public sentiment for future possible harassment, beatings, and even killings of our young people at the hands of the police."

The RUP called on the city administration and "the misled Mexican-American *políticos*" to abandon this repressive course and instead concentrate on "real community development; the expansion of community services; physical urban development; etc."

Raza Unida is an independent Chicano political party, which originated in Crystal City, Texas, in 1970. In the 1974 gubernatorial race it polled 100,000 votes. Its candidate for governor this year is Mario Compeán, a longtime Chicano movement activist.

arrested May 14 for marching and using a bullhorn.

These attacks on democratic rights are part of a campaign by the city administration and news media to whip up hysteria against "outside agitators"—groups that have opposed cop terror.

For example, Police Chief Harry Caldwell declared he wouldn't stand for "Marxist-Communist-Maoist-Anarchist-Trotskyite agitators who hide behind bushes and read *Das Kapital* over bullhorns."

Although People United to Fight Police Brutality has been the group most frequently vilified by the politicians and news media, it is not the only one.

For example, J.J. García reported in the May 14 *Tejas News*: "[State] Representative Ben Reyes, perhaps the most popular Chicano politico in Houston, stated that the Socialist Workers Party, and the Revolutionary Communist Party had taken advantage of the situation to further incite the riot. He said both organizations 'from the very start of Fiesta Cinco de Mayo had been instigating violence by passing out hate literature and interrupting the speeches with shouts of 'Justice for Joe Torres' and 'kill the pigs.''"

In response, Miguel Pendás, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, told the *Militant*:

"Reyes's statement is not only a slander, but also a disservice to the Chicano community."

Pendás said that the city administration's witch-hunt is "a smokescreen—a ploy to draw attention away from the real issue: police terror against Chicanos."

"But more than that, it is a campaign to intimidate Chicanos and all working people. Travis Morales and the other brothers and sisters are being prosecuted as an example of what can happen to any of us who protest injustice or oppression."

'Won't be silenced'

"But we won't be silenced," Pendás said. "We will continue to demand that the cops get out of the barrio, that all charges stemming from the Moody Park rebellion be dropped, that there be justice for Joe Campos Torres."

Others have also opposed the witch-hunt.

"It is a folly and mistake to blame last weekend's disturbance on a small group of people, as I have heard our mayor do," said Bill Gutiérrez, a board member of Casa de Amigos Commu-

ity Center at a May 12 news conference.

"The level of frustration in the Mexican-American community has reached a very high level," Gutiérrez said. "There's no other way of saying it—there's mistrust and fear of the police."

Lorenzo Cano, chairperson of the Harris County (Houston) Raza Unida Party told the *Militant*: "We feel that more police will only mean more problems in our community."

Cano is one of the initiators of the Moody Park Barrio Defense Coalition. Many of the activists who launched the coalition had also participated in another meeting May 12. That meeting organized an observers' contingent of 100 for a demonstration that had been scheduled for the following day by People United to Fight Police Brutality. The demonstration drew a total of 175 people and occurred without major incident, despite earlier police threats.

At its launching meeting May 15, the Barrio Defense Coalition decided to mobilize a broad spectrum of groups to testify before the city council. It also decided to hold a news conference to get out the truth about the Moody Park events.

The launching of the coalition is a step toward turning public opinion against the antidemocratic drive by Houston's rulers. It will help put the spotlight back on the principal issue that sparked the Moody Park rebellion—cop terror in the barrio.



Signs like this are on many buildings in Moody Park area where Chicanos rebelled against cop terror and government's failure to punish cops who killed Joe Campos Torres.

Telling truth about the rebellion

HOUSTON—At a May 10 city-wide membership meeting here, the Houston local of the Socialist Workers Party decided to go on an all-out campaign to get out the truth about the Moody Park rebellion against police terror.

In addition to working with groups such as the Moody Park Barrio Defense Coalition, the socialists are organizing a Militant Forum for May 19 on "What Really Happened at Moody Park and Why—A Speakout on the Untold Story of Police Violence."

The socialists also decided to distribute as widely as possible two

pieces of literature on the Moody Park events. One is a campaign statement by Pendás. The other is the May 19 *Militant*, which features coverage of the rebellion. In three days, 150 copies of that issue were sold in the Moody Park area.

In addition, the socialists voted to continue the petitioning drive to put Pendás and other party candidates on the November ballot. Socialists began petitioning May 7 and hope to go well over the 16,550 legally required signatures by the middle of June. Some 3,550 people signed petitions in Houston during the first week.



Travis Morales handcuffed after arrest on trumped-up rioting charges. Government set outrageous bond of \$500,000 each on Morales and two others.

Two-year battle for files

'Socialists v. FBI informers' goes to high court

By Diane Wang

"There is a tradition against snitching in this country," complained FBI Director William Webster at a recent meeting of the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

The problem, he went on to explain, is that informers are "The, with a capital 'T,' The most effective tool in law enforcement today."

Through their lawsuit against government spying and disruption, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are doing all they can to bolster that healthy dislike of snitching and expose what the FBI has used its informer "tools" to do.

For the past two years the SWP and YSA have been fighting to obtain evidence about the FBI's informers. The socialists want to document how informers were used not only to collect political and personal information, but to steal, spread rumors, and provoke disruptive incidents.

As a result of the lawsuit, the issue of informers' secrecy is now before the Supreme Court. On May 10 the socialists filed papers explaining why the FBI should not be allowed to stall any longer in turning over evidence on informers.

A year ago, on May 31, 1977, federal Judge Thomas Griesa ordered the FBI to show the complete files of eighteen FBI informers to attorneys for the socialists. The eighteen are a sample of the 1,300 informers that the FBI used against the SWP and YSA over a sixteen-year period.

After losing appeals in lower courts, the FBI is now trying to get the Supreme Court to overturn Griesa's order.

Protecting identity or crimes?

In his recent speech Webster reminded the Supreme Court what the FBI's real fear is. It is the same argument the government has made over and over again in the lawsuit. As Webster put it, informers are "The most effective tool" the FBI has.

And "one case in New York," Webster said, referring to the socialists' suit, has become "sort of a symbol of the open question of whether or not



'Informers are The most effective tool in law enforcement today.'—William Webster

informant information will be disclosed."

According to Webster, informers from around the country are asking, "Are you really going to keep this information confidential?"

"We feel that there is the utmost requirement of confidentiality," Webster insisted. "It is vital to protect our confidential informants."

But it is not informers who are in need of protection. *The American people need protection from the criminal activities of informers.*

As Mary Pike, an attorney for the socialists, explains, "The government hopes to cover up the whole broad range of illegal activities in the name of concealing their identities."

"But it is the informers' activities that we have always been after."

Congressional investigations and lawsuits have already given a glimpse of what those activities are.

Informers *have been* a very "effective tool." Effective for smearing political dissidents, disrupting legal political activity, provoking violence, stealing, and doing whatever else regular FBI agents have a harder time getting away with.

Revelations of what these lowlifes have done has only reinforced the "tradition against snitching."

Keeping informers in check?

But Webster assured the publishers and Court that the FBI keeps tabs on informers. "We ask and require that they behave in the same manner we would expect a Special Agent to behave. An informant may not participate in acts of violence; an informant may not use unlawful techniques; an informant may not initiate a plan for criminal activity."

Webster described the "close supervision" the FBI gives informers, including inspections from Washington. Moreover, he claimed, the attorney general issued guidelines on FBI informers in 1977, "and they are scrupulously observed."

But these guidelines do nothing to prevent government abuse of democratic rights.

According to Webster's predecessor, former FBI Director Clarence Kelly, the FBI already had such guidelines. Rules supposedly keeping informers in check were on the books when FBI informer Timothy Redfearn broke into the SWP's Denver office in 1976 and stole four cartons of files.

In fact, an inspection team from Washington had previously looked over Redfearn's files, which included references to earlier burglaries he had done of socialists' apartments. The inspection team rated Redfearn "excellent."

Not only do these guidelines provide no protection of the rights of dissenters, but the government is seeking more ways to limit these rights. Its appeal to the Supreme Court in the socialists' suit aims to set a precedent for bogging down any future challenge to its activities with endless appeals.

The socialists' May 10 legal brief challenges the FBI's right to do this. It explains that if the government gets away with its stalling tactics, the FBI and all public officials will have another effective tool to avoid being held accountable for their crimes.

Political spying over?

Webster told the publishers that the FBI now has "only forty-two informants supplying information on domestic security and terrorism." Supposedly these forty-two target "only" sixty-one people and a dozen groups.

Attorney Mary Pike points out that the FBI now "always links 'domestic security' and 'terrorism.'"

"Since Nixon and Watergate, 'domestic security' has become discredited as an excuse for illegal acts," says Pike. "So political dissidents are labeled 'terrorists,' instead."

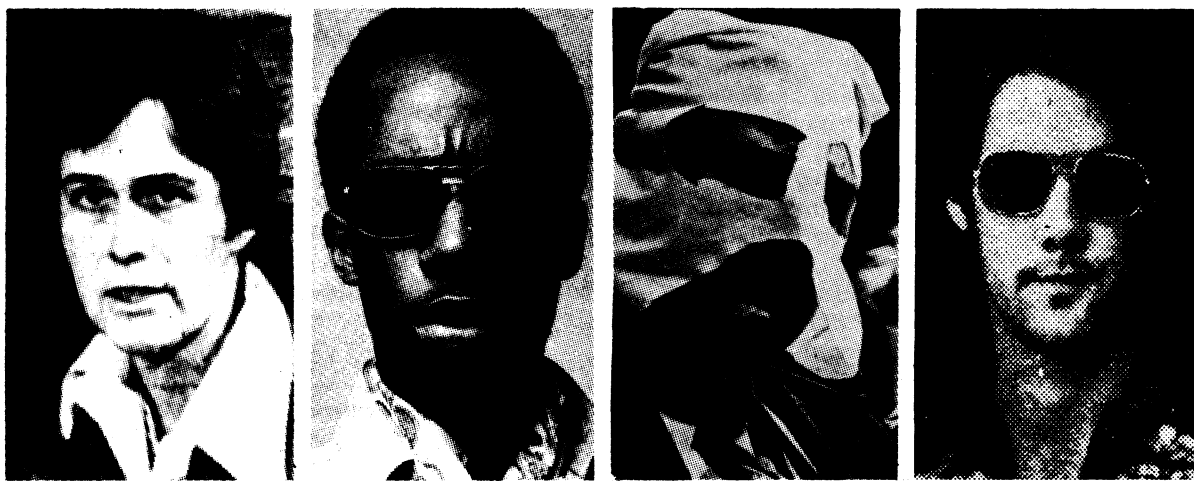
In addition, other FBI agents have already blown the cover off Webster's "facts" about domestic informers. Testifying last March in a lawsuit against the FBI by the American Civil Liberties Union and Alliance to End Repression, Associate FBI Director James Adams gave higher figures.

Adams admitted under oath that as many as one-fourth of the FBI's 535 acknowledged informers had simply been reshuffled into the foreign intelligence category, while continuing domestic spying. Asked if as many as one-half of the informers had been so reclassified, Adams replied he was not sure.

Another FBI agent commented directly on Webster's claim about informers.

"They're the same people and they're doing the same sort of work against the same group," the agent told the *New York Times*, "but now they're being called by a different name."

From the FBI's tool box...



'Tools & Weapons': Jacques Srouji, William O'Neal, Gary Rowe, and Timothy Redfearn

One reason there is a "tradition against snitching in this country," as FBI top cop William Webster complains, is that there is also a strong tradition against slander, interference with democratic rights, stealing, and violence. Here are some examples of what Webster calls FBI tools—more accurately weapons.

- Jacques Srouji enjoyed a "special relationship" with the FBI, according to one agent. Srouji testified that she was shown "a ton of material" prepared by the FBI about Karen Silkwood, a technician in a plutonium plant who died mysteriously while exposing unsafe facilities there.

Apparently Srouji used that ton of material to write her book, *Critical Mass*. In it she attacked Silkwood's personal life and suggested that Silkwood's trade union had been involved in her death.

- An FBI memo explained that informers in the Communist Party would "seize every opportunity to carry out the disruptive activity not only at meetings, conventions, et cetera, but also during social and other contacts with CP members and leaders. . . ."

- William O'Neal was planted in the Black Panther Party. One way he disrupted the Panthers was by accusing others of being informers. Later he provided the floor plan of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark's apartment for the police attack that ended in the murder of the two Panther leaders.

- Gary Rowe, the FBI's informer in the Ku Klux Klan, helped the racists beat up prodesegregation Freedom Riders in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1961. He also participated in the 1965 murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo.

- Howard Godfrey not only participated in violence, but organized it in San Diego. The FBI gave him \$10,000 to \$20,000 for his right-wing Secret Army Organization. The FBI's secret army harassed and shot at anti-Vietnam War activists.

- In 1976 FBI informer Timothy Redfearn burglarized the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance office in Denver. Promises of a big FBI bonus had egged him on to steal documents.

Is it surprising that the nation's top cop is pleading to keep his tool box closed? —D.W.

SWP to question Justice Dep't official

By Diane Wang

Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, announced May 15 that the SWP is seeking sworn testimony from William Gardner, a Justice Department official, for the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against political spying and disruption.

Gardner formerly headed the Justice Department's investigation of FBI burglaries, wiretaps, mail openings, and other illegal activities. Last December he and four other attorneys working on the probe resigned.

Gardner and three of the lawyers who resigned testified before a Senate subcommittee last month that Attorney General Griffin Bell had "undercut" and "hamstrung" their investigation.

Gardner told the subcommittee that illegal wiretaps, mail openings, and burglaries continued "until at least November 1974"—long after the FBI officials being prosecuted by the government had left the FBI. His charge was the first time a Justice Department official had admitted that these crimes had gone on even that long.

The investigators had found that J. Wallace LaPrade, former head of the New York FBI office, had lied to a grand jury about what agents had done. But Bell had refused to prosecute him for perjury.

Gardner charged that Bell's "totally inexplicable decision not to prosecute" LaPrade "was devastating to our investigation of headquarters personnel."

Without the power to prosecute, Gardner said, the investigators had lost "any leverage we possessed to pry the truth from these officials."

The investigating team had also planned to prosecute at least eight former or present FBI agents to get them to testify about who had ordered the dirty tricks and who had tried to keep them covered up.

But Bell, Gardner said, "was adam-

antly opposed to so many cases." Bell had complained that "he had to manage the bureau, but couldn't do it with their officials on trial so often."

Rushing to Bell's defense at the Senate subcommittee's hearings was Sen. Fritz Hollings (D-S.C.). "We got no way in the world to try all those Nixon cases, all those black-bag cases," insisted Hollings. "No one in America believes that they just did black-bag jobs on the Weathermen. They did them on our friend Martin Luther King and everybody else."

And if all the criminals were prosecuted, they would include more than top FBI officials. In an April 10 press release Bell acknowledged that along with the FBI, "perhaps one or more Justice Department attorneys failed to make full disclosure of surreptitious entries in response to legitimate inquiries" from congressional committees.

One FBI burglary staged after 1974 that the Justice Department refused to admit was carried out by FBI informer Tim Redfearn in Denver. In 1976 Redfearn broke into the SWP and YSA Denver offices and stole four cartons of files.

After Redfearn was caught, Justice Department officials tried to use the excuse that they were investigating FBI crimes as a reason for withholding evidence from the Denver district attorney. But Redfearn's files were released through the SWP and YSA suit, and he was prosecuted, convicted, and jailed.

"If Gardner's charges are true," said Feeley, "the Justice Department is engaged in yet another cover-up of FBI crimes. We demand that the Carter administration make the facts about these crimes known to the American people and prosecute those responsible for violations of our rights."

"We in the Socialist Workers Party plan to take every step within our power to bring out the truth—not only about FBI wrongdoing—but about the Carter administration's efforts to hide it from the American people."

Carter's tax package: new attack on workers

By Dick Roberts

President Carter's announcement that the administration will not seek a tax cut October 1 added more fuel to the stock market rally on Wall Street.

The past month has seen the biggest stock trading in U.S. history. Wall Street is celebrating Carter's continued success in deepening the attack on American workers that goes under the phrase of "fighting inflation instead of unemployment."

One of the main spurs to the stock price upsurge was Carter's April 11 speech on inflation. In that speech, the president demanded a 5.5 percent lid on government workers' wage increases and said:

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

Carter presented the same demand to AFL-CIO officials at a May 10 meeting at the White House. AFL-CIO President George Meany declined to openly promise lower wage settlements, but said that "we are supporting the heart of the president's program."

Consumer prices are meanwhile rising at an annual rate of 9.2 percent a year, and the April wholesale price index shot up 1.3 percent in a single month. That would be an annual rate above 16 percent.

Wholesale and ultimately retail food prices seem almost certain to be heading for double-digit price increases later this year.

Carter's new decision affects a previous plan to seek a \$25 billion tax reduction beginning October 1. Carter now says he will postpone the date to January 1, 1979. Further, he will seek a smaller tax cut—\$19 to \$20 billion.

The "anti-inflationary" element in this change is that it would reduce the expected deficit in the 1979 federal budget to about \$53 billion compared to the \$60.6 billion budget deficit proposed in January.

Government deficits are financed through increased issues of Treasury bonds. This is inflationary because it pumps money into circulation where no new goods have been produced. Monopolies continue to raise their prices, absorbing the extra purchasing power in the process.

Yet the proposed tax cut is small. A deficit of \$53 billion is only 12 percent less than a deficit of \$60.6 billion. These figures pale before the total government debt of \$552 billion.

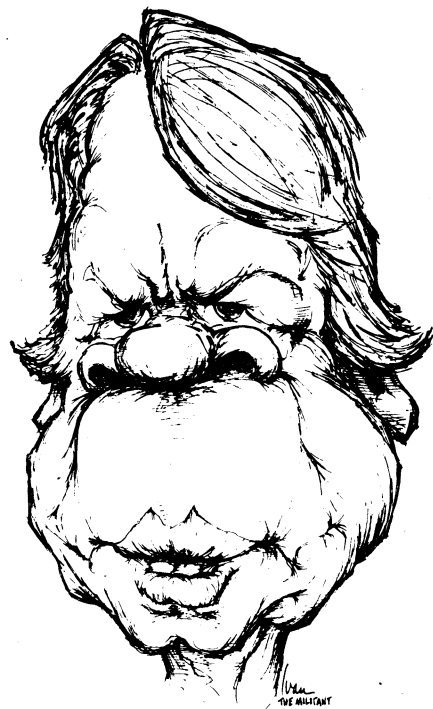
The government officials are talking about whether to have a 1979 debt of around \$605 billion or 612.6 billion. In either event the debt is enormous and exerts a permanent inflationary and destabilizing effect on the American credit system.

In an ominous editorial May 22, *Business Week* magazine declared, "The only reason that the U.S. does not face bankruptcy—as New York did—is simply that it owns a printing press in the form of the Federal Reserve System."

Carter's new tax proposal reflects the long-run aim of the ruling class to reduce inflationary deficits and the overall debt by cutting government expenditures for social welfare measures.

The details of where Carter would seek the eliminated tax cut have not been released. But the direction is clear. The Democratic administration is moving towards greater tax cuts for business; it is in the process of abandoning the modest tax relief for workers that Carter originally promised.

This was openly signaled in a recent speech by Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal. "Profits are too low and they are too uncertain," Blumenthal declared, promising tax policies that would aid "capital formation"—that is, higher profits.



Business Week's May 22 editorial gives us a glimpse of the "full program" of the rulers of this country in terms of "fighting inflation" through reduced government expenditures.

What Carter should do, *Business Week* argues, is precisely what the Democrats in New York did: "The city has cut spending, held a lid on payrolls, and stopped promising benefits to its citizens when it cannot pay them."

"The Carter Administration could stop inflation," *Business Week* continues, "by following a similar discipline."

Business Week demands, among other things, that Carter:

- Make massive cuts in federal spending and a broad reduction in federal staff. A cut of 10% in government employment by the end of fiscal 1979 is a realistic target. . . .

- Review the military budget. . . . In particular, the Administration should examine the costs of maintaining a volunteer army instead of relying on a selective service system. . . .

- Abandon the idea of a massive tax cuts for consumers. Concentrate cutting on the business taxes sector, especially on investment. . . .

- Review the complicated structure of environmental and safety rules to see which ones are causing unreasonable increases in costs. . . .

- Put a moratorium on social programs designed to redistribute income and level the U.S. society."

This is exactly the program that Jimmy "there are many things in life that aren't fair" Carter is more and more openly driving forward.

Political Rights Defense Fund



The FBI thinks it is worth millions of dollars to harass people who disagree with governmental policy. It spent \$1,683,000 on informers to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance alone.

And that's just a bit of the budget. The FBI had to pay bonuses to agents

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who broke into offices. There had to be money for its poison-pen and other disruption schemes. Plus the money for electronic wiretapping.

It wasn't just the FBI, either. The Secret Service, Military Intelligence, CIA, White House teams—all these political police agencies were at work.

The SWP and YSA have exposed many of these illegal operations through their lawsuit against government harassment.

Won't you help us get out more of the government's secret files and fight these attacks on all our democratic rights?

We need money for legal expenses and to sort and organize the thousands of pages of evidence. Please contribute to the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the lawsuit.

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By George Novack

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Carter steps up drive against NY labor

By Peter Seidman

The headline in the May 10 *New York Post* read "Blumenthal to city: shape up . . . or else."

But a more honest writer might have recalled a notorious headline from the past to sum up the treasury secretary's message from the president.

Something like, "Carter to NYC unions: drop dead."

Blumenthal came to town that day and convened a behind-closed-doors meeting of city politicians, bankers, and union leaders. He made it clear that his White House boss was continuing with a vengeance the union-busting tactics he used during the recent 110-day coal strike.

It wasn't the Taft-Hartley slave-labor law that Carter invoked this time. The *New York Daily News* described how instead, "Blumenthal lined up with the city's major banks" against a proposal by Mayor Edward Koch to extend the Emergency Financial Control Board for seven, more years.

Why? Because the Koch plan "does not provide enough controls over the city's fiscal affairs."

The Carter administration wants the EFCB—whose original charter expires

December 31—extended for at least nineteen years, through 1997!

The board, established in 1976, effectively removes management of the city from its elected officials and gives a seven-member panel virtually unlimited power to freeze the wages of municipal employees, rip up contracts negotiated with the unions, and cut back social services.

Koch quickly made it clear he was more than happy to go along with Carter's demands.

Blumenthal also insisted that new contracts covering more than 200,000 city workers be negotiated by a May 20 deadline. The talks have been stalled ever since Koch refused to offer city employees even the paltry 6 percent wage increase in the contract soon coming up for a vote by members of the Transport Workers Union.

The threat that a majority of New York's 33,000 transit workers might turn down this contract has made it difficult for union officials such as Victor Gotbaum—executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees—to convince their members to settle for the miserly 3.5 percent Koch is offering them.

But Blumenthal's timetable is aimed at giving both the mayor and union officials a hand in forcing these kinds of terms down city workers' throats.

By having a plan "to save the city" all in place by May 20, the administration hopes it can pressure the transit workers into approving their contract.

Ballots in the TWU vote will be mailed out May 19, and counting is expected to begin June 6.

Hence, TWU members will be subject to a barrage of propaganda charging them with blowing apart a delicate settlement reached by "reasonable and responsible" labor officials if they exercise their democratic right to vote down their proposed contract.

Gotbaum welcomed Koch's acceptance of the May 20 deadline. "I've

always maintained that it takes two to tango," he told reporters, adding "and Ed Koch is turning out to be an extremely fine dancer."

But it won't be waltzes with Democratic Party cutback artists that will put an end to the federal, state, and city drive against municipal employees.

An effective fight back will take a different kind of motion:

Such as rallying the labor movement to join with marching students (see story on this page)—and other potential allies in the Black and Puerto

Rican communities and among women—to demand an end to cutbacks.

Or joining with rank-and-file transit workers, who have asked for the support of all city workers at a May 18 city hall rally against the proposed TWU contract.

And breaking with the twin parties of big business, which put profits first and the needs of city employees and other working people last. Breaking by forming a new kind of political party—a labor party—that fights with the power of the unions to put the interests of working people first.

A good proposal

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—More union democracy. That's at the heart of a recent proposal by the executive board of AFSCME Local 1930, representing 1,400 public library workers here.

The executive board is recommending that AFSCME District Council 37 adopt a new procedure for ratifying contracts with the city.

The new procedure is modeled on that used by the United Mine Workers of America during their recent strike.

The District Council Executive Board is being asked to:

- require that a city-wide meeting be held at least forty-eight hours before ratification ballots are mailed out, so that union members can discuss the proposed contract;
- insure that every union member receives a complete copy of the proposed agreement to study; and
- conduct the ratification process on a city-wide, rather than local-by-local, basis.

Because the UMWA had this kind of ratification procedure, striking

coal miners were able to turn down two inadequate contracts despite attempts by union leaders to win a yes vote.

"City workers are already paying a price for not having democratic procedures like the miners won," says Ray Markey, a member of Local 1930's executive board.

Markey cited the example of the transit workers. Until a successful legal challenge foiled its schemes, it seemed likely that the TWU leadership would be able to rig a yes vote on its paltry 6 percent proposed agreement.

"And if the transit pact had gone through without a fight, Carter and Koch would have been even more emboldened in their giveback demands against other city workers," Markey warned.

"That's why the proposal by Local 1930's executive board should be approved by the District Council," Markey said. "You can't fight successfully for a decent contract without democratic decision making to mobilize workers for the struggle."



EDWARD KOCH

1,200 NY students demonstrate against cuts

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—Chanting, "They have the money—we're no fools, take it from the banks and give it to the schools," 1,200 students marched here May 11. The students were protesting proposals by the New York Board of Higher Education and Mayor Edward Koch to slash in half a \$1.5 billion construction plan for the City University of New York (CUNY).

The marchers, overwhelmingly Black and Latino, also demanded full funding for SEEK, an open-admissions program. They denounced the newly proposed Freshman Skills Test, a racist exam aimed at screening out Blacks and Latinos from the CUNY schools.

The latest round of cuts threatening the CUNY system continues a pattern begun in 1976. That year tuition was imposed for the first time in the 129-year history of the city's public university. The system's open-admissions programs were also curtailed.

Now the Board of Higher Education says even more cuts are required because of the drop in enrollment its own racist policies have produced! "This is a classic 'Catch-22' situation whose impact can only spell disaster," says CUNY Student Senate Chairperson Ed Roberts.

Large contingents from Borough of Manhattan Community College, York College in Queens, Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn, and Hostos College in the Bronx were in the march.



May 11. Students tell city hall: 'We're no fools, take it from the banks and give it to the schools!'

Students from Hostos, the only bilingual college in the city, demanded that officials relieve the intolerable overcrowding their school's 2,700 students endure. Hostos is presently housed in a converted tire factory that has no

cafeteria, gym, auditorium, nor lecture hall.

The march culminated in a rally at City Hall.

Donald Nobles, a speaker from York College, told the rally, "The city

stopped caring about CUNY once Black and Latino students enrolled. Large campus and community protests stopped blanket cuts in 1976. So now they are giving money to some schools and trying to shut down others like York. This is just an attempt to divide us and make one campus fight another. We need to stick together."

Larry Holmes, a steering committee member of the New York chapter of the National Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision, pointed out that many of the students at the rally also participated in the April 15 march in Washington, D.C., to protest the Bakke decision. "The Washington march is part of the same struggle that we are here for today," he said.

Gloria Waldman, a faculty member at York College, pointed out the impact the cutbacks have on women at CUNY. "Because of past discrimination, women faculty members have less seniority and are being pushed out. Recently established courses in women's studies are being canceled."

With many students leaving schools soon for summer break, speakers expressed concern that Mayor Koch would push through cuts while the students were away. As Titus Walker of Borough of Manhattan College put it, "We have to come back next fall ready to defend our schools. We better buy comfortable shoes for marching and clothes that we don't mind getting dirty at sit-ins."

Unionists hit B'klyn hospital layoffs

By Betsy Whittaker

NEW YORK—More than 500 workers held an emergency meeting May 10 at Brooklyn Jewish Hospital. They were angry over management threats to lay off 106 members of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, District 1199.

The proposed layoffs coincide with revelations that the hospital has built up a \$2 million debt to the workers' benefit fund—threatening to end their medical plan, as well as job training and upgrading programs.

At the May 10 meeting, one union delegate explained that the proposed layoffs, which disregard seniority, are really management's "hate list to get rid of who they don't like—a list to destroy 1199."

District 1199 estimates that Brooklyn Jewish is \$8 million in debt. Doris Turner, District 1199 executive vice-president, says the hospital's management "looks to us to pick up the tab for mistakes they make."

But it is clear that workers at Brooklyn Jewish aren't interested in picking up the tab. On May 11 participants from the emergency meeting presented management with a list of demands, including: no layoffs; full disclosure of the hospital's real expenses; and a list of all nonunion personnel hired over the past two years, and their salaries.

The successful outcome of the struggle at Brooklyn Jewish will have an impact far beyond the hospital's hallways and clinics. Brooklyn Jewish provides sorely needed medical services to the Black community of Bedford Stuyvesant.

The hospital is also the community's largest employer.

During discussions and union meetings leading up to the most recent protests, one theme that has come up frequently is the need for hospital workers to combine their struggle with those of community residents. As one member put it, "Our cause is the same—decent health care and jobs."

Another theme that has often been discussed is the union's right to examine the real financial situation of the poor-mouthing hospital management—including the top-secret salaries and expense accounts of executives.

Under the Hospital Closure Incentive Plan, Albany has already closed Unity Hospital, another health center in Brooklyn's Black community.

When that happened, two months ago, promises were made to the 340 members of District 1199 who lost their jobs at Unity that they would either be hired at Brooklyn Jewish or at a nursing home scheduled to open soon. But so far these workers have received nothing—no jobs, no severance or vacation pay.

The fate of Unity's employees is a warning to all members of District 1199 on the need for solidarity with our co-workers who are now out of work. The overall aim of management is to destroy our union by picking us off, one hospital at a time.

Contracts covering all but 7,000 of the 36,000 members in District 1199, employed at fifty-four institutions affiliated to the League of Voluntary Hospitals here, will expire June 30.

With negotiations already underway, protests like the ones at Brooklyn Jewish show that members of District 1199 are preparing to stand firm against even more layoffs and cutbacks in health services.

Help defeat National Front

80,000 protest racism in London



Part of turnout of 80,000 protesters at April 30 antiracist rally

Socialist Challenge/G.M. Cookson

Tens of thousands turned out for an antiracist, antifascist "carnival" in London April 30. The colorful and high-spirited event consisted of a march and rally, followed by a rock concert.

Marchers carried banners from NUPE, the public employees union; NALGO, a union representing local government workers; the Anti Nazi League (ANL), which sponsored the event; and many other groups.

There were contingents organized by various far-left groups, the Communist Party, and Labour Party branches. Actively building the event beforehand was the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the Fourth International, and a wide spectrum of other organizations.

Socialist Challenge, the weekly paper sponsored by the IMG, estimated the total turnout to be 80,000.

The action occurred in the context of a series of provocative activities by the virulently racist National Front, several bombings directed at antiracist groups and individuals, and a mounting wave of fear-mongering by members of Parliament and government officials concerning immigration policy.

The racism of the establishment politicians "was put to shame on Sunday," an article in the May 4 *Socialist Challenge* reported. "It was put to shame best of all by those who perhaps could be excused most for looking for black or brown scapegoats. The young white underprivileged who made up the bulk of the carnival."

If many came only to hear the music, the article continued, "how many went away wearing ANL or 'Fight Fascism' badges? *Socialist Challenge* supporters sold 7,000 of the latter before the

carnival was half over, and that says something about the effect the carnival had."

An editorial in the same issue attributed much of the success of the day's events to the policy of nonexclusion followed by the ANL, a coalition led by the Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists).

The action was one of the first marking the end of a ban on demonstrations in London imposed under the Public Order Act in February.

The impressive show of force by antiracist activists may well have contributed to the resounding defeat dealt the racist National Front at the polls the following week. The front failed to win a seat on any local governing body. It did well in only two London wards, and almost everywhere else, its vote declined.

UFW signs grape contracts

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Seven Delano grape growers have signed contracts with the United Farm Workers.

The agreements were signed after the union acceded to the growers' insistence that the traditional UFW demand for a union hiring hall be dropped.

The union won representation elections at the seven ranches back in 1975 and negotiations have been conducted since then. Workers covered by the contract represent nearly 20 percent of some 8,000 field workers in the area, according to a union estimate.

The May 8 announcement of the contracts comes some three months after the UFW officially ended its five-year boycott of table grapes, along with Gallo wine and scab lettuce.

The new agreement will reportedly increase wages from \$3.25 an hour to \$3.50, as well as provide pensions and other benefits.

Back in 1970 grape growers retreated in the face of a boycott of their product and signed three-year contracts with the UFW.

In 1973, to avoid renewing the pacts, the growers signed phony contracts with the Teamsters. Eliminating the union hiring hall was widely regarded as a major obstacle of the growers.

While there was criticism among field workers about the way the union

hiring hall was administered, it was generally regarded as a big gain.

The hiring hall ended the brutal exploitation of farm workers by labor contractors who recruited many of the crews for the ranchers.

But also, it blocked employers' discrimination against older workers and their persistent effort to employ only those who could and would work the fastest. It also curbed discrimination against union activists and established the means for assuring all union workers a fair share of available work.

UFW President César Chávez said the union agreed to give up the hiring hall because the employers will no longer rely on the labor contractors to recruit workers.

However, the new contract permits "limited" use of subcontractors. First reports on the contracts did not indicate the extent or nature of the limits.

An additional significant concession by the union is that the contracts will permit employes a five-day period to determine if a worker is qualified for the job—that is, fast enough. Previously, the UFW had refused to include such probationary clauses in its contracts.

Chávez said giving up the hiring hall will save the union the time and money involved in administering it and place the burden for hiring on the

growers where, he said, "it belonged in the first place."

He also felt that eliminating the hiring hall means "the employers are much happier now" and "that will improve our relations with them."

Joseph Herman, an attorney for the growers, saw elimination of the hiring hall as the most significant feature of the agreement, but added that "the entire contract deals in a realistic way with the employers. . . ."

Meanwhile, the UFW registered new gains among Oxnard-area citrus workers.

A five-week strike ended with a contract at Coastal Growers Association, the biggest labor contractor in the area.

A thousand workers had walked out in March and asked the UFW to represent them. After the union won a representation election, Coastal locked the workers out. The strike remained solid and the company signed an agreement that increases piecework rates about 10 percent.

During the Coastal strike, the UFW was able to sign up workers and win union representation elections at other ranches in the area. Chávez estimated that about 70 percent of the 5,000 citrus workers in the county are now in the union.

He said the UFW now has about 150 contracts covering some 30,000 workers.

Safety in the mines

Interview with local union official



By Nancy Cole

SCENERY HILL, Pa.—In 1957, when Jim Nuccetelli was nine years old, the Bethlehem No. 58 mine in Mariana, Pennsylvania, exploded, killing twelve miners.

"It blew the elevator—700 feet down—clean out of the shaft," Nuccetelli recalls.

If there had been a full shift of miners at work, they would have all died. As it was, only those on a crew preparing the mine for the next shift were killed.

Nuccetelli will never forget it. "There was a cloud of smoke all over Mariana, and helicopters were flying around. I was at school, and the teacher came in and said the buses are coming and we would have to go home. When I got home, our whole farm was nothing but black soot.

"Some of our neighbors were killed in the blast. One neighbor was just pulling into the mine parking lot when it blew up—it demolished his car but didn't kill him."

Nuccetelli now works at Bethlehem's No. 60 mine in Cokeburg, which is near both the scene of the Mariana blast and his home in Scenery Hill. He is head of the health and safety committee of United Mine Workers Local 1197.

While conditions in the mines are generally better than they were in 1957, underground coal mining is still the most dangerous job in the country. Miners have won stiffer federal and state mine laws, but it still remains up to the union safety committee to see they are enforced.

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, Nuccetelli gave his views on safety in the mines today.

He first started working in the mines in 1967. Then he left to go to college for a couple of years. After that he worked as a surface miner and six years ago returned to the deep mines.

Two things convinced him to run for

the local's safety committee in 1973. First his foreman was killed—"crushed because he was trying to train somebody on a buggy that was in terrible shape."

Soon after, Nuccetelli himself was injured. "The roof bolts had fallen out, and a steel channel came down and hit me." He almost died on the way to the hospital.

He was elected, along with other young miners, to the safety committee. "We got tough with the company and shut the mine down quite a few times. The mine started shaping up. But it's still in bad shape."

Nuccetelli tells how he walked through the mine, pulling out loose bolts that were supposed to be holding the roof up. "They were fifty years old, and the steel channels that hold up the roof were rusted away."

Safety committee

The company didn't agree with shutting down any part of production just for safety reasons, of course. Nuccetelli still has a September 1976 letter from Bethlehem threatening the safety committee with disciplinary action.

The letter repeats a long list of the hazards the committee found, including no brakes on the slope motor or jeep No. 8, no escape door on the women miners' washhouse, and water filling the mine escapeway.

"In management's opinion," the letter concludes, "upon investigation, none of these situations involved an imminent danger condition."

"We had never said there was 'imminent danger,'" Nuccetelli explains, "because the definition established through arbitration is strange. You have to be sure that it is going to fall in and kill somebody before you can call it 'imminent danger.'"

"I had said there were hazardous conditions which might lead to an imminent danger and had shut down those parts of the mine involved.

"So the company called in the federal inspectors, and they were going to open up the mine until we threatened to call the head office in Washington on our mine's hot line."

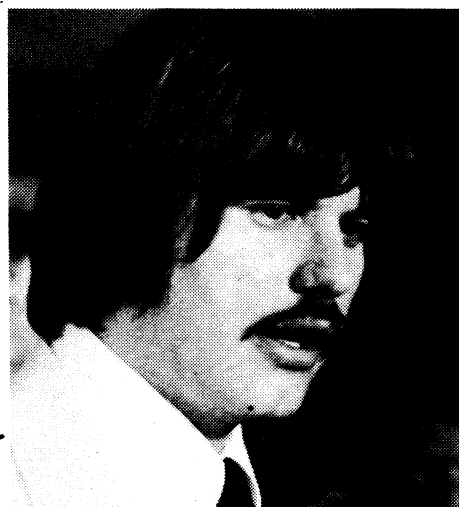
Federal inspectors

The federal agency responsible for enforcing mine safety laws is now called the Mining Safety and Health Administration. It was recently shifted from the Interior Department to the Labor Department and got a new name. But, Nuccetelli says, "it hasn't changed. It's the same people.

"There are some federal people that are really good—they do their jobs. Others are company people all the way.

"Under the new safety law [which went into effect in March] the safety committee can go with the federal [inspectors] when they inspect the mine, and the company has to pay us for that time. Before only the company got to go with them."

Another improved part of the new law requires forty hours of training for new miners and retraining once a year. "It's already in our contract, but it should help the nonunion miners," Nuccetelli says.



JIM NUCCETELLI Militant/Nancy Cole

The coal operators succeeded in reducing the training period in the new UMWA contract from ninety to forty-five days for new miners. That's bad, he believes, because training is critical to safety in the mines.

"We went for about fifteen years without the coal companies hiring anybody. Those guys were all old-time coal miners and they knew their jobs. Now three-fourths of our miners have less than three or four years in the mines."

Another retreat on safety the coal operators managed to get in this contract is the OK for incentive plans. Each local, however, will have to approve the plan. Production incentives would definitely jeopardize safety, Nuccetelli believes.

Even the injury rates don't always tell the whole story. Nuccetelli says the mines owned by Consolidation Coal Company are among the worst in safety. But it doesn't all show up on the charts.

'Cover-up'

"The company covers up its injury rates. If you go over to a Consol mine, you'll see the lamphouse filled with guys with maybe a broken leg or a broken arm. They keep them there so they won't have to report a lost-time accident.

"Lost-time accidents get them in trouble with the federal, and it hurts insurance rates. Plus it gives them a bad image. They like to say how much the mines have improved over the years.

"Well, you used to have 500,000 to 600,000 coal miners, and now there are 200,000. So there aren't as many deaths, but there are still a lot of accidents.

"Last night another miner got killed in Somerset County. That makes about twenty guys who have died since we went back to work."

—N.C.

What the coal operators have in mind

Stonie Barker, Jr., thinks he sees "an improvement in overall labor relations" in the coal industry.

Barker is president of the Island Creek Coal Company and chairman of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

When coal operators start talking about "improved labor relations," it usually means trouble for coal miners.

This time is no exception.

Before the 110-day coal strike, the industry had in mind a contract that would cripple or destroy the power of the United Mine Workers—that is the mineowners' idea of ideal labor relations.

But the miners forced the coal operators to back down. The industry failed to win contract provisions to fire, fine, and suspend miners for striking and absenteeism.

Nevertheless, Barker disagrees

with those who pooh-pooh the gains the coal industry *did* make in the final contract.

Barker, by the way, is one of those good ole boys: a former part-time miner who worked his way to the top of the corporate heap. According to the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, which interviewed him last month, he still recalls "working himself to near physical exhaustion one of those summers between classes at Virginia Polytechnic Institute."

"It's hard work even today," he concedes. And, if he can get away with it, he plans to make it even harder—and in the process more dangerous.

"We think we can do a lot of things with incentive pay," he says. A new feature of the 1978 contract is a provision okaying incentive pay plans providing they are approved by miners at the local level.

Not only will incentive pay pres-

sure each miner to produce more, Barker believes, it will also cut down on absenteeism and wildcat strikes.

Why? Because bonuses will be based on total mine production. At least that's the way it's done in nonunion mines—and their production figures are the apple of Barker's eye.

Notes the *Courier-Journal*, "These plans . . . give ambitious miners an incentive to pressure fellow workers to show up, too."

And to work faster without regard to safety, they might have added.

Another contract gain from Barker's point of view is the dismantling of the UMWA health fund, which provided free medical care to all the union's members and their families. Instead of paying royalties to the fund, the companies can now resort to private insurance companies.

"Through effective administra-

tion, millions of dollars can be saved and at the same time provide benefits to the people that are entitled to those benefits," says Barker.

Perhaps as important for the coal operators as saving a few million dollars in the short run is the long-term effect they hope it will have on miners' loyalty to their union.

Free health care for miners came about not out of any benevolence on the part of industry, but because the union battled for it in the 1940s—and every UMWA member knows that.

The coal operators hope they can make miners forget. In Barker's words, it "may be the first step toward the goal of having a miner think of himself as an Island Creek employee who is also a UMW member rather than a UMW member who also happens to be on Island Creek Coal Company's payroll."

800 rally to support Va. miners

By Nancy Cole

More than 800 people rallied in St. Charles, Virginia, May 14 in support of some 225 striking coal miners from southwestern Virginia.

The miners—members of five locals of the United Mine Workers—work for companies that are not part of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

These five independent coal operators refuse to sign the national contract that UMWA miners ratified at the end of March.

Miners from West Virginia and Stearns, Kentucky, as well as from Virginia, attended the support rally.

The miners have been on strike since the nationwide strike began December 6. Recently they began receiving strike benefits of \$100 per week from the international union. They also report generous contributions from working miners and pensioners.

The companies refuse to agree to royalty payments for the UMWA pension fund. But according to UMWA sub-district spokesperson Larry Floyd, that excuse is "just a cover-up for trying to bust the union."

"They've offered us a better contract than the international—in terms of more money, more time off, full hospitalization—if we come back nonunion," he told the *Militant*.

Jim Bailey, who works for the P&P Coal Company, told the *United Mine Workers Journal* that P&P had boasted it would never agree to another UMWA contract.

"One reason we want the UMWA is because of health and safety," Bailey said. "There have been five miners killed here in the last year."

As is generally the case, state police have been sent into the area to "protect" the small number of scabs entering the mines each day.

Miners are in good spirits, reports Floyd. "It makes you proud to be part of it."

N. Mexico electrical workers fight company for human rights

ALBUQUERQUE, N. Mex.—The bosses at the General Telephone and Electronic Lenkurt plant here like to run herd over their employees, who are mostly Chicanos, women, and young people.

But recently Lenkurt was treated to a display of the power of working-class solidarity. And management is still reeling from it.

On May 5, 700 of the day shift's 900 workers spontaneously stopped work and demonstrated in protest of company disciplinary action against four co-workers.

The day before, the company had issued written reprimands against the four. It threatened that any future misconduct "will result in your immediate discharge."

The four—Aleta Carpenter, Dee Day, Joe Garcia, and Lynette Martin—had complained the preceding week to the National Labor Relations Board about sex discrimination at the plant.

But according to Lenkurt, their crime was that they had followed a supervisor "for an extended period of time" down a street after working hours.

"If you have complaints that are work related, you are encouraged to use the grievance procedure and to avoid self-help off company property," the company memo stated.

The next morning, news of this spread through the plant. Shop stewards and activist members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2112, which represents Lenkurt workers, called for a meeting with management.

The workers demanded the false charges be deleted from the four workers' files. Management told them to file a grievance.

The workers decided to wait in the cafeteria. After ten minutes a company representative came back and told them to get back to work or risk being fired.

Instead, the eighty-five workers present left the cafeteria and marched through the plant to inform everyone else of what was happening.

More than 600 workers joined in, and they returned to the cafeteria. Half an



Lenkurt workers leave plant after holding mass protest inside

hour later the plant acting manager appeared and told them to go to work or go home. One worker shouted, "Which street should we take?" referring to the absurd charges against the four workers.

Soon police arrived with riot gear and attack dogs.

Over the cafeteria intercom, the company delivered an ultimatum: the plant was shutting down immediately, and if the workers didn't leave voluntarily, the police would drag them out.

No one budged.

The cops entered and threatened to tear gas the cafeteria and to unleash the police dogs. The workers decided to leave.

Hand-in-hand they walked peacefully out, past the riot cops and police dogs.

"Today we proved to the company just how strong we are," said Jerry Moya.

Shop steward Lorenzo Moya explained, "We're fighting for human rights, not wages. This was a peaceful demonstration, but we have to show the company we're human beings."

The following Monday the workers returned to the plant and gathered in the cafeteria to discuss their next step.

Again they were forced to leave when the company called in the police.

On Tuesday, May 9, Lenkurt workers, who contend they were locked out, set up a picket line outside the plant. The same day, the company went to court to request a court injunction against mass picketing. It was granted several days later.

The court order also prohibited IBEW officials from participating in or encouraging the workers' fight.

IBEW Local 2112 has not officially sanctioned the protest, but it filed charges against Lenkurt with the National Labor Relations Board, charging numerous contract violations.

Lenkurt brought suit against the IBEW, claiming the protest was instigated by the union officialdom and asking \$360,000 a day in damages.

The protesting workers have held two rallies to publicize their side of the dispute and win support.

Solidarity has come from many quarters including the Teamsters, who refused to drive across the picket line into the Lenkurt plant, and the postal workers, who refused to deliver the company's notices of termination to the more than 800 workers involved in the protest.

Ky. socialist defends GE, Harvester strikes

By Christine Waters

LOUISVILLE—Only one political candidate here is taking a stand on the side of striking General Electric toolmakers.

His name is Jim Burfeind, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the Third District. Burfeind is one of those 300 members of the International Association of Machinists Lodge 2409 on strike.

At a news conference May 10 Burfeind condemned GE's strikebreaking, especially its use of the courts to curtail picketing and force 15,000 production workers to cross IAM's picket lines.

Burfeind's statement called for a united effort by all Louisville labor to defend the rights of GE toolmakers and the rights of other workers in the area forced out on strike. It also explained the need for working people to break from the Democratic and Republican parties and form a mass independent labor party.

Burfeind and his campaign supporters are distributing thousands of copies of this campaign statement at GE plant gates and other workplaces in Louisville.

Many IAM members have read the statement or have heard it on the radio, he says, and they like it.

"GE's actions are radicalizing people," Burfeind explains, "People say that GE is so powerful that it controls the courts, the politicians, and the day-

to-day lives of tens of thousands in Louisville alone."

Burfeind believes the IAM strike, while relatively small, is especially important because of the effect its outcome will have on national GE contract talks next year.

The toolmakers here walked off the

job April 26 over eighteen unresolved grievances. Production workers, members of the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761, honored the IAM picket line for the first week. Then GE threatened to fire them if they didn't obey a court order and return to work.

Socialist Workers Party member Ed



Jim Burfeind, SWP congressional candidate, talks with striking auto workers at Harvester plant.

Bloomer is among the IUE workers forced back to work.

"I was outraged," he told the *Militant*. "I thought the IUE leadership should have at least done something to appeal the injunction to show support for the IAM strike." He added that other IUE members were also angry and confused.

Bloomer is continuing to organize support inside the plant for the striking machinists. He has found an open response to Burfeind's statement among his co-workers. One worker, although generally pretty conservative, sought him out to tell him the statement was "right on target."

Burfeind has also talked with United Auto Workers pickets at the International Harvester plant. UAW Local 1336 has been on strike there since April 13 over speedup and health and safety issues.

Picket Robert Markham responded, "I think the companies are organized against all unions, not just one union. The unions need to be organized too."

Another striking UAW member, Jim Wise, told Burfeind that the employers' campaign against the unions is "not only in Louisville. It started with the coal miners' strike."

Wise said he supported the miners 100 percent and was disappointed that the final UMWA contract was not a better one for the miners. "I just wish all the union people could have stood behind them a little bit longer."

Gay activists back San Jose socialist

By Harry Ring

SAN JOSE, Calif.—Lambda, this city's principal gay rights organization, recently endorsed Sandi Sherman, the Socialist Workers Party nominee for city council seat two.

The endorsement came in the midst of a swirling gay and lesbian rights controversy, which has become a big issue in the elections.

In an interview, Sandi Sherman discussed this and other issues in the campaign.

The SWP is running Claudette Bégin for mayor, Sherman for the city council, and Ricardo Trujillo for the county board of supervisors.

Bégin and Sherman have worked in the women's liberation movement for a number of years. Trujillo, a Chicano activist, is a bus driver and member of the Amalgamated Transit Union.

The unequivocal pro-gay rights stand of the SWP ticket has focused a good deal of attention on it in the campaign.

For the past several years, the San Jose gay community sought unsuccessfully to have the city council go on record in support of Gay Pride Week.

This year, though, such a resolution was adopted by a four-to-three vote.

The resolution brought forth a right-wing protest, and the council capitulated.

The gay community and its allies were outraged. On twenty-four hours' notice a city hall picket and protest rally turned out more than 100 people.

Claudette Bégin and Sandi Sherman were invited to speak. They were the only candidates to participate in the

protest. Their support for gay and lesbian rights was widely reported in the media.

After the outrageous action by the city council, Sherman said, leading gay activists decided to run a write-in campaign on a gay rights platform. They nominated Johnie Staggs for mayor and Sal Accardi for city council seat three.

At an SWP campaign dinner April 29, Accardi announced his own endorsement of Sandi Sherman. Shortly after, Lambda announced its endorsement of her candidacy.

Ricardo Trujillo's campaign for the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors is also making an impact, even though restrictive county regulations compel him to run as a write-in candidate.

A main point in Trujillo's campaign is the county's public transit system, widely regarded as one of the worst in the country. Buses run infrequently and irregularly and are unsafe.

Trujillo came into the public eye last summer when he was victimized for objecting to using an unsafe bus. His supervisor ordered him to drive the bus anyway, and he did so under protest. He was then suspended for three weeks.

Trujillo took the issue to the union. Then he and several other drivers took it to the media, which gave the issue substantial coverage.

In his campaign, Trujillo has addressed himself to Santa Clara County unionists, emphasizing the need to form a labor party as a means of

advancing the political interests of working people.

The SWP campaign here is making an encouraging impact. "Wherever we go in the city," Sherman said, "whether it be distributing campaign brochures or selling the *Militant*, we run into people who have heard about

our campaign and express an interest in it."

Campaigners set up tables at San Jose State College. On Saturdays they are out at shopping centers and canvassing door to door in the community.

One of the most gratifying aspects of the campaign, Sherman said, is the way they've been able to tie it in with sales of the *Militant*.

"We weren't very aggressive about this at first," she explained. "Somehow we felt selling the *Militant* and campaigning for our ticket were two different things. We tended to do them separately."

"But then we found that if we asked people to buy the paper on the basis of our campaign, it had an immediate impact. Our sales shot up overnight when we began doing this," Sherman said.

The results have been particularly gratifying, since the San Jose SWP branch was established less than three years ago.

One barometer of its progress was the April 29 campaign dinner. At that dinner, Sherman said, the campaign committee had initially hoped to raise \$500 for the campaign fund. As the evening approached, the committee felt it could raise its sights to \$750. At the dinner the collection topped \$950.

After the June 6 election, Sherman said, they hope to organize a class on the ideas of socialism and invite people who have become interested in these ideas as a result of the campaign.

"And," she added, "we certainly hope some of them will be joining our party."



CLAUDETTE BEGIN Militant/Eli Finer

Wright urges teachers to run own candidates

By Bill Scheer

CINCINNATI—Two types of politicians addressed the May 4 meeting of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers (CFT).

Jim Luken, a Democratic Party city council member and former mayor, spoke.

So did Pat Wright, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio.

Luken presented the CFT with keys to the city hall. He boasted about his twenty-nine years as a Teamsters union official and professed his friendship for the CFT. However, during the CFT strike last year Luken was conspicuously absent from marches, rallies, and picket lines. His main role was to pressure CFT leaders to settle with the board.

In contrast, Wright told teachers she gave her "unconditional support to the demands you will be raising in your current negotiations. I support a lower class size, teacher/student/parent decision making, and a cost-of-living in-

crease for teachers and all working people," she said.

Last fall Luken supported an unsuccessful attempt to raise taxes to meet school expenses.

In contrast, Wright said her campaign "unequivocally opposes any more taxes on working people."

The Cincinnati School Board is threatening to close the schools this fall, unless voters agree to higher taxes.

"The Democrats and Republicans are giving us a choice," Wright said. "We can either have deteriorating school systems, which then close down, or we can have our taxes raised. That is no choice."

"Right here in Cincinnati, the school board used \$6 million to avoid desegregation, yet they say there is no money."

Wright pointed to the millions squandered on the war budget and on interest payments to the rich. Meanwhile, 156 school districts in Ohio face serious money shortages that could cause them to close this fall.

Earlier in the meeting there was a report on a successful election campaign to place union members on the Credit Union board. During last year's strike the Credit Union refused to loan money to striking teachers. In response, the CFT ran a union slate in the Credit Union election and won, against the administration-supported candidates. Wright explained how this example of independent labor political action should be repeated elsewhere.

"Just as the union should run the credit union, so too the labor movement should run the school boards, and city councils and Congress."

"We need a labor party that is based on trade unions, like this one, that will organize and field candidates to speak in the interests of working people. The Democrats and Republicans are cutting education to the bone, laying off teachers, and closing down schools. A

vote for the SWP is a vote against the Democrats and Republicans and for working people running the government."

Wright praised the CFT's support for the NAACP desegregation suit here, for the Equal Rights Amendment, and its stand against the *Bakke* decision, as "an example for all unions."

"We are much stronger when we are in solidarity with all working people and champion the needs of the most oppressed," she said.

Luken ended his remarks by saying that there are many people in city hall who "wish you well."

Wright ended her talk declaring, "We don't need any more so-called friends of labor in office. We need labor in office."

In addition to the CFT meeting, Wright spoke during her Cincinnati tour on a panel on "Urban Problems and Solutions" sponsored by the University of Cincinnati Urban Affairs Department. The panel included representatives of the Democratic and Republican gubernatorial candidates, and Cincinnati Mayor Gerald Springer.

Wright wrapped up her tour of the Cincinnati area with a campaign rally, which also launched the campaign of John Stiller, SWP candidate for U.S. House of Representatives in the First Congressional District. The rally raised \$1,100 for the campaign.

During Wright's campaigning here, four people, including three Black women, signed up to join the SWP.



PAT WRIGHT

Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

An important review in the May 15 *Library Journal* had this to say about

Evelyn Reed's Sexism and Science



"In this collection of essays, Reed attempts to show how pseudoscientific postulations and sexist prejudices have obscured the truths and distorted the facts discovered in certain sciences: namely, anthropology, biology, primatology, sociobiology, and sociology. Although not disparaging what she considers genuine discoveries, she makes a valiant slashing effort to reduce some 'reactionary' giants (Robert Ardrey, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Lionel Tiger) to windmills."

"Reed has a certain flair with terminology and a fresh iconoclastic lack of academic decorum. She is knowledgeable in the disciplines under discussion. Overall the book is a stimulating corrective to establishment academic doctrine and popular scientific vagaries. Recommended for scientific, women's, as well as nonspecialist collections."—Mary Mallory, Tozzer Library, Harvard University.

Sexism and Science, 190 pages, paper \$3.45. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.25 with payment for postage and handling.

Layoffs and cutbacks threaten Phila. schools

By Ben Bailey

PHILADELPHIA—"If the teachers of Philadelphia strike this fall, it will be the longest strike in the history of the world," says Mayor Frank Rizzo.

Aside from their obvious bombast, Rizzo's words reflect the determination of this city's government and business leaders to deal the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers a real blow in its upcoming contract fight.

On May 12, a membership meeting attended by 400 teachers authorized the PFT executive board to call a demonstration between now and the closing of schools June 23. The protest would demand, "No cutbacks, no layoffs!"

The school district is demanding no salary increase, no cost-of-living clause, a 33 percent increase in the workday, and the elimination of preparation time for elementary school teachers.

The district also insists on laying off more than 3,100 employees, mostly classroom teachers.

For parents and students, the district's plans include an end to kindergartens, closing eight schools, and increasing class size.

And it wants to cut all funds for school busing, except for special-education students. This despite the scheduled beginning in the fall of a modest voluntary desegregation plan.

The cutbacks and layoffs are proposed in the face of a \$75 million

school budget deficit. Last year, during a similar budget crisis, \$50 million was cut and 3,000 employees laid off.

Unfortunately, the PFT failed to do anything at that time to defend those 3,000 jobs.

The teachers union has declared it will strike this fall to maintain class size, secure a cost-of-living clause, and save preparation time in elementary schools.

But to win against the forces lined up against them—led by this city's bankers—teachers need to begin now to involve other victims of the cutbacks and layoffs. Those victims, and potential allies, are community groups and activists.

The proposal for a demonstration against the cutbacks and layoffs before school closes offers the PFT a chance to mobilize its own membership and to reach out to others concerned with defending public education.

Miami teachers

By Bill Rayson

MIAMI—Two thousand teachers picketed the Dade County School Board meeting here May 10. They carried signs demanding a cost-of-living increase, seniority rights, and an end to the six-period workday.

The picket line followed a mass rally of 5,000 members of the United Teachers of Dade April 25.

The actions have protested the refusal of the school board to seriously negotiate with the UTD for the teachers' 1978-79 contract.

The board came to the bargaining table with demands to fire scores of teachers, cancel all cost-of-living raises and other pay increments, strip shop stewards of their rights to organize in the schools, and continue the controversial six-period day.

After two days of "bargaining," the school board announced negotiations at an "impasse" and announced it would seek federal mediation.

At the Mass Crisis Rally April 25, teachers overwhelmingly voted to hold two picket lines at upcoming school board meetings. And authority was voted the union leadership to call a one-day walkout and mass march of teachers some time this spring.

The next picket line is scheduled for May 23.

Teachers Under Attack



An alternative to the "business unionism" of Albert Shanker

by Jeff Mackler

32 pp., 50 cents

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

Arizona copper miners' strike: 'Tired of being pushed around'

By Caroline Fowlkes

SUPERIOR, Ariz.—More than 1,000 copper miners have declared they will not go back to work at Magma Copper Company's Oak Flat mine near here until their grievances are resolved.

Most of the miners are members of the United Steelworkers, although some are in the Machinists, Electricians and Boilermakers unions.

Over the opposition of their union leaderships—which, they contend, have failed to take up hundreds of their grievances—the miners walked off the job April 19.

The company had fired a worker for "refusing a work assignment." In fact, the miner was ill and had presented the foreman with a medical release from the hospital.

The miners are also striking over speedup and forced overtime. Magma Copper workers have had to go up to

three months without a weekend off.

The Arizona copper bosses are speeding up production in a drive to stockpile copper and get a competitive edge on the international copper market.

Magma Copper went to court and got an injunction against picketing miners outside the mine entrance. Undaunted, the wives of striking miners took over picket duty.

Union representatives have told the media the wildcat strike was instigated "by forty or fifty radicals."

"We are not radicals," a spokesperson for the miners responded. "We are 1,000 hard workers who are tired of being pushed around by the company."

The company is now threatening to fire all the strikers for "absenteeism."

But the miners say they will not return to work for this "scab outfit" until the fired worker is reinstated and their other demands are met.

National picket line

Milwaukee transit workers' strike

Milwaukee transit workers stopped their buses and started picketing May 8, *Militant* correspondent Tony Prince reports. The transit workers voted down a contract offer accepted by their bargaining committee that was short on wages, health coverage, and pensions.

The wages of bus drivers in Milwaukee rank fourteenth among the fifteen largest cities. The county has offered them a wage increase of only 15.5 percent over three years. Striking drivers and mechanics are also demanding fully paid health insurance and better pensions.

Despite a media blitz portraying "business as usual" in the city, transit workers are confident of victory. "The media is using psychology—trying to psych us out," one striker told the *Militant*. "But who are they wearing down? Not us!"

All the pickets who spoke to the *Militant* said they expect a long strike. And, they added, they were ready to stick it out for the gains they could make, just like the coal miners.

BUS DRIVERS DESERVE A DECENT PENSION

OSHA knew W. Va. scaffold unsafe

A report by Ralph Nader's Health Research Group has confirmed that government negligence and company policy killed the fifty-one construction workers who fell to their deaths in the recent West Virginia scaffolding disaster.

The May 10 Nader report disclosed that in March 1977 an Occupational Safety and Health Administration inspector visited the construction site and found a "lack of evidence" that the scaffold met safety regulations. But OSHA officials simply sat on his report.

And when the company responsible for the construction project—Research-Cottrell—informed OSHA of plans to institute less stringent safety rules, OSHA officials again had nothing to say.

Now, however, OSHA is talking—to defend its own cover-up. The Nader group's report is "superficial," OSHA head Eula Bingham declared. "It does not purport to be the kind of professional technical analysis that this agency is conducting. . . ."

We should hope not.

On the 'anti-inflation' front. . .

General Motors announced new price hikes—averaging \$100 per car—on April 28. Since its last across-the-board increases in the fall—averaging \$400 per car—GM has selectively raised prices on several models.

The latest boosts mark a change in industry policy. For years, GM and the other automakers have raised prices in the fall along with their introduction of new year models. But GM says it's now going to "move away" from this practice and raise prices whenever it wants. GM's policy was immediately instituted throughout the industry.

Within days, Chrysler announced it was upping 1978 prices by ninety dollars per car. Ford followed suit with ninety-one dollars per car.

All three companies cleared their increases with government officials. Carter's "anti-inflation" aide Robert Strauss greeted GM's announcement as "responsible" and "reassuring." According to Ford, their hikes received Strauss's "blessing" as well.

NLRB joins attack on Newspaper Guild

On May 11 the National Labor Relations Board filed charges of unfair labor practices against the New York Newspaper Guild—fixing the government's seal of approval to the union-busting drive of New York's newspaper publishers.

The NLRB accused the guild of refusing to accept resignations from twelve union members at the *Daily News* in February and March. The guild's constitution stipulates that no resignations will be accepted "when a strike or lockout appears imminent." Since February the union has been in negotiations with the *Daily News*, *New York Times*, and *New York Post*. Its contract expired in late March, and a strike or lockout is possible at any time.

Post publisher Rupert Murdoch—leading the pack of newspaper bosses—is demanding the right to fire 25-35 percent of his work force whom he considers "incompatible" with his yellow journalism.

On April 13 1,000 guild supporters, responding to a call from the New York City Central Labor Council, rallied outside *Post* offices.

Meanwhile, the guild has filed its own NLRB suit against the *News* for expressly encouraging union resignations. The NLRB is "too busy" to hear the guild's complaint until October 18—after the present talks.

In related developments, the *Times* and *News* have set July 4 deadlines for reaching agreements with the pressmen's and paperhandlers' unions. The papers have "not specified what alternatives they had in mind," said the *Times*.

—Shelley Kramer



Guild Reporter



Recent anti-Nazi rally in Skokie

By Steve Clark

A coalition of Chicago-area Jewish organizations has called for a mass counterdemonstration on the same day and site of a planned Nazi march through suburban Skokie. Frank Collin's National Socialist [Nazi] Party of America has applied for a permit to march in Skokie June 25.

Skokie has 40,000 Jewish residents, including an estimated 7,000 survivors of Hitler's death camps.

The anti-Nazi counterdemonstration was initiated by the public affairs committee of the Jewish United Fund. A spokesperson for the group told the *Militant* that march organizers recognize that the fight against the Nazis "is not just a Jewish issue." He said that others will be welcome to participate.

In a letter to the Jewish United Fund, Malik Miah, Chicago city organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, expressed "enthusiastic support for this idea." (See box on this page.)

A statement by the SWP accompanying Miah's letter pointed out that "the self-styled Nazis are a small and deservedly hated outfit in the United States today, with little prospect of becoming a major force. Nonetheless, they pose a real threat to the rights of many Americans.

"In the Marquette Park section of Chicago," the statement pointed out, "they have inspired racist mobs to attack Blacks and fire bomb homes. In Los Angeles a Nazi organization bombed the Socialist Workers Party headquarters and offices of other organizations."

The SWP statement explained that

"the purpose of the Nazi march in Skokie is not to express 'opinions' but to terrorize Jews and others, and convince the Nazi followers that they can get away with more racist terrorism including acts of violence against the Jewish residents of Skokie.

"The survivors of Hitler's holocaust who live in Skokie know from bitter experience the real goals of Nazi 'demonstrations.'"

The Nazis first announced plans to march through Skokie a little more than a year ago. The Skokie city government responded by getting a court injunction to prevent the march. It also passed new legislation restricting the right to demonstrate in Skokie.

Among other things, these ordinances require thirty days notice of any demonstration, as well as the posting of a \$350,000 insurance bond for any protest of fifty or more. (Insurance companies usually won't write such policies.)

The ordinances also ban the distribution in Skokie of literature engaging in "group libel," or the display of "offensive symbols."

The American Civil Liberties Union has come to the aid of the Nazis and is challenging these ordinances on their behalf. The legal fight around this suit and various injunctions sought by Skokie has proceeded through state and federal courts over the past year.

In January a U.S. District Court ruled most of the Skokie ordinances unconstitutional, and the U.S. Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals is expected to rule soon on Skokie's appeal. After that, the case will go to the Supreme Court.

Party's enthusiastic support for this idea.

We are running candidates for statewide offices and U.S. Senate this year. They will be speaking out against anti-Semitism, racism, and Nazism throughout their campaign.

The ideas and violent attacks of the Nazis and like-minded individuals are aimed at taking away the democratic rights of Jews, Blacks, women, and all working people. This is why we have spoken out on the issue of the Nazis' planned march

Meanwhile, the Nazis are continuing with plans for their June 25 march.

Ruling-class offensive

The increased visibility of the Nazis does not reflect any qualitative growth on their part. Given their identification with Hitlerism and German nationalism, Nazi outfits such as Collin's are unlikely to be the nucleus of a major fascist movement in this country. American fascists will combine white chauvinism with red, white and blue superpatriotism.

Despite the small size of this particular outfit, however, it is important for opponents of fascism to respond effectively to events such as those in Skokie. A failure to respond adequately today will leave working people ill-prepared to meet the more serious fascist threat to our rights that is down the road.

In addition, these small Nazi groups have committed serious acts of violence against Blacks, socialists and others. Opponents of the Nazis must mobilize to fight these terrorist attacks and demand that the criminals responsible for them be arrested, prosecuted, and locked away.

The source of the increased leeway for operations that groups such as the Nazis have cashed in on is the escalating government offensive against national minorities, women, and working people.

Determined to solve capitalism's economic problems at working people's expense, the employers and their Democratic and Republican party servants are attempting to reverse the past gains of the trade unions, the civil rights struggle, and the women's movement.

Although America's rulers are not today actively financing and promoting fascist groups, right-wingers from the antibusing ROAR to the Nazis are emboldened by the rightward shift of the capitalist politicians. The government, on the other hand, has no interest in countering the activities of these reactionaries.

In fact, revelations from secret government files prove that federal, state, and local police agencies are in close contact with far-right groups, protecting their illegal, terrorist activities, drawing informers from them, and cooperating in other ways. The ranks of the police are also a prime spawning ground for such groups.

In 1975, for example, a member of the right-wing Legion of Justice testified under oath that the Chicago police and U.S. Army Intelligence organized, financed, and provided cover for terrorist attacks on socialists, Black groups, and antiwar activists.

A police squad car, for instance, served as a lookout for Legion thugs in 1970 when they burglarized the Socialist Workers Party headquarters; the stolen papers later turned up in Army Intelligence files.

Differing strategies

How can opponents of the Nazis most effectively counter these racist scum?

Many place primary reliance on efforts such as those by Skokie officials to ban the Nazi march. They counterpose this strategy to one of relying on the power of the labor

through Skokie and plan to participate in your counterdemonstration and other activities directed at mobilizing mass opposition to Nazism and anti-Semitism.

On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, I would like to meet with you to discuss your plans for the counterdemonstration. We pledge to whatever we can to involve other groups in our communities in putting a stop to this small but virulent band of Hitlerites.

Debate over How to Nazi t in Sk

movement and communities of the oppressed, mobilized in action to stop the Nazis.

This, for example, is the stance of the Jewish United Fund, whose spokesperson told the *Militant* that he hopes the counterdemonstration will be made unnecessary by court injunctions against the Nazi march.

But government restrictions on the right to demonstrate will not be used mainly against groups such as the Nazis.

The Skokie ordinance, for example, has already been used to bar a march by the anti-Nazi Jewish War Veterans.

Almost any other anti-Nazi group that wants to march in Skokie to express the majority's hatred for these terrorists will have a hard time coming up with the required \$350,000 insurance bond.



Meeting of Labor-Community-Interfaith C earlier this year by United Auto Workers

And what about the ban on "offensive symbols" or the distribution of literature involving "group libel"? Couldn't Zionists use this as a pretext to falsely label supporters of Palestinian rights "anti-Semitic" and thereby bar them from demonstrating or holding meetings?

The capitalist government today is already trying to pare down democratic rights. Working people have nothing whatsoever to gain from allowing the government to add to its arsenal of repressive laws.

The rulers will use these new weapons primarily to step up their attack on the oppressed, while continuing to encourage right-wing forces and turning a blind eye to their violent crimes.

Even if the government occasionally enforces these laws against the right to keep up appearances, it will use them many times more against the left.

Anyway, a restriction on the right to protest will in no way interfere with the Nazis' real tactics: that is, committing terrorist attacks, fire bombings, and raids against the oppressed.

And the fascists will find plenty of ways to skirt laws and preserve their ability to meet and function—with the police and other government officials winking at these maneuvers.

In addition, the fight to mobilize a

Socialists back anti-Nazi march

The following letter, dated May 12, was sent by Malik Miah, city organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in Chicago, to Eugene DeBow, coordinator of the Skokie Project, public affairs committee of the Jewish United Fund.

We have read of your proposal for a massive counterdemonstration on the same day and site of the planned Nazi march through Skokie. I write to express the Socialist Workers

strategy defeat great okie

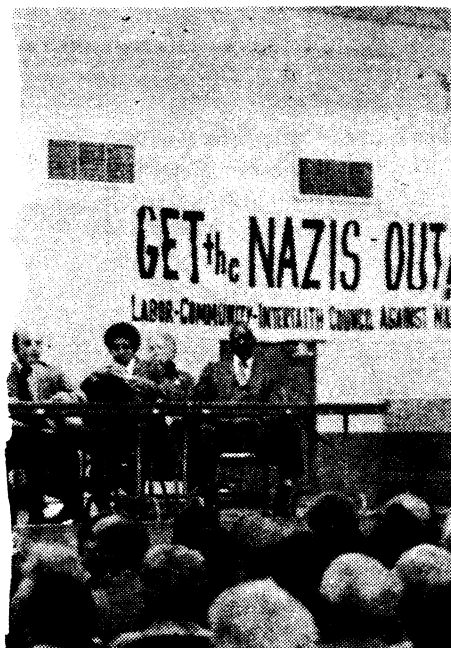
passive, powerful anti-Nazi movement hindered by allowing these scum to magically portray themselves as a rescued minority fighting for the right to free speech.

"Skokie dramatizes that our First Amendment rights have been denied," says Frank Collin.

Unfortunately, the American Civil Liberties Union is lending credence to its claim by providing legal representation to the likes of Collin.

While acknowledging that Collin is a racist and a fascist, a bigoted totalitarian," David Hamlin, executive director of the Illinois ACLU, also asserts that Collin "has a good sense of the First Amendment" and "has secured a ringing victory for democracy."

This is an outrageous distortion. The threat to democratic rights to-



City Against the Nazis initiated in Detroit call 600.

lay comes from the government, big business, and the Nazis and other right-wing forces—not from opponents of the Nazis.

The democratic rights that exist in this country were won by the oppressed and exploited in struggle, relying on their own power. Today, those rights must be defended in that same way, not by relying on the capitalist government.

Although using different methods, the government, big business, and groups such as the Nazis, Ku Klux Klan, ROAR, STOP ERA, and Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" are all enemies of working people and our rights.

The ACLU claims to champion civil liberties. It should devote its energies and resources not to defending the Nazis but to the battle to defend democratic rights against the enemies of those rights.

Nothing that aids those enemies advances the defense of democratic liberties even a little bit.

Twisted priorities

By investing its time and money in providing legal assistance to Collin's Nazi thugs, the ACLU has actually crippled its ability to do things that it could be doing—and that desperately

need to be done—to help defend civil liberties.

- Workers' right to strike and unionize is under attack.
- Women's right to abortion is threatened.
- Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans are still denied the right to equal education, housing, and employment.
- Cops are staging murderous attacks on communities of the oppressed national minorities.
- Undemocratic election laws make it difficult, and sometimes impossible, for parties other than the Democrats and Republicans to get on the ballot and receive a fair hearing.

And the list goes on.

But while the ACLU still turns down some requests for aid in fights such as these—where democratic rights are actually in danger—it nonetheless finds the time and money to defend a group that is a deadly enemy of all human rights.

David Goldberger, the ACLU lawyer handling the Nazi case, admits in a recent fund appeal that this stance has even lost it the support of many former ACLU supporters. The case "has gravely injured the ACLU financially," Goldberger says.

"What do we say to the woman who has been cut off from Medicaid payments for abortion?" asks Goldberger.

"Or to the parents and teachers in a high school that has just banned Kurt Vonnegut or Bernard Malamud from its shelves?"

"Right now we may have to say no," Goldberger acknowledges. "We can't help."

That's where the ACLU ends up by following its current policy.

David Duke, grand wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, chalks this up as a victory for groups such as the KKK and the Nazis.

In a fund-raising letter to Klan supporters, Duke notes the impact on the ACLU of its defense of Klansmen in the U.S. Marines who had staged violent attacks on Blacks at Camp Pendleton in California. "By our pressing of the suit for the White Klan servicemen at Camp Pendleton and elsewhere," Duke boasts, "we have caused the basically anti-White ACLU to lose forty percent of their support."

Countermobilization

An effective strategy to defend democratic rights, then, depends on a clear understanding from the outset of where the threat comes from and who its victims are. Or, to put it another way, who are our enemies and who are our potential allies?

When the right of Black students in Boston to a desegregated education came under attack several years ago, opponents of the racist antibusing mobs mobilized two large counterdemonstrations in that city in less than six months.

When the coal miners' right to a decent contract came under attack by the government and the coal operators this year, other working people joined with students and working farmers to build solidarity rallies and send support caravans into the coalfields.

That's the kind of response that is needed today to the Nazis' provocation against Skokie's Jewish population.

Opponents of racism and anti-Semitism must educate and mobilize the broadest possible show of force in Skokie to intimidate and demoralize the Nazis—to show them in action that they are not welcome on the streets of Skokie or anywhere else.

In its statement on the Skokie march, the Chicago Socialist Workers Party wrote, "The working people of this city have a big stake in helping the residents of Skokie reply appropriately and definitively to this gang."

"We think that trade unions, civil rights organizations, churches, students, and civil liberties groups have a responsibility to make this action as large and successful as possible."

One recent example that points toward some of the things that can be accomplished by that kind of unity in action was shown by the Labor-



Frank Collin (pointing) and his Nazi scum parade in St. Louis last March

Community-Interfaith Council Against the Nazis in Detroit.

That group was initiated by United Auto Workers Local 600 to oppose Nazi activities in Detroit. The coalition involved other UAW locals; locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the United Steelworkers of America; Jewish War Veterans; Student Coalition Against Racism; Detroit Jewish Workshop; local religious leaders of all faiths; the NAACP; Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development; Socialist Workers Party; Communist Party; and area college and high school students.

After holding several demonstrations and rallies involving hundreds of people, the coalition forced the Nazis to abandon the storefront headquarters they had opened in Detroit as an

organizing center for their violent racist activities.

A coalition on an even bigger scale is possible in the Chicago area, where the Skokie events have already received extensive nationwide publicity.

Black community groups there have good reason to get involved because of the role the Nazis have played in whipping up anti-Black violence in Chicago's Marquette Park area.

And the example of the UAW in Detroit points to the crucial, leading role that Chicago-area unions can play in the anti-Nazi counterdemonstration.

As the Chicago SWP put it, "This is the way to let the Nazis know that the people don't want them and won't let them carry out their anti-Semitic and anti-Black violence—not in Skokie, not in Marquette Park, and not anywhere else."

How to Fight Fascism

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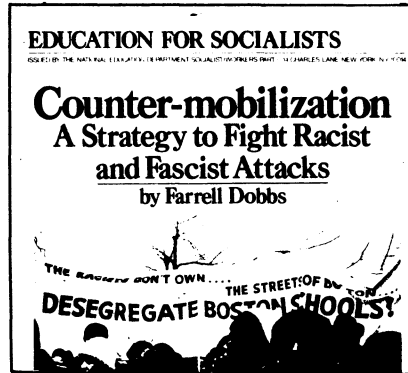
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A. Philip Randolph & the Sleeping Car Porters

The role of Black workers in the fight for freedom

By Frank Lovell

(First of three parts)

An amicable merger of two onetime hostile unions was ratified last February. It made the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters an autonomous division of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

This attracted little attention. It was considered hardly more than another marker at the end of an era in the rapidly declining railroad passenger industry. But the history of the Sleeping Car Porters is an instructive chapter in the struggles of Black workers against their oppressors.

The porters organized themselves fifty years ago. They sought to redress their grievances against the imperious management of the Pullman Company through the conservative trade-union movement of that time. They eventually accomplished much more than the limited goals of craft unionism promised, and for that reason their heritage is valuable to the future of both the Black movement and the union movement.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters today is only about 1,000 members—down from a peak of 15,000. It declined because airline passenger service displaced the Pullman car.

For three decades, from the mid-1920s until the beginning of the civil rights movement in 1955, the Brotherhood was a political force in the Black community, an organization that symbolized the struggle of Black workers.

Socialist beginnings

A. Philip Randolph was the organizer and president of the union from the day it was founded in 1925 until his retirement in 1968. The growth and decline of the union paralleled his career.

Randolph was an intellectual. But he depended upon Black workers and was inclined to follow their lead. He always noted that his successful crusades against discrimination were due largely to the solidarity and support of the Brotherhood.

Randolph was a product of the Black awakening, the intellectual and artistic ferment and ideological struggle in Harlem in the 1920s, the Harlem Renaissance. Like many other aspiring young Blacks of that generation, he was attracted to Harlem before World War I when it was the cultural center of the English-speaking Black world.

He was born in 1889 and left his native Florida soon after high school. In New York he studied at City College and was interested in political science, economics, and philosophy. Inspired by the Debsian socialist movement, he joined the Socialist Party at an early age.

'The Messenger'

In 1917, Randolph, with his friend and comrade, Chandler Owen, launched *The Messenger*, a monthly publication, "the only radical Negro magazine in America." It opposed World War I, "the war to make the world safe for democracy."

At the same time, it advocated that Black workers organize against social, political, and economic inequality, even if this meant strikes and resistance to the draft.

Randolph was arrested in 1918 for opposing the war but not prosecuted. He continued his opposition and was accused of sympathizing with the Russian revolution, which he did not deny.

After the war, Randolph and Owen became instructors for a time at the Rand School of Social Science in New York. Randolph ran for public office on the Socialist Party ticket. *The Messenger* then described itself as "A Journal of Scientific Radicalism."

However, unlike the Socialist Party left-wing faction, Randolph did not take to heart the lessons of the revolution. When that grouping left the Socialist Party in 1919 to form the Communist Party, Randolph remained behind.

He was later to become a right-wing Social Democrat, bitterly opposed to the Soviet Union and other workers states and aligned with American capitalism in its crusade abroad to "contain communism."

Prior to World War I and during the 1920s, a deep ideological division developed among Blacks over



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

how to effectively combat racial oppression. Randolph and *The Messenger* represented a distinct current in that debate.

Like other members of the Socialist Party left wing, Randolph believed that ending race prejudice and discrimination required striking at their economic roots. This set them, along with the fledgling Communist movement, apart from the right-wing Socialists—who at best ignored racist oppression as a relevant issue.

Among Black leaders and organizations there were those—typified by Booker T. Washington—who advocated a course of gradualism. Washington counseled Blacks to put off the struggle for political representation and an end to social inequalities and abuses. Instead, he explained, Blacks should concentrate on acquiring skills, wealth, and middle-class respectability. That, he insisted, would lead to acceptance by the white majority.

Randolph opposed this reactionary collaborationist doctrine, which supported the Republican Party in those days and sought favors from the white ruling class in return for subservience.

Although Washington advocated the development of industrial skills by Blacks, his emphasis on subservience to the ruling class ruled out a struggle to win Blacks jobs in industry or to effectively protect Black workers' wages and living standards. This meant from the beginning that he made little appeal to Black workers.

In fact, his base was among the small layer of Black businessmen, preachers, and professionals, whom W.E.B. DuBois was to later dub the "talented tenth." The organization that best reflected this approach at the time was the National Urban League.

'Radical' intellectuals

Out of this milieu, and in reaction to Washington's gradualism, developed a younger, more confident, radical strain of Black intellectuals who advocated protest against racial oppression and fighting for ballot rights for Blacks. This current found expression in the Niagara Movement founded by DuBois in 1905. It took firmer organizational form in 1909 with the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The NAACP was born in opposition to Black subservience, "to achieve, through peaceful and lawful means, equal citizenship rights for all. . . ." It appealed to nationalist sentiments and sought to advance the Black race.

Its founder, W.E.B. DuBois, later wrote that he at first thought "race prejudice was primarily a matter

of ignorance on the part of the mass of men. . . ."

But he discovered that "the barriers of race prejudice were certainly as strong in 1930 as in 1910. . . ." He concluded that "there must be other and stronger and more threatening forces, forming the founding stone of race antagonism."

These "other forces" were linked to the powerful financial interests that control society.

Inadequate perspective

Though the founding of the NAACP represented a radical break with the ideas of Washington and a more militant approach to fighting Jim Crow discrimination and Black disfranchisement, its perspectives were limited by the aims of the milieu from which it sprang—the small layer of Black professionals and small-time Black businessmen.

DuBois himself noted that "the Association had attracted the higher income group of colored people, who regard it as a weapon to attack the sort of social discrimination which especially irked them; rather than as an organization to improve the status and power of the whole Negro group."

In other words, this small Black middle class, preoccupied with its own advancement, was incapable of mounting a consistent battle for the rights of all Blacks—which included the rights to a decent material existence and to decent wages and working conditions for the Black working class.

Such a struggle would have meant a serious challenge to the prerogatives of capitalism, and they were convinced that capitalism would open up for them—if prodded enough—big new opportunities.

One current that sparked the imagination of Blacks across the country at that time was the Black nationalism of Marcus Garvey. Garvey's teachings of racial pride and positive identification with Blacks' African past inspired masses of working-class Blacks.

However, though Garvey spoke out continually against the racist oppression Blacks confronted, he posed no course of struggle against these daily indignities and horrors—from segregated schools to lynchings. Instead, he advocated emigration of Blacks to Africa.

In pursuit of that goal Garvey would block with anyone, even the most rabid reactionary white supremacists. And he consciously sought the aid of American and European capitalists—the mortal enemies of Black working people—to help accomplish his venture.

Power of Black workers

Randolph stood out from all these currents within the Black movement of his day. He was convinced that Black people would be emancipated only when

Further reading...

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by Art Preis. 538 pp., cloth \$20, paper \$6.95.

Black Liberation and Socialism
Tony Thomas, editor. 207 pp., paper \$2.95.

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the capitalist system of economic exploitation was overturned by the working class.

He also recognized that Blacks were forced by their segregation in capitalist society to form their own organizations.

He understood the double exploitation of Blacks as workers and as a national minority. But he did not make the connection that their struggle could be the lever to topple capitalism.

He did not think that Blacks could realistically strive for anything beyond social reforms. However, in his view even this would require the organization and mobilization of the Black masses—a unique position to hold in his day.

Considered a high-brow publication, *The Messenger* nonetheless expounded these working-class concepts: Black organization and unity of all workers. And when Randolph met in 1925 with a small group of Pullman Company workers to form the Brotherhood, these concepts were the guidelines of the new union. *The Messenger* became “the Official Organ of The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.”

These ideas that Randolph brought to the organization were reinforced and expanded by the actions of the workers who later joined the union, and by those they influenced. The Brotherhood would demonstrate the latent power of Black workers—this at a time when the vast majority of Blacks were sharecroppers, tenant farmers, or otherwise employed on the land.

This is a useful reminder today when the civil rights leaders and the growing number of Black elected officials have so far proved powerless to lead a consistent fight against the worsening plight of the Black masses. The latent power and leadership potential of Black workers—now the vast majority of Blacks—is greater today than ever before.

Organizing the Brotherhood

The Brotherhood in its day was a vanguard for the mass movement of Blacks, and Randolph was its most articulate representative.

“There was no other group of Negroes in America who constituted the key to unlocking the door of a nationwide struggle for Negro rights as the porters,” he said in later years. “Without the porters I couldn’t have carried on the fight for fair employment, or the fight against discrimination in the armed forces.”

Randolph always contended that “Negroes cannot stop discrimination with conferences of leaders and the intelligentsia alone.” He believed, “Power and pressure do not reside in the few, the intelligentsia, they lie in and flow from the masses.”

Except for Randolph, the organizers and top officers of the Brotherhood were all workers, men with long railroad experience: Ashley L. Totten, secretary; Milton P. Webster, vice-president in Omaha; C. L. Dellums, organizer and traveling delegate in Oakland, California, and along the Pacific Coast; and E. J. Bradley, vice-president.

They were all victimized by the Pullman Company, but within three years the union had recruited more than half the porters and maids employed by Pullman on all the nation’s railroads.

In 1928 the union membership voted to strike for recognition and better working conditions, but Randolph postponed the action on the “advice” of AFL President William Green.

The AFL Hotel and Restaurant Employees claimed jurisdiction over porters and maids; and later the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks sought jurisdiction over the red cap railway station porters, even though the clerks’ constitution barred Blacks from membership.

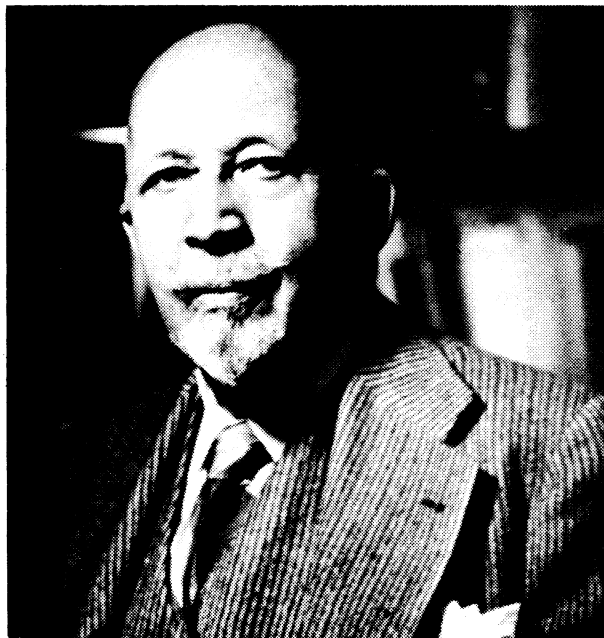
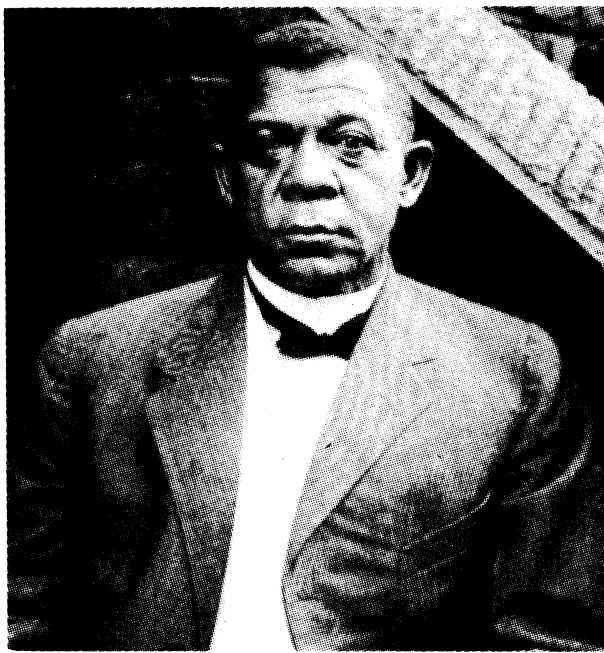
Randolph was pragmatic and cautious. He saw no possibility of winning a strike against the powerful Pullman Company without token support, at least, from the established union movement. His cancellation of the expected strike was a serious blow to the union. The membership lost confidence in its promises, and most of them left.

It had not been easy to convince the porters to join the union in the first place. They had good reason to be distrustful. The railroad brotherhoods were the worst Jim Crow organizations in the labor movement.

Surmounting obstacles

It was only with the rise of the CIO and the advent of industrial unionism that the practice of excluding Blacks from the unions was breached. This practice was not totally broken down until after the civil rights movement, independent of the unions, had destroyed Jim Crow in the South during the 1960s.

The Brotherhood was not destroyed by the seemingly insurmountable obstacles of craft union divisions and race prejudice. It was animated by the idea “. . . that the question of wages, hours of work, safeguards on the job and proper representation of



Booker T. Washington (top), W.E.B. DuBois (center), and Marcus Garvey.

the worker are the most important problems confronting the majority of men and women, black as well as white, in the United States. . . .”

In 1929 the AFL issued federal charters to Brotherhood locals in several cities but refused to recognize it on an equal basis with other affiliates. As a sign of adjustment to AFL conservatism, *The Messenger* was dropped at this time as the official publication. The new union paper, *Black Worker*, lacked the militant policy and socialist message of its predecessor.

By this time Randolph’s political outlook had undergone change. He was no longer an active member of the Socialist Party, considering himself only an adherent of the broad socialist movement with no organizational ties. He operated as a freelance socialist, reflecting the views of right-wing Social Democracy and moving closer to the union bureaucracy.

He was unable, however, to gain recognition and acceptance in top circles of the old AFL bureaucracy. Not until 1936 was the Brotherhood finally granted an AFL charter, and then only after it won recognition as the collective bargaining agent for Pullman porters. It was the first all-Black union to gain recognition from a major corporation. And that put new life into the union.

Opposing AFL bias

Randolph headed a delegation of Pullman porters at every AFL national convention from 1934 until the AFL-CIO merger in 1955, and at each of them he demanded an investigation of discrimination in the craft unions, the building trades and railroad

crafts specifically. He was tolerated by most of the insufferable bureaucrats, but barely.

At the 1944 convention the AFL finally adopted a resolution condemning race prejudice and demanding a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee of the Roosevelt administration and Congress. In 1948 it endorsed a permanent FEPC and an “effective” civil rights program.

These programmatic changes on the part of the AFL bureaucracy were prompted by political shifts and economic changes undertaken by the American ruling class—from whom the labor “statesmen” take their cue.

On the economic front, the mechanization of southern agriculture brought with it the growing urbanization of Blacks and their growing employment in the service trades and some industry. Politically the American capitalists needed to rid the U.S. of the appearance of flagrant racism in a postwar world where the colonial masses were awakening in revolt.

Thus these changes in the unions were unrelated to their internal regimes, and had little discernible effect upon their real policies or activities.

Randolph was made a vice-president of the merged AFL-CIO, a token position. When he tried to influence policy at the 1959 convention and demanded the expulsion of any union that excluded Blacks or maintained segregated Black locals, Meany dismissed him with a sneer.

He demanded of Randolph, “Who the hell appointed you the guardian of all the Negroes in America?” Randolph, not Meany, was later censured by the AFL-CIO Executive Committee. But nothing came of it.

Porters: a powerful base

It may appear as if the persistent efforts of the Brotherhood to win support from the old narrow-minded AFL were futile, even self-defeating at times. But the connection with the established union movement enabled Randolph to organize independent struggles of Blacks more successfully than would otherwise have been possible.

He was not limited in his outlook to the petty affairs of business unionism, but sought continuously to draw the mass of Black workers into a broad struggle for political and economic equality. In this respect he was different from other Black leaders in the 1930s, the pre-World War II period.

Randolph sought allies wherever he could find them, so long as they fit into the limits of his political vision. By that time it did not extend much beyond Roosevelt’s New Deal horizon. In accordance with these limitations it seemed useful to him to collaborate with the Communist Party, an attitude that was shared by a good many union bureaucrats and most middle-class Blacks.

In 1936 Randolph helped to form the National Negro Congress, a popular-front organization controlled by the Stalinized CP. It embraced the all-Black unions and most Black religious, fraternal, and civic organizations, including the NAACP. On paper it was imposing.

The ostensible purpose was to give unity and direction to the dispersed Black struggle, but the real reason for it was to line up solid support behind Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. The organization accomplished very little for Blacks except to give the participants a chance to know each other better. It fell apart in 1940, after the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed. Randolph resigned as chairman, and the Stalinists were left with the remnants.

The following year, in 1941, Randolph undertook, mainly on his own initiative as president of the Brotherhood, to win concessions in employment for Blacks from the federal government. It seemed like a reasonable and realistic project.

The arms program was in full swing. The Roosevelt administration was preparing for war. But even then, with a critical labor shortage, unemployed Blacks were barred from many factory jobs. They were frustrated, and angry.

The Brotherhood was then a recognized part of the labor movement, more highly esteemed by the CIO unions than the AFL of which it remained an affiliate because of its craft character. It was a symbol of success for the great majority of Black workers who were unorganized, without union protection on the job, and deprived of the power to demand jobs where color bars kept them out.

Black workers looked to the porters union for leadership, because these workers on the Pullman cars had proven that it is possible to organize and win, even against the seemingly invincible corporation.

During the Second World War the Brotherhood reached its peak of power and influence, boosted in membership by the expansion of wartime rail travel and enhanced in prestige by its support of the Black struggle for jobs in the war industries.

(To be continued)

The explosion of credit

By Dick Roberts

(Fourth of six parts)

The massive speculation in currencies that dominates international finance reflects a profit crisis that plagues world capitalism. Across the globe capitalists are unwilling to undertake major investment in new plants and equipment because they do not believe such investments will be profitable in the long run.

They fear a resumption of the "double digit" inflation that erupted in 1973-74. And they fear a new world depression will follow. Profits fell sharply in the 1974-75 depression, and many monopolists do not believe that they can bring future profits significantly above predepression levels.

The case of IBM was recently cited by *Business Week* magazine. "IBM," it said, "makes a return of about 34% on its investment in plant, equipment, and inventories but only 7% or 8% on its cash."

Yet IBM is holding a whopping \$5.4 billion in cash reserves. The fact that it is holding back on productive investment sharply reveals an international decline of profitable outlets for this global giant of the computer industry.

The managers of IBM fear that further investment in computer production will undermine their own monopoly prices and profits. They are pouring billions of dollars, instead, into stocks, bonds, and other securities, including currency itself.

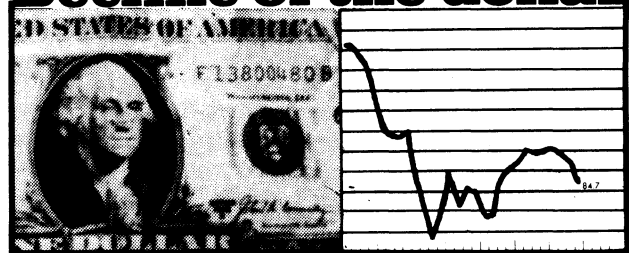
Critical symptom

IBM is not alone. According to the March 13 *Business Week*, "The 400 largest U.S. companies together have more than \$60 billion in cash—almost triple the amount they had at the beginning of the 1970s."

The accumulation of "surplus capital" dramatizes the stagnation of world capitalism following its long period of expansion following World War II. The significance of such a phenomenon was underlined in 1916 by Lenin in *Imperialism*.

As monopolies and cartels more and more extend their hold on national and international markets,

Decline of the dollar



they reap vast profits that cry out for productive investment opportunities—at the very time when such opportunities have been choked off precisely because the monopolies themselves are jealously controlling the markets.

The "division of the world between powerful trusts" was, for Lenin, the main dynamic that drove the imperialist powers into World War I. Lacking investment outlets for their "superabundance of capital," the imperialists went to war to conquer markets directly through territorial acquisition.

Centralization

An immediate consequence of the accumulation of cash surpluses is an intensification of the drive to centralize more capital under the control of the most powerful firms. The cash-rich corporations buy out the stocks of other companies and take them over.

In 1977 there were forty-one takeovers in the United States valued at \$100 million or more.

To cite only one example, Armco Steel Corporation, according to the April 11 *Wall Street Journal*, is searching to put more than half of its assets into businesses offering faster profit growth than basic steel.

The same article cites one executive's explanation for the new rash of takeovers: "In some fields you probably couldn't start a new business from scratch because there are too many competitors already out there." The executive added, that with stock prices so low, "it is cheaper to buy existing assets than to build a new plant."

Conglomeration all the more centralizes the control of the economy under a few giant corporations. Moreover it tends to retard economic growth and job creation because the companies that are being



New York stock exchange. Increasingly frenzied speculation is a hallmark of the deepening credit crisis.

purchased have already been built and already have a labor force. "By hoarding cash," *Business Week* warned in its March 13 article, "companies are jeopardizing future growth and profits in favor of short-term gains today."

Credit expansion

But this is only one side of the coin.

While the more powerful corporations are centralizing an increasing amount of capital under their command, less powerful corporations remain in business only through continual borrowing.

In the period of 1970 to 1976—roughly corresponding to the period when the top 400 U.S. corporations piled up \$60 billion in cash—the total corporate debt of U.S. firms rose to a staggering \$1.4 trillion. On top of this, there are state and individual debts totaling another \$1.7 trillion, adding up to a total U.S. debt of nearly twice the annual gross national product.

This enormous credit expansion is the most vulnerable part of capitalist finance. It is building up on a productive base that cannot ultimately meet all the debts. We have already seen that one source of credit—the cash reserves of the biggest corporations—is itself a direct result of the curtailment of productive investment.

It is the vast accumulation of dollar debt abroad that is the main destabilizing factor in international finance and the source of intensified currency speculation.

'Eurodollars'

Let's take a closer look at the accumulation of dollar debt in Europe. Dollars have poured overseas throughout the postwar period: in U.S. foreign investments, in the purchase of foreign goods, and in U.S. military spending.

This has allowed much of the debt abroad, and in Europe especially, to be financed in dollars. Such "Eurodollar" debt constitutes an enormous dollar overhang abroad—much larger than the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit in any one year.

"The Eurocurrency market," according to the February 5 *New York Times*, "which consists of currencies, mostly dollars, held and traded in London or on the Continent by multinational companies and banks outside any government's control is estimated at \$350 billion. Big central banks have sums at their disposal that are miniscule by comparison."

On top of this, many central banks have been forced to borrow money in the past two years in order to have the cash to intervene to prop up the sagging dollar and defend their own currencies. The

decline of the dollar itself expands the balloon of world credit!

A panic?

Suppose a heavily indebted global U.S. trust such as Chrysler obtains part of its credit in Europe. A Chrysler bond is sold for Eurodollars.

In the wake of increasing uncertainty about the U.S. economy, the holders of these Chrysler bonds might decide to sell them. The company is increasingly in debt. U.S. auto sales may have peaked in 1977. The dollar itself is inflating, so that the face value and interest on the bond are themselves being eroded.

If this investor shifted the dollars received from the sale of the bond into marks or some other stronger currency, it would contribute to the weakening of the dollar and the strengthening of other currencies.

Precisely this movement out of dollar securities abroad accounted for the dollar decline in 1977-78.

The *Economist* has attempted to calculate what would happen if not one holder of a Chrysler Eurobond, but all holders of dollar assets, made such a decision; in other words, what would happen in the event of a real panic about the U.S. economy:

"In the days of the runs from sterling, it was fashionable to point to the large stock of internationally mobile liquid assets that portfolio changes by their owners could send in fearsome flow across the exchanges. Those sterling holdings were peanuts compared with today's holdings in dollars. . . .

"A decision by the owners of these dollars to convert just 1% of them into other currencies or gold would cause the biggest exodus across the exchanges ever seen."

Against these massive dollar holdings, even Tokyo's \$1 billion intervention in one day last March looks small. So enormous is the international pileup of dollars that neither Tokyo nor Washington have sufficient reserves to prevent a dollar collapse if real panic hits international money exchanges.

(To be continued)

FOR FURTHER READING

Decline of the Dollar by Ernest Mandel
128 pages, \$2.45.

Capitalism in Crisis by Dick Roberts
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Blanco, back in Peru, denounces military rule

By Fred Murphy

"Just as the masses through their struggles have forced the government to lift the suspension of civil liberties and the curfew, and to restore a little freedom of the press, in the same way they have won my repatriation and that of all the deportees—not because this regime respects the law."

Those were Hugo Blanco's first remarks to the crowd of several hundred persons who greeted him at the Lima airport on April 12, following his arrival from exile in Sweden.

The Trotskyist leader and a number of other political figures have returned to Peru in recent weeks, as a result of the military government's March 15 announcement of a full amnesty for exiles.

"Our gains have been won through struggles," Blanco continued, "and we must now continue to struggle for reinstatement of the 6,000 fired workers and freedom for all the prisoners. Not even the election campaign must cause us to forget that, compañeros. On the contrary, we have to use the campaign itself to continue this struggle."

Elections are to be held in Peru June 4 for a constituent assembly. The military, in power since 1968, called the elections soon after a general strike and mass upsurge swept the country last July. The constituent assembly is to write a new constitution and prepare

the way for civilian rule in 1980.

But the elections have failed to defuse mass discontent with the regime's harsh austerity policies. Strikes have occurred in one key industry after another along with general strikes on the citywide, provincial, and national levels. Political amnesty and reinstatement of the thousands of workers fired after last July's general strike have also been central demands in these struggles.

Most recently, a general strike shut down Arequipa, Peru's second largest city, for nine days, and 40,000 copper miners struck for forty-eight hours April 24-25.

Hugo Blanco is a candidate for the constituent assembly on a slate put forward by FOCEP,¹ a bloc of workers parties, union organizations, and other groups that includes Blanco's party, the PST.²

Blanco has explained his views on the elections in a number of interviews with weekly periodicals since returning to the country. (The weekly press is especially important in Peru, where the major daily newspapers are under government ownership and control.)

Caretas, a slick bourgeois magazine,

1. Frente Obrero, Campesino, Estudiantil, y Popular (Workers, Peasants, Students, and Poor People's Front).

2. Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party).

reported in its April 20 edition that Blanco had returned to Peru "bringing four mimeographed pages of what he calls a draft of the basis for a new constitution—an 'ultra' formula with little that is new: a government formed by organizations of workers, peasants, employees, shantytown dwellers, soldiers, students, etc.; people's justice tribunals; armed forces constituted through armed defense committees of the people's organizations; statization of everything except for shops and collectives; and so on."

The *Caretas* reporter asked Blanco: "You contend that a tradition of fraud exists in the country's electoral processes. With this premise, why are you a candidate for the constituent assembly?"

"To expose the fraud," Blanco answered, "and to contrast the alternative society we are proposing to the society of poverty that we have now."

Another bourgeois weekly, *Oiga 78*, featured a large photograph of Blanco on the front page of its April 25 edition. Inside, an article by Hernán Zagarra said:

"Bearing a draft constitution that asks that high officials, including the president, earn no more than the wage of a skilled worker, Blanco points out that these elections have an antidemocratic stigma because the great mass of illiterates have been excluded." (Almost 3 million persons—mostly peasants—who cannot read or write are being denied suffrage.)

"With enthusiastic words, Blanco says that capitalism is exhausted, that it is incapable of solving the big problems."

Blanco's opinion on Leonidas Rodríguez and the Velasco Alvarado regime has been sought by all the journalists he has spoken with. Blanco told *Caretas* that Velasco "tried to bring about the capitalist development of Peru and failed because that is not possible."

Leonidas Rodríguez was a key figure in Velasco's bourgeois-nationalist gov-

ernment. He was in charge of SINAMOS,³ an abortive scheme for subordinating all mass organizations to the military regime. Following Velasco's fall in 1976, Rodríguez and other leftist officers were ousted. In November 1976 a number of them organized the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), which Rodríguez now heads.

The PSR leaders returned from exile soon after Blanco did, and General Rodríguez was also interviewed in the April 20 issue of *Caretas*. He explained that the PSR "is fundamentally national, autonomous. It does not depend on foreign political organizations. We are not Marxist-Leninists. . . . We want to make a national revolution."

There is much confusion on the Peruvian left about the role of these radical ex-military officers and the PSR. Disagreement on this question prevented unity between FOCEP and the bloc of Maoist and centrist forces that make up the UDP.⁴

Hugo Blanco explained to the leftist weekly *Amauta*:

"We are always going to be in favor of an alliance with the comrades of the UDP. The difference we have with them, fundamentally, is that they think it is possible to get together with the generals of the 'first phase' [the Velasco regime]—that is, with the PSR—in the struggle, and we think not. Because we have seen that those gentlemen have not used arms in defense of the peasants but in defense of the oppressors. . . . So we know that when push comes to shove they will again put themselves at the service of the bourgeoisie and against the workers. And from now on we have to educate the working class not to place confidence in its class enemies."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

3. Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social (National Network for Supporting Social Mobilization).

4. Unión Democrática Popular (Democratic People's Union).

Vietnam abolishes 30,000 capitalist operations

According to a report in the April 14 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the Vietnamese government has dealt a "death-blow" to capitalist control of trade in the south. A sweeping decree March 24 did away with some 30,000 major capitalist trading operations. Small businessmen and retailers were allowed to reopen after a two-day shutdown.

Previously, 70 percent of the trade in the south had been in private hands. *Far Eastern Economic Review* reporter Nayan Chanda says that the action "in one swoop brings the southern economy to a closer alignment with that of the socialist north."

Chanda attributes the move to the fact that speculation and hoarding by the businessmen had been contributing to the annual inflation rate of 80 percent and to economic dislocation. Earlier efforts to bring trade under control without actually abolishing capitalist ownership had been unsuccessful.

The traders, Chanda says, "previously managed to elude socialist regulations and carry on business, hoarding and blackmarketeering as if nothing had changed. When an attempt was made earlier this year to compile an inventory of their goods, they dispersed stocks among relatives and friends."

The announcement caught businessmen by surprise and they had no time to hide or disperse their assets. Chanda contrasts this to the currency changes instituted in September 1975, which the capitalists had time to circumvent by dispersing large sums of money.

For several months before the decree there was a weeding-out of administrators suspected of helping the businessmen to evade controls. According to Chanda, "several thousand cadres from the north were sent south to take over administrative and managerial jobs from incumbents believed to be incompetent and corrupt."

In addition, Politburo member



Black market in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon)

Nguyen Van Linh was removed from his post as head of the committee for the transformation of private industry and trade. He was "held to be responsible for not being able to reform the capitalists faster."

Chanda describes the implementation of the decree in Ho Chi Minh City, formerly Saigon:

Before the announcement, a large police and military force was mobilized to surround Cholon, the city's Chinatown, which has been an unreformed capitalist heart beating within the socialist body of Vietnam. Thousands of young boys and girls were called to emergency ward committee meetings on the night of the 23rd (and kept isolated to avoid any leak) and were sent

accompanied by soldiers to visit every single shop and businessman's house to make an inventory of assets and goods.

Although no official information is available, the surprise raid is believed to have produced a large amount of goods as well as money and gold bars. While the search was under way, the sale of any item which had not been inventoried was banned.

Private trade in the south had been dominated by ethnic Chinese, who number about one million. According to Chanda, the government stressed that "the abolition of capitalist trade is not aimed at the Chinese community but against 'bourgeois traders' . . . regardless of nationality or religion."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Feminists organize to fight oppression

International Women's Day in Mauritius

PORT LOUIS, Mauritius—"A Historic Page in the Struggle of Women," "Big Success for Mauritian Feminists." These were some of the headlines in the daily newspapers February 27.

On Sunday, February 26, from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. women gathered for an outdoor rally in the Jardin de la Compagnie here for the first meeting opening a week of activities to commemorate International Women's Day. It was the first time in Mauritius that International Women's Day was celebrated. About 300 women came. They were of all ages and included students, office workers, mothers of families, servants, factory workers, and women from the villages.

In early January, the Muvman Libération Fam (MLF) initiated a call to form an ad hoc committee with other women's organizations. The Solidarité Fam—March 8 Committee was formed on January 15 and met regularly every Sunday morning until February 26.

The meetings planned and organized a week of activities, including the outdoor rally; a debate on abortion; two exhibitions, one by women artists and the other, drawings and paintings by young school girls on the conditions of women in Mauritian society; a trade-union meeting; a cultural show by women; and a symbolic rally on March 8 near the Free Industrial Zone where many young women work in the factories. The committee sold 200 women's t-shirts in less than two weeks.

The themes of the week were equal pay; trade-union rights; the legalization of abortion; fight to change discriminatory laws; struggle against violence in the home, on the streets, and on the job.

Condition of women

Women in Mauritius are considered second-class citizens and suffer from superexploitation and oppression.

Women from birth never leave the patriarchal circle. In their families they are under the tutelage of their fathers, and when they marry (often in prearranged marriages) they come

under the tutelage of their husbands. Women do not realize when they marry that marriages are in "common" unless they specifically ask to be married in "separation." This means that women do not have the right to purchase property or goods in their own names or to have accounts in the bank. They even have to ask their husband's permission to go to court to get a divorce.

In Mauritian society, although not specified by law, it is a custom that women do not leave the house without first asking their husbands' permission. To attend the Solidarité Fam committee meetings, some women had to ask their husbands' permission or present a letter from the committee to show where they were going. There were even women who would like to have participated in the cultural show but could not because they knew their husbands would never give them permission. The most common complaint that women discuss is that they are beaten at home, especially if their husbands have been drinking.

Women who are married only in religious ceremonies can be left without anything if their husbands leave them. The government has said that it will legalize religious marriages, but so far has not done so.

Abortion is not legal, yet one out of ten women get abortions every year in unsafe and filthy conditions. Poor women who cannot pay for abortions often try to abort themselves. Many women die each year from abortions though they are not reported officially. Although the pill is easily obtainable, one of the most common forms of contraception is the "Depo-Provera," a contraceptive shot given every three months. This form of contraception is used in only thirty-five countries. It was banned in the United States in 1977 because of the risk of sterility and uterine cancer.

Women workers participating in the week of activities spoke about the conditions of servants and young women working in the Free Industrial



Signs at feminist rally called for equal pay for equal work and for an end to discrimination based on sex.

Zone (created by the government in 1970 to encourage industrial development through special tax privileges).

Servants work in conditions that are a carry-over from the slave days. They are at the beck and call of their employers and get paid as little as a rupee an hour or less (1 rupee = about US\$0.16). They are now organizing into a union with gardeners, drivers, and cooks to fight for better pay, a stable work timetable, and the right to sick leave and holiday pay.

Superexploited labor

Young women provide the cheap labor for the factories in the Free Zone. About 30,000 young women work long hours every day for starvation wages of a maximum of 49 rupees a week (US \$7.75) whereas men earn a maximum salary of 81 rupees a week (\$12.78). Although both women and men in the Free Zone are superexploited, women are demanding that they at least get the same wages as men. The same superexploitation exists in the sugar industry, where a woman earns almost 50 percent less than a man for the same amount of work.

It was these conditions that prompted a few women to come together and form the MLF in September 1976, to begin to raise consciousness and to struggle against the oppression, traditions, and customs that exist in Mauritius. The MLF, in the last year and a half, has formed branches in five places throughout the island. It petitioned the government to open up technical schools for girls, and formed a front with other organizations to fight to reverse the "Immigration Act" and "Deportation Act" passed in April 1977. These acts leave to the discretion of the Prime Minister whether a foreigner married to a Mauritian woman can settle in Mauritius with his wife, and make him liable to deportation at any time. These acts do not apply to foreign women married to Mauritian men. These acts discriminate against Mauritian women and, in effect, she loses her right to reside in the country of her birth if she marries a non-Mauritian.

Role of capitalist parties

The week of activities came at a time when the rank and file of the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM, the opposition government party) was demobilized, and many women who are active MMM supporters and organizers were drawn into the women's activities. The MMM itself has done little to

push for women's rights, and its Governmental Program contains only one reference to women, under the heading "Youth and Sports." It calls for "the real promotion of Mauritian women and aid to feminist groups." The Solidarité Fam asked for the MMM's support and it donated 1,000 rupees to the committee.

The Labour Party (the government party) has a network of Women's Associations organized in every village throughout the island. These associations are given government grants for sewing teachers, home economics teachers, and a place to meet. Although they are led by Labour Party supporters, these associations organize most of the women in the villages within them and often have very large meetings.

The Solidarité Fam committee was organized on a nonpartisan basis as an autonomous woman's group and attempted to get the Women's Associations involved in the week of activities. But it seems that the government labeled Solidarité Fam as an MMM project and instructed the Women's Associations not to participate. On March 8, the government, through the Ministry of Social Security, organized its own women's meeting for the Women's Associations with the prime minister as one of the main speakers. These meetings were thus counterposed to the Solidarité Fam activities and were given headline news in the Labour Party newspaper and on television, which is government controlled.

Action gets results

It is noteworthy that Mauritius is the only African country where an autonomous women's movement exists. In other African countries, women's activities are organized under the auspices of the government party, as the Labour Party did here in Mauritius.

Since International Women's Day, there have been three further developments. First, the government is now preparing to amend the divorce laws to allow women whose husbands are out of the country to get a divorce. Secondly, the president of the Labour Party has declared that he is in favor of legalizing abortion. Thirdly, in the Throne Speech on March 28, opening the 1978 session of the Legislative Assembly, the government has proposed as one of its main tasks to abolish all restrictions that remain on women and bring about their complete emancipation.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

History of colonial oppression



Financial Times

The history of Mauritius, an Indian Ocean island some 1,400 miles east of the African mainland, is one of brutal colonial oppression. Annexed briefly by the Dutch in the seventeenth century, the island was seized by France in 1715. A century later, in 1814, during the Napoleonic Wars, Mauritius was ceded to Britain, which maintained direct colonial rule until 1968.

In the eighteenth century, French colonists set up large sugar plantations and shipped in thousands of African slaves to work in the fields. Today, the descendants of the slaves, the Creoles, comprise a little more than 30 percent of the island's population of 900,000.

Slavery was abolished in 1835. When freed Creole slaves refused to work for their former masters, Indian indentured labourers were imported as an alternative source of labour. Today, the Indo-Mauritians, including both Hindu and Muslim communities, comprise more than 65 percent of the population.

Since formal independence in 1968, Mauritius has been governed by Prime Minister Seewoosagur Ramgoolam's Labour Party.

But the island's economy is still dominated by the imperialist monopolies and the local white elite, the 10,000 Franco-Mauritians. French plantation owners hold more than 70 percent of the sugar-producing lands—a striking statistic when it is noted that sugar-cane covers 90 percent of the cultivable land and accounts for 89 percent of the country's exports.

Hundreds of workers gunned down in India

Barely a year in power, the Janata Party regime of Prime Minister Morarji Desai has given its police a virtual free hand to deal with the mounting class, caste, and religious conflicts in various parts of India. As a result, hundreds of persons have been gunned down over a period of just a few weeks.

One of the worst massacres took place on April 14 at the agricultural university at Pantnagar in the state of Uttar Pradesh. It followed a strike against impending layoffs by 1,200 casual workers at the university.

'Brothers' open fire

According to a report in the *Indian Express*, small groups of workers approached the police and shouted, "The police and the workers are brothers." The police began shooting without provocation. Some students tried to intervene, but they too were fired on. About ten of the police kept on shooting for more than twenty minutes.

The death toll in the Pantnagar massacre has been estimated at between 150 and 200.

During the preceding weeks, serious clashes took place in a number of other states as well.

In Bihar, the landlord class has been encouraged by sectors of the Janata Party (Home Minister Charan Singh represents landlord interests) to escalate attacks on poor farmers and landless agricultural workers. Since the landlords are of the upper castes, and the poor peasants and farm workers are usually "untouchables" or tribespeople, these conflicts take the form of caste antagonisms.

In March there were a number of incidents in which upper-caste elements attacked and killed "untouchables" and tribespeople, in some cases by burning them in their huts. The police generally sided with the upper castes.

In Mordabad, in Uttar Pradesh, Hindu chauvinists of the paramilitary Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (National Protection Union, affiliated to Charan Singh's former Jan Sangh party) assaulted Muslims March 29, initiating a series of religious clashes that left at least fifteen persons dead.

In Hyderabad, the capital of the Congress Party-ruled state of Andhra Pradesh, police fired indiscriminately into crowds of demonstrators April 3, killing at least nine persons. The dem-



PRIME MINISTER DESAI: Gave police a free hand to suppress protest.

onstrations had been called by the local Janata Party after a protester was beaten to death by police and his wife raped.

Police also gunned down striking iron miners at Bailadilla, in Madhya Pradesh, April 5.

'Policemen went berserk'

According to a report in the April 15 issue of the *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly*, "Once the order was obtained, the policemen went berserk and let loose a reign of terror. After the indiscriminate firing, three labour colonies [housing areas] were set on fire, reducing to ashes hundreds of huts. The workers and their women and children fled for their lives. Thousands of them ran towards the nearby jungle."

The Janata Party regime admits that eleven persons were killed in the massacre, but many bodies were known to have been secretly buried or burned by the police after the attack. Most news reports put the number of those killed at more than two dozen. Even Raghu Thakur, the general secretary of the Janata Party in the state, acknowledged that the number of deaths was "more than the official figure." Some reports say as many as fifty were killed.

Five days later, on April 10, protesting farmers were fired on by police, leaving nine dead, in Madurai in the southern state of Tamil Nadu.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

World news notes

Québec abortion demonstration

More than 1,000 people, mainly women, demonstrated in Québec City April 22 calling for free abortion on demand. The demonstrators' demands were directed against the Parti Québécois regime, which is rigorously applying the Canadian government's anti-abortion law.

Demonstrators chanted, "Abortion is our right; get rid of the rotten law!"

Orlov trial in Soviet Union opens

The trial of Yuri Orlov, a prominent Soviet physicist and political dissident, opened May 15 with a grotesque mockery of justice. Orlov, who is accused of "anti-Soviet agitation," was denied the right to call any witnesses in his defense.

None of Orlov's supporters, with the exception of his wife and children, were permitted to enter the courtroom. Reporters were also prevented from viewing the trial.

Orlov, a founder of the Helsinki Human Rights Group, was arrested in February 1977 and held incommunicado for fifteen months while the government prepared its case against him.

Upsurge in Nicaragua

President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua announced April 28 that he was granting demands raised during a nationwide strike by high school students during three weeks in April.

The strike began April 5 when students at the Masaya National Institute demanded the resignation of teachers supporting the government. Somoza's dictatorship has come under heavy fire since the assassination of prominent opposition figure Pedro Joaquín Chamorro three months ago.

By April 11, 50,000 students were on strike and had shut down 80 percent of Nicaragua's public and private schools. It was accompanied by demonstrations and sympathy strikes among other sections of the population.

In another development, Pedro José Chamorro, Joaquín Chamorro's second cousin, was assassinated May 12 by four masked gunmen. He had been active in the opposition movement against Somoza after his cousin's murder.

Asylum for Galindo Madrid!

Chilean exile Galindo Madrid has won a brief reprieve in his fight against deportation to Chile by the Canadian government. A federal court has given him until at least July 15 to prepare evidence to present at his deportation hearing.

Madrid was a student activist in Chile and an eyewitness to the bloody right-wing coup there in September 1973. If he were deported back to there, he would almost certainly be tortured and murdered.

A campaign has been launched by numerous groups and individuals in Canada to demand political asylum for Madrid.

To join the campaign, send letters or telegrams demanding asylum for Galindo Madrid to Immigration Minister Bud Cullen, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

Free Sami Esmail!

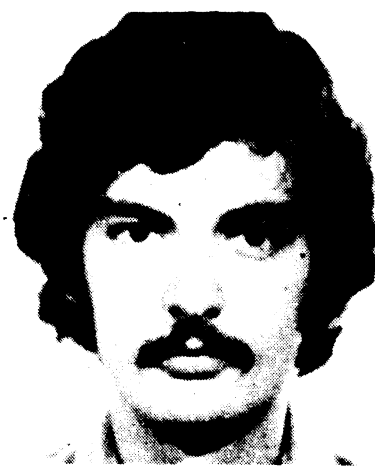
The trial of Sami Esmail was held April 17 in Israel. Esmail, an American citizen, is accused by the Israeli government of belonging to an illegal Palestinian liberation group. He was arrested last December in Tel Aviv, when he went to Israel to visit his dying father.

The court has postponed a decision in Esmail's case until June 7.

Mistreatment of Esmail continues, however. On April 24, he was placed in a 3½-by-7½-foot cell in Kfar Yona prison with two other Palestinians.

On April 30 he was visited by his lawyer Felicia Langer, who noticed he was pale and weak, and dizzy from being struck on the head.

The National Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail and the Palestine Human Rights Campaign have called for continuing actions in the United States demanding, "Free Sami Esmail!"



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Intervention in Chad

French troops sent to prop up dictator

By Ernest Harsch

In what has been billed as a "defensive" operation, French troops, planes, and "technical assistants" are pouring into the central African country of Chad.

This new imperialist intervention in the former French colony comes at a time of increasing opposition to the regime of Gen. Félix Malloum. Confronted by a series of military advances in the northern and eastern parts of the country by guerrillas of the Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad (Frolinat—Chad National Liberation Front) and by a number of antigovernment demonstrations in the south, Malloum has appealed to his backers in Paris for help.

The danger of this intervention escalating even further is great. Despite repeated denials by the French government, there are indications that French troops and planes have already become involved in the fighting.

Response to Invasion

A number of French workers organizations responded to the intervention within days of the initial reports that troops were being dispatched to Chad. The Communist and Socialist parties both expressed their concern. The French Democratic Confederation of Labor, which is influenced by the Socialist Party, demanded "the complete withdrawal of the French army from Africa."

The April 27 issue of the Trotskyist daily *Rouge* published a statement by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), French section of the Fourth International, calling for actions to demand "the immediate withdrawal of French troops from Chad and the breaking of the military agreements with that country."

Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud admitted April 20 that "five to six hundred technical assistants" had recently been sent to Chad to help organize and train the Chadian armed forces and to provide "technical and logistical" aid. But the April 22 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that these "assistants" were actually 240 members of the French Foreign Legion, as well as 800 other combat troops. Defense Minister Yvon Bourges confirmed April 27 that ten Jaguar fighter bombers were also sent.

These forces are in addition to more than 300 French military personnel already stationed in Chad, who have been assisting the central government in Ndjamenas for years against the Frolinat guerrillas.

In a feeble attempt to obscure the real purpose of the military intervention, Jean-François Poncet, a presiden-

tial representative, claimed April 26 that the troops would only protect French residents, and would not be used in any military operations. President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing made a similar claim two days later, but he was less categorical, stating that French troops would not participate in "offensive" actions.

'Defensive' action?

Such claims are fairly routine, intended primarily as justifications for the French ruling class's "forward policy" in Africa. Giscard's definition of "defensive" is rather broad, as shown by his airlift of Moroccan troops into Zaïre during an uprising there in 1977 and his bombing of independence fighters in Western Sahara the same year.

In the current conflict in Chad itself, the French government admitted that two of its troops were killed April 19 during fighting around the military garrison at Salal, a few hundred miles northeast of Ndjamenas. A few days earlier, a former French air force pilot, who was flying under "contract" with the Chadian air force's combat wing, was also killed when his aircraft was shot down.

Frolinat claimed in a communiqué that a "massive attack by French legionnaires" was launched in the region of Salal April 25. The rebel group charged that the French troops were backed up by armored cars, Jaguar jet fighters, ground-to-ground missiles, and artillery.

A report in the April 30-May 2 *Le Monde* noted that Jaguar jet fighters were making frequent flights northward, in the direction of the fighting.

Partly as a reaction to this French military intervention, the unrest has begun to spread to the southern provinces, where the central government has traditionally had its main base of support.

Demonstrations have erupted in Bongor, Lère, Pala, Mongo, and Moundou in the south, in Moussoro in the west, and in Abéché in the east. Some of the actions began as antigovernment demonstrations, but then rapidly developed into protests against the French military presence as well. According to a report in the April 23-24 *Le Monde*, two protesters were killed in Pala and two more died in Moussoro when the authorities moved in to put down the unrest. Frolinat has charged that five students were shot to death in Moussoro.

In Ndjamenas itself, all schools and universities were shut down and draconian security measures were imposed following a call by Frolinat for a two-day general strike in the city at the end of April. The regime warned the population that "all attempts to disturb the public order will be vigorously put down." The strike failed to materialize.

Imperialist foothold

The current unrest in Chad threatens to undermine one of French imperialism's important footholds on the African continent.

Strategically located in central Africa, Chad was first colonized by the French at the end of the last century. Important deposits of oil, platinum, iron, uranium, and other minerals have been discovered over the past few years.

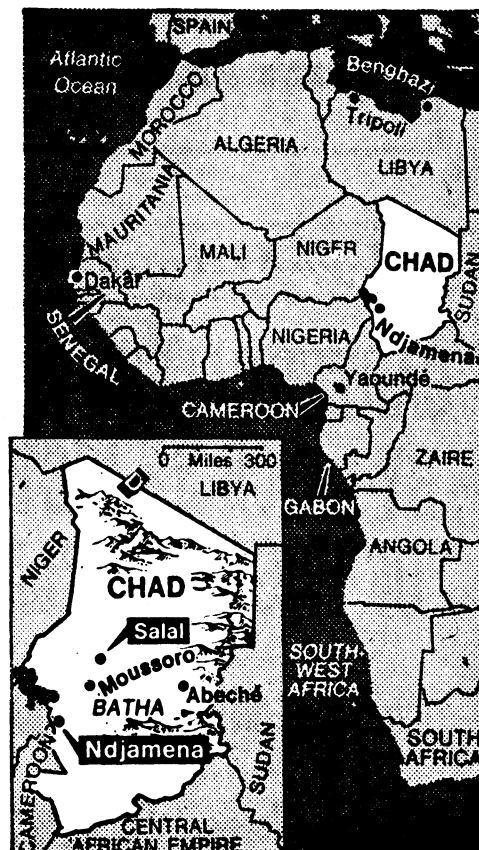
It was to protect its interests in Chad that Paris maintained a strong military presence there, even after the country achieved its formal independence in 1960.

The pro-French regime of François (later Ngarta) Tombalbaye adopted policies in the early 1960s that led to a sharpening of the social conflicts in Chad. Besides supporting a large French presence, his regime, based on the Sara people of the south, instituted discriminatory measures against the eastern and northern peoples, who are predominantly Muslim and who have many cultural links with the Arab world.

In 1963, Tombalbaye's troops massacred more than 100 Muslim protesters in the capital. Two years later a massive peasant uprising erupted in eastern Chad, and hundreds more were killed when troops moved in to crush it.

A group of dissidents formed Frolinat in 1966. Though it denies that it is a regional or ethnic organization, its main base has always been among the peoples of eastern and northern Chad, especially among the Toubou nomads in the Saharan regions. Frolinat describes itself as a nationalist group that is opposed to both the French presence and the neocolonial regime in Ndjamenas.

Between 1968 and 1972, French troops in Chad, bolstered by a few thousand reinforcements from France,



New York Times
Rebels now control three-quarters of Chad, and have taken outpost of Salal.

conducted major counterinsurgency operations against the Frolinat guerrillas and carried out reprisals against the civilian population in the areas of Frolinat activity.

Severely weakened by the French attacks and plagued by internal factional conflicts, Frolinat went into a lull for several years. Many of the French reinforcements were withdrawn, although two garrisons were maintained until they too were withdrawn in 1975. The French nevertheless kept several hundred "advisers" in Chad, assigned to the Chadian armed forces. The Chadian intelligence and security services are under the direction of Camille Gourvenec, a French officer.

Malloum takes over

In the meantime, Tombalbaye was overthrown and killed in a military coup in 1975. General Malloum took over. He made a gesture of offering to negotiate with Frolinat, but at the same time continued the close ties with the French. Although a few guerrilla leaders gave up their struggle, the bulk of Frolinat remained in opposition.

Beginning last year, some of the Frolinat forces, with Libyan backing, started to make a few military gains. The French sent more aid to Malloum and announced in July that they had provided "logistical support" in his war against the guerrillas.

Early this year, in February, Frolinat forces captured Faya Largeau, an important administrative center in the north and one of the last government-held positions in that region. About the same time, three French military personnel were killed when their plane was shot down. The guerrillas captured more than 2,000 Chadian soldiers, according to an official from the International Red Cross who visited the area. This was nearly half of Chad's regular army of 5,000 soldiers. The morale of the government troops has reportedly dropped sharply.

Despite a brief cease-fire that was negotiated in March, the fighting continued to escalate and Frolinat started to attack government positions in the central and eastern parts of the country. By late March, the French troops began to arrive, marking the beginning of another phase in French imperialism's long and brutal intervention against the peoples of Chad.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

French bomb Saharan rebels

While French troops and planes were being rushed to Chad, French jets continued bombing operations against guerrillas fighting for the independence of Western Sahara, a former Spanish colony that was partitioned between Morocco and Mauritania in 1975.

A representative of the French Defense Ministry announced May 5 that French Jaguar fighter-bombers had helped Mauritanian forces attack a column of guerrillas belonging to the Polisario Front. He said that the attack had taken place

about sixty-five miles from Zouérate, a major Mauritanian mining center.

A May 5 Reuters dispatch from Paris reported that, according to officials there, dozens of Polisario guerrillas had been killed by cannon and rocket fire during the attack.

In December, French planes were involved in three similar attacks against Polisario columns operating against Mauritanian forces. Paris admitted two of the bombing raids, and napalm bombs were used in at least one of them.

Marroquin case gets wide press coverage

The case of Héctor Marroquín has begun to get widespread coverage in the United States in both English- and Spanish-language newspapers.

Marroquín was a student activist in Mexico. In 1974, he was falsely accused of murder and fled to the United States. As an undocumented worker in the United States, he became active in a Teamster organizing drive in Houston. He is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The U.S. government is seeking to deport Marroquín, who faces imprisonment and torture, and possible death, if forced to return to Mexico. He has asked for political asylum here.

For more information, contact the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

Below are excerpts from some recent articles about Marroquín.

From the June, 1978 'Progressive' by Barbara Koeppel.

Hector Marroquin, a twenty-four-year-old Mexican, is both reality and symbol. He is locked in a real-life battle with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service that could end in his deportation to Mexico and almost certain imprisonment, torture, and even death. As symbol, he represents the latest case that underscores American double standards in human rights.

Over the last few decades, the United States has flung its doors open to political refugees fleeing countries which turn communist or socialist—150,000 Vietnamese and Laotians, 650,000 Cubans, 800,000 Eastern Europeans after World War II, and 38,000 Hungarians were ushered in under the

"parole provision" that cuts through red tape with a stroke. On the other hand, the United States has taken few fleeing right-wing dictatorships, no matter how brutal, that are deemed "friendly" to our Government. For example, during the 1973 coup and its bloody aftermath, not one Chilean was accepted.

Hector Marroquin's plight is instructive. In the early 1970s, he became a student activist, a leader at Mexico's University of Nuevo Leon in the struggle for democratic rights on campus and university autonomy. Unlike his American counterparts who mounted similar protests in the late 1960s, he was neither suspended nor expelled nor granted a meeting with the dean. Instead, he was charged with murder, assault, and subversion in a clear case of police frame-up.

From the May 9, 1978, edition of 'Politicks.'

Union and labor leaders have called on the Immigration and Naturalization Service to grant asylum to Hector Marroquin.

Last year Marroquin, who is known in Houston's Latino community as an activist against racism and a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, participated in a successful organizing drive for Local 949 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at the Houston Coca-Cola bottling plant where he worked.

Union leaders supporting his appeal for political asylum include Patrick Gorman, chairman of the board of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

From the April 26, 1978, Louisville 'Courier-Journal.'

For most of us, an arrest, a guilty

plea and a jail sentence would be a personal disaster.

But it happened last fall to Héctor Marroquín and he thinks the experience has given him an opportunity to clear his name and possibly save his life.

"There are little misfortunes," Marroquín said yesterday of the three months he spent in jail at Eagle Pass, Texas, after pleading guilty to posing as an American citizen.

Then he spread his arms wide and added, "There are big fortunes, also," a reference to the national campaign now under way to win Marroquín a grant of political asylum in this country.

A spokesman for the Immigration Service described Marroquín's application as a "rather sticky case."

"He has become well known," said Verne Jervis, a public information officer at the Immigration Service. "He's making a career out of traveling around the country, speaking."

Jervis described the Marroquín case as "pretty sensitive," because if Washington decides to grant him asylum, it is the same as saying he has been persecuted by the Mexican government.

From the March 1978 'Black Scholar.'

Héctor Marroquín, 24 years old, was active in student protests for democratic rights and better conditions at the University of Nuevo Leon in Monterrey, Mexico. In January 1974 he was accused of the murder of a librarian at the university. After consulting an attorney, Héctor Marroquín decided that he could not receive a fair trial in a Mexican court, although all the charges against him were false. In fact, two of the four people accused with him have been killed by the police, and one has been detained and not seen or heard from since.

From the March 4-18, 1978, 'West-sider,' a bilingual publication in the Chicano community of San Antonio. The translation is by the 'Militant.'

A case of national importance is being carried out by Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican student, who is conducting a national campaign to call public attention on his request for political asylum in the United States.

Marroquín says he is asking for asylum under a United Nations document signed by the United States that says it is lawful for a country not to return a refugee whose life or rights would be in danger due to their political opinions.

"The right to political asylum is a right of any human being," Héctor said.

According to Marroquín, this country has always given more favorable consideration to more conservative refugees.

Marroquín is one of two Mexicans asking for political asylum in the United States. The other is José Medina. Both allege that their lives would be in danger if extradited.

Hear Marroquin

Héctor Marroquín is on an eighty-city speaking tour to bring his case to the American people. His schedule is:

May 16-19	Minneapolis/ St. Paul
May 20	Kansas City
May 22-24	Cincinnati
May 25, 30-31	Baltimore
May 26-28	Washington, D.C.

...Miss.

Continued from back page

Dale Cruber.

These are the two who were expelled from the police department after the protests against cop brutality. Wilkerson said the Klan is trying to get the two their jobs back. He boasted that soon the Klan would be enforcing the law. According to reports, ten Tupelo cops publicly joined the Klan at the rally.

The United League is trying to spread the protests. Civil rights activists are working to extend the boycott to Holly Springs, a Mississippi town fifty miles from here where the Black community is 60 percent of the population.

City officials are trying to ham-

string this effort. On May 9 they passed an ordinance banning rallies in public areas. The ordinance supposedly applies to both the League and Klan. But it is League members who have been arrested and harassed.

Yet the harassment has failed to slow the boycott. New picketers have quickly stepped in as replacements when others were arrested or taken for questioning. And on May 10 the League filed suit in federal court against the city restriction on their right to peacefully assemble.

Meanwhile, the Klan has announced plans to march through Tupelo on June 10, this time with reinforcements.

League officials believe the way to neutralize this new menace is to prepare bigger demonstrations and get out the truth about the struggle here to supporters around the country.

...Iran.

Continued from back page

Students in Qum, an important religious center, sparked the upsurge in Iran when they went on strike January 8. They were protesting an article in the government-controlled press that insulted the leader of the Shi'ite Muslim sect. The following day, police in Qum opened fire on a peaceful protest march, killing or wounding more than 100 people.

The massacre in Qum provoked immediate protests in a number of cities, including Tehran. It also led to a call by religious leaders for a day of mourning and a business shutdown to take place on the fortieth day after the killings.

Protests in response to this call occurred on February 18 and 19 in several large cities, including Isfahan, Shiraz, and Ahwaz.

On March 30, forty days after the Tabriz events, religious leaders again called for a day of mourning and a business shutdown. Protest actions occurred in fifty-five localities and lasted for more than a week.

The capitalist press has focused on reactionary demands raised by religious leaders. For example, a May 9 AP dispatch claimed that the protests were directed toward "an end to sex integration in universities and a restoration of the traditional requirement for women to wear veils in public."

But during the most recent series of protests, *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann noted that "it appears that large numbers of Iranians who were not primarily motivated by religion joined in to vent their hostility to the Shah and his Rastakhiz Party."

After twenty-five years of ferocious military dictatorship, the shah is finding it more and more difficult to keep the lid on social unrest.

As Parvin Najafi pointed out in the May 22 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, "the explosion of mass unrest has pushed the Muslim clergy to the forefront. This is the case first of all because there is no other opposition organization on a national scale in Iran."

Years of savage repression have destroyed the older opposition political organizations inside Iran and prevented new ones from arising, except on a local, underground basis. Moreover, mosques have been a traditional place for protest meetings because of the reluctance of the government to raid religious buildings.

As a result of these factors, the religious leaders have been able to exert considerable influence. Najafi noted: "This is not the first time that has happened in Iran. At the beginning of the radicalization that preceded the 1906 revolution, the Muslim clergy was also initially pushed to the forefront. But as the mass mobilization unfolded and began to threaten the interests of the clergy itself, the hierarchy turned its back on the movement, struck a deal with the monarchy, and began actively opposing the protests."

Whatever the views of some current leaders of the upsurge, the real significance of the mass protests in Tehran, Tabriz, Qum, and other cities is summed up in their main slogan: "Down with the shah!"

Social gains such as the liberation of Iranian women will be made as part of this fight against the regime, as part of the struggle for democratic rights, not through the dictatorship's demagogic "shah-people revolution."

As Hofmann commented in the April 2 *New York Times* article quoted above, "The latest events showed that many Iranians would like more revolution and less shah."



Ku Klux Klan and Tupelo cops rallied on evening of May 6.

In Review

'Zoot Suit'

Zoot Suit. Written and directed by Luis Valdez. Performed by El Teatro Campesino. At the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles.

Zoot Suit portrays the tensions and rebellion in the Chicano community during World War II. The setting for the play is East Los Angeles, although the rebellious mood it depicts could be found in barrios across the country.

The zoot suit, with its baggy trousers and knee-length jacket, started as a youthful "cool" style—much as the bell bottoms of the sixties did.

For the Chicano youth, it came to symbolize not only a break with the Anglo establishment ("trying

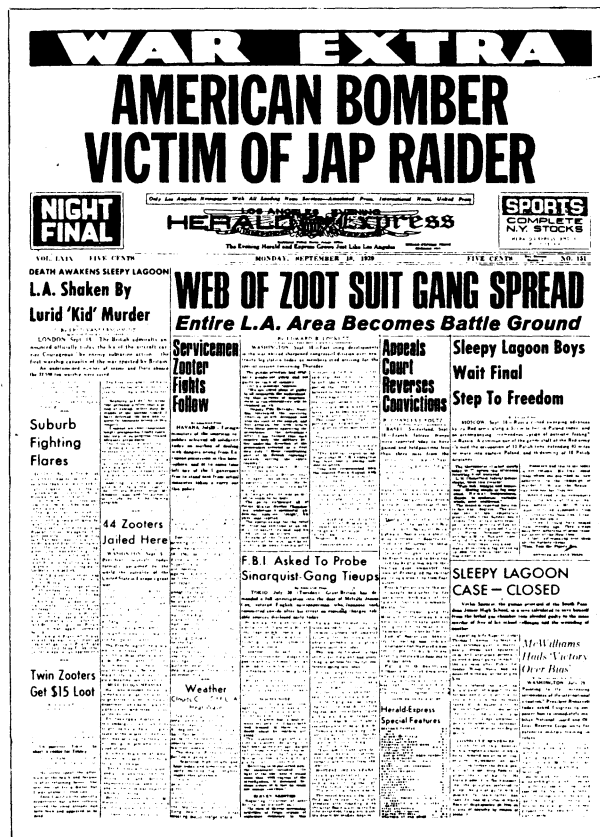
Theater

to out-Anglo the Anglo"), but also with the more traditional and integrationist segments of their own community.

The *pachucos*, as the zoot suiters were called, developed their own mode of dress and their own language. They used words like "*bato/bata*" (guy/girl), "*orale*" (come on!), "*simón*" (yes/right on), "*ese/esa*" ("hey there"), and "*Gabacho*" (Anglo).

The play is based on events surrounding the 1942 Sleepy Lagoon murder case. After a young Chicano was found murdered, seventeen Chicanos were railroaded into San Quentin. They were only released from prison two years later after a successful defense campaign.

Los Angeles's "zoot suit riots"—repeated later in Detroit and Harlem—coincided with these events. Bands of roving Anglo GIs attacked zoot suiters, stripping and beating them. The police frequently



Composite front page used in 'Zoot Suit' set

looked on or arrested the young victims.

The press viciously depicted the zoot suiters as moral degenerates, "Mexican hoodlums," and "baby gangsters."

One of the principal characters in the play is Henry Reyna (Daniel Valdez), who plays the leader of the frame-up victims. Reyna is a young man caught in the contradictions and cross currents of the Chicano community:

His parents, seeking to blend in and "survive."

Robert J. Morales

'Coming Home'

Coming Home. Starring Jane Fonda, Jon Voight, and Bruce Dern. Screenplay by Waldo Salt and Robert Jones with Nancy Dowd. Directed by Hal Ashby. United Artists.

1968 was one hell of a year.

Antiwar protests were shaking the country.

The campuses were in revolt.

The student upsurge and workers' general strike in France, but for the betrayals of the reformist Communist

Film

and Socialist parties, threatened to overturn capitalism in an imperialist country.

Antibureaucratic mass actions in Czechoslovakia demanded "socialism with a human face." The Kremlin sent in tanks to crush this inspiring chapter in the fight for democracy.

Government troops brutally murdered hundreds of student protesters in Mexico City during the Olympics.

Martin Luther King was assassinated. And in hundreds of cities Black people rebelled in rage.

On TVs from coast to coast, Mayor Daley's club-swinging cops were seen attacking antiwar protesters at the Democratic Party national convention.

That year there was hardly a big city in the country where the president of the United States could go without hearing the chant: "Hey, hey, LBJ! How many kids did you kill today?"

The drama that unfolded in that year of rebellion, protests, and chal-

lenge touched everyone in some way or another.

Traditional values and outlooks were shaken. What was once sacred became suspect—from flag-waving patriotism to conservative morality.

Despite the impact of these events, artistic accounts of the 1960s are only beginning to trickle out. Most of these efforts are studded with mournful nostalgia. Or they are self-serving memoirs on the death of rebellion—as though the end of the decade could write an obituary for the international political, social, and cultural revolt of the 1960s.

There are obvious reasons why literature and films about the sixties have been so slow in emerging. The business of "creating" culture is a big one. And it is carefully managed by the corporations who dominate the publishing and movie industries.

These corporations are torn between the obvious profits to be made from accounts of the sixties—and the political price they might pay for showing even a part of the truth about Washington's dirty war in Vietnam and the twin parties of big business that managed it, or how the American people fought to stop that atrocity.

Coming Home offers a passionate, bittersweet, and authentic change from the many unsatisfactory portrayals of the sixties.

Three gifted actors give us the best performance of their lives in this story of how people are affected by big events—over which they have no control and uncertain understanding.

During the film Jane Fonda becomes a new person. From a subservient wife who passively shares the values of her gung-ho marine husband (Bruce Dern), she evolves into an independent, thinking, political human being.

Voight is a paraplegic Vietnam veteran who hates the war and what it does. His pain, outrage, love for life, and compassion for his buddies is played so accurately—in appearance,



Jon Voight and Jane Fonda in 'Coming Home'

style and language—that he drives home with immense power the memory of those Vietnam veterans who spoke out against the war.

Bruce Dern is the marine warrior whose goal in life is to be "a fucking hero." But the traditional meaning of heroism is made obsolete by the war in which he fights. Dern doesn't portray simply a one-dimensional, prowar creep. His character is torn by tortured moments—of humanity, of an inability to understand Vietnam.

Camera work in *Coming Home* is by Haskell Wexler, whose minor film classic *Medium Cool* fictionally recounted the cop melee at the Chicago Democratic Party convention. Wexler records powerfully the suffering of the war-crippled veterans who are so important in the lives of Fonda and

Voight—both on and off the screen.

Coming Home is an antiwar film. More accurately, it's a film about what the antiwar movement did. Aside from two memorable individual actions by Voight, however, the film shows only one small picket line.

It's the characters in *Coming Home* who make us see the movement and the war that fueled its passion. They show us how they were changed. They show us their times.

Despite, or maybe because of, the long delay between the fading of the war's intensity and the appearance of a film like this about it—*Coming Home* makes a strong emotional impression.

Coming Home kindles—or rekindles—anger. Because it portrays the wound that will not heal.

—Jon Hillson



CP's example for women

The May 4 issue of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party, carries an article with the headline, "A worker in Congress sets example for others."

It hails this "worker in Congress," a member of Local 195 of the painters union, who "has not only experienced unemployment, but has walked picket lines, worked in dangerous conditions, and wondered how to feed and educate his children. . . ."

The *Daily World* quotes this "worker in Congress" as saying, "A lot of what happens around here requires good common sense. And I happen to know that workers have good common sense."

Who is this "worker"? Edward Beard from Rhode Island.

A Democrat.

What the *Daily World* fails to mention is that Beard is also the woman-hater in Congress who tacked an anti-abortion amendment to H.R. 6075, the bill that would insure medical coverage and sick-leave for pregnant workers.

It is not surprising that the Stalinists neglect to mention Beard's antiwoman position. The Communist Party has done next to nothing to build the fight for abortion rights and until recently opposed the Equal Rights Amendment.

The *Daily World* also conveniently overlooks Beard's votes for multi-million-dollar weapons programs, for Rep. Larry McDonald's bill to deny legal aid services to gays and lesbians, and for a bill to relax and delay air pollution standards.

This "worker in Congress sets example for others"? Absolutely not!

Women, Blacks, and all working people urgently need representatives of our interests in Congress. But our interests have nothing to do with the antiwoman, antilabor politics of "workers" like Edward Beard.

Beard's program is that of the Democratic Party, which serves the interests of the capitalists who own it. Yet the Stalinists openly back this Democrat, just as they support Black Democrats, liberal women Democrats, and a good many other "lesser evil" capitalist politicians.

The deceitful claim that these tools of the Democratic Party "represent" workers, Blacks, and women is nowadays the CP's main cover for its support to capitalist politics. That's why the Stalinists falsify Beard's political program.

The *Daily World* quotes Beard as saying, "I was elected to Congress as a Democrat, but I'm a worker first." In the same way, other Democrats and

Republicans claim, "but I'm a woman first," "but I'm a Black first."

You can't be a "worker first" and run on the Democrats' and Republicans' program of cutbacks. Or a "woman first" and build the parties that are stalling passage of the ERA and attacking abortion rights. Or a "Black first" and help the big-business, racist parties.

It always comes to the bottom line, where Democrats and Republicans must work for their party rather than the interests of those they ought to represent "first."

We do need workers in Congress—we need a Congress run by labor. But when working people put our own representatives there it will be without debts and strings to the Democratic and Republican parties.

It will be on the program of an independent labor party. A program that represents the needs of working people. A program that champions the rights of women, the needs of Blacks. A program that organizes the oppressed to fight for their own interests.

That will be an example to inspire others. And that's what the Stalinists are dead set against.

Union Talk

Auto worker innocent, GM guilty

This week's column is by Tom Headley, who works at the Detroit Chevy Forge plant and is a member of United Auto Workers Local 262.

DETROIT—A union brother of mine, Robert "Smitty" Smith, was just declared innocent—by reason of temporary insanity—of shooting a foreman and a labor relations specialist in our plant.

On April 21 a Detroit jury decided that Smith, a crane operator with ten years seniority, was provoked into the October 12 shootings by intolerable working conditions and company harassment.

He will now be referred to the Center for Forensic Psychiatry in Ann Arbor, Michigan, to determine whether he will have to undergo psychiatric treatment.

Smith's defense attorneys used the same strategy that succeeded in clearing James Johnson, another Detroit auto worker, of similar charges in 1970. They turned the tables on General Motors and put the company's policies on trial.

Chevy Forge is one of GM's most profitable plants. And from firsthand experience, it's easy to tell why.

Profits are jacked up by imposing speedup and

overtime on the work force, as defense attorneys documented. A five-day workweek is the exception; six- and seven-day weeks are the rule.

GM was forced to admit in court that the accident rate at Forge is roughly five times higher than the average auto plant.

The shootings occurred in my plant, Plant No. 1. It is generally agreed to have the worst working conditions in the four-plant complex.

The deafening noise forge workers are subjected to has been shown to cause loss of hearing, nerve disorders, vascular problems, heart disease, irritability, and other disorders.

At Chevy Forge this unbearable noise is combined with heavy soot, smoke, dust, and poor ventilation. Serious lung disorders are the result.

At the time of the shootings, Smith had just returned to work from a medical leave. His request to work no more than eight hours a day—since he was still taking medication—was turned down. He was forced to work overtime. On top of this, his time card was inexplicably moved to another plant in the complex.

When payday came, Smith was docked wages for the time he worked without punching the clock. In

protest, Smith refused to punch in or out at all. Management stepped up its harassment, suspending Smith for two weeks.

It was at this point—after being arbitrarily deprived of his wages and his job—that Smith shot his foreman, James Gaston. Mary Gaye, a labor relations specialist and the daughter of former GM Chairman Richard Gerstenberg, was hit by stray bullets.

In his testimony Gaston called Forge a "piece-work shop" where "we don't really have any problems." Both Gaston and Gaye admitted that they had no idea what overtime provisions for Forge workers are contained in the UAW's contract with GM.

The leadership of our union, UAW Local 262, maintained a "no comment" stance before, during, and after the trial. Gaston and Gaye's testimony—their ignorance of and contempt for the union's overtime rules—shows how lax the UAW leadership has been in defending our rights.

Some union members, however, did come to Smith's defense. They organized a fund-raising benefit for his family at the local's hall in March and collected more than \$500.

Their Government

The case of Imani

Imani (Johnny Harris) is fighting for his life. He faces death in Alabama's electric chair. The zeal with which Alabama authorities are pressing for his execution tells a lot about American "justice" and the racist use of the death penalty.

Imani's story begins in 1970, when he was arrested and charged with robbery and rape. Imani insisted on his innocence, but his court-appointed lawyers pressured him into a guilty plea on one count so as to avoid the death penalty. The judge in the case sentenced him to five consecutive life sentences at the notorious Atmore prison. (In 1976, a federal judge ordered the prison closed, declaring that incarceration there was "cruel and unusual punishment.")

Imani joined a prisoner activist group called Inmates for Action, which sought better conditions. IFA's pleas met a brutal response. On January 17, 1974, guards viciously beat an IFA leader.

The inmates responded by holding two guards

hostages against a demand for outside observers to be let into the prison. The warden responded by turning the other guards loose against the inmates.

In the assault, one guard died. An inmate leader died under mysterious circumstances on the way to a hospital. Five prisoners—including Imani—were charged with murdering the guard.

The state did not try to prove Imani actually killed the guard. Rather, an all-white jury convicted him of aiding and abetting a rebellion in which the guard died, the legal equivalent of murder in Alabama. Under an 1864 law, anyone convicted of murder while serving a life sentence can get the death penalty.

In February 1975, Imani was sentenced to death.

A few days before his trial for his part in the Atmore rebellion was to begin, IFA leader Frank X. Moore was found hanged in his cell. Another IFA leader died in prison two months after the

rebellion—while naked and handcuffed.

While the state authorities are trying to rush Imani to the electric chair, his attorneys and public pressure have been able to slow their drive. Imani was first scheduled to die March 10, but won a sixty-day stay. The Alabama Supreme Court has not yet set a new date for the execution, although the state has asked it to do so.

Meanwhile, Imani's attorney, Diana Hicks, will file a challenge to the convictions that put him on death row.

Hicks told the *Militant* the convictions would be challenged on several grounds, including the systematic exclusion of Blacks and women from juries, and prejudicial pretrial publicity.

The death penalty, she explained, is "historically used exclusively against poor people, and much more against Black people than anyone else. It's a politically imposed sentence."

—Arnold Weissberg

Quote unquote

"I used to think that someone who made \$100,000 a year would be on easy street, with a dream house on top of the hill. Now we have a house and a new Chevy, but \$100,000 doesn't seem like so much anymore."

—A New Jersey eye doctor quoted in the *New York Times*

SETBACK FOR ABORTION FOES

Right-wing anti-abortion forces in California suffered a defeat when they failed to qualify an initiative for the November ballot. The measure would have prohibited the use of state Medi-Cal funds for abortions.

Sponsors of the initiative said they were able to collect only 200,000 of the needed 312,000 signatures.

The San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women held a picket line at city hall May 10 to oppose the initiative. About 100 people participated.

ANTINUKE PROTESTERS STILL IN JAIL

Ten people remain in the Aiken, South Carolina, county prison for taking part in peaceful protests at the nearby Barnwell nuclear fuel reprocessing plant May 1. The ten are part of an original group of twenty-four who refused to put up bail to gain release.

To dramatize their opposition to nuclear power, five of

the remaining ten have gone on a hunger strike.

FROM THE PEOPLE WHO BROUGHT YOU THE N-BOMB

President Carter has given the go ahead to research on the "reduced residual radiation (RRR) bomb—the perfect companion to the neutron bomb.

The neutron (or "enhanced radiation") bomb gives off a big dose of lethal radioactivity but does little damage to buildings and other structures.

The new RRR bomb, on the other hand, aims at major physical destruction—but will leave only minimal radiation behind.

The purpose of the RRR bomb, said an Energy Department spokesperson, is to "allow prompt access by our ground troops to an area where this device is detonated."

MARCH HITS ARREST OF IRANIAN STUDENTS

About seventy-five Iranian students and their supporters took part in a march at the University of Kentucky in Lexington May 3 to protest the arrest of twelve people April 12 at a speech by CIA Director Stansfield Turner. The May 3 march was sponsored by the Organization of Iranian Moslem Students (OIMS). Members of the Black Student Union, *In These Times* Associates, and Young Socialist Alliance participated.

The April 12 arrests occurred when—before Turner had even arrived—protesters holding signs at their seats refused to put them down. The twelve who were arrested were handcuffed, and one was roughed up by police.

The need to support the arrested Iranians was underlined when the university called in agents of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. If the Iranians are deported, they could face the shah's bloody prisons.

'TO RESTORE FAIRNESS'

The head of the Federal Trade Commission has charged that changes in drug laws proposed by Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano "would significantly weaken criminal enforcement efforts" against executives whose drug companies sold mislabeled or impure products.

Califano told the Senate in March that his proposals, which would absolve executives of responsibility for such crimes, would "restore an important element of fairness in the Food and Drug Administration's relationship to regulated industry."

RACIST THUGS SENTENCED

Two years ago a gang of racist thugs rampaged through a New York City park, randomly attacking Blacks and Hispanics and leaving one person dead and fourteen injured. On May 12 five leaders of the attack were sentenced to up to twelve years in prison.

Judge Robert Haft rejected their claim that they had provided a public service by clearing the park of drug pushers.

'CARRY THEM OUT'

New York City Mayor Edward Koch announced May 2 that the city would begin to evict 12,000 tenants who are behind in their rent from city-owned buildings.

City officials said that tenants owe a total of \$14 million. Koch referred to the situation as "an outrage."

Many of the tenants are on welfare. Virtually all city-owned buildings have been abandoned by their former owners, and many lack heat and hot water.

The mayor did not express an opinion about, nor suggest a way of collecting the more than \$500 million in back real estate

Record border arrests

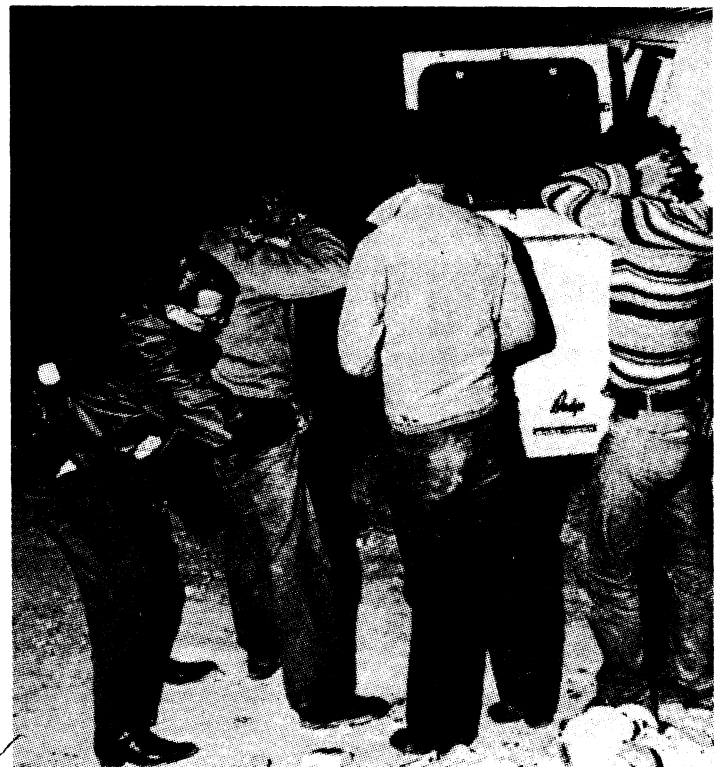
While Carter's antialien legislation remains pending in Congress, his border cops are busier than ever.

A recent *Los Angeles Times* report said that record numbers of people are being apprehended at the U.S.-Mexican border. The figure for the month of April was 93,773, a 35 percent

increase over April 1977.

Border Patrol officials attributed the gain to "good weather" and an increased number of cops.

Nearly half those put back across the border were apprehended in the San Diego area, a major entry point from Mexico.



taxes owed by New York City landlords.

Asked if his new plan would mean throwing "eighty-two-year-old ladies out of their apartments," Koch replied, "You don't throw them out, you carry them out—and you place them in nice buildings."

He didn't say where the "nice buildings" would be found.

COURT SAYS HUSBAND IS 'HEAD AND MASTER'

The Louisiana Supreme Court has refused to rule unconstitutional a state law declaring a husband to be "head and master" in the family. The law permits a husband to control all property without consulting his wife.

A lower court had rejected

the law because it assumed that husbands were smarter than wives and fostered "arbitrary sex discrimination."

JUNE 11 PICKET FOR GAY RIGHTS IN ATLANTA

On June 11 the Atlanta Coalition for Human Rights will sponsor a peaceful picket line from 7 to 9 p.m. at the World Congress Center during Anita Bryant's appearance there. The demonstrators will gather at Central City Park at 7 p.m. and march to the center to show the broad support in Atlanta for full civil rights for lesbians and gay men.

The Human Rights Coalition was called together by representatives of the Atlanta Gay

More women at work

Women now make up 41 percent of the work force, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

The bureau said that 48 percent of women held jobs last year, up from 38 percent in 1960. The number of married women working increased from 40.5 to 46.4 percent between 1970 and 1977.



What's Going On

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN: A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. Speakers: Laughlin McDonald, American Civil Liberties Union; representative of the Hector Marroquin Defense Committee; others. Fri., May 26, 8 p.m. Georgia State Univ. Room to be announced. Donation: \$1. Aup: United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS

THE FIGHT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN TUPELO, MISSISSIPPI—AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Joe Siegel, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 26, 8 p.m. 3319 S. Carrollton. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

TERRORISM: IS IT THE ROAD TO SOCIAL CHANGE? Speaker: Don Gurewitz, organizer, Boston Socialist Workers

Party. Fri., May 26, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. 4th fl. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

MINNESOTA

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEK-END. Three classes by Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party, on a socialist strategy for the labor movement. Fri., June 2, 8 p.m.; Sat., June 3, 1:30 & 3:30 p.m. 373 University Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$1 per class or \$2.50 for entire weekend. Aup: Socialist Workers Party & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 222-8929 or 825-6663.

NEW YORK

NYC: CHELSEA

EUROCOMMUNISM: AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. Speakers: Gerry Foley, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*; Irv Weissman, longtime trade unionist. Fri., May 26, 8 p.m. 200 1/2 W. 24th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NEW YORK CITY

MASS FOR JIMMY CONLON. Irish activist who died April 26 after serving a long prison term in U.S. for his activities in support of Irish freedom. Sun., May 28, 1 p.m. Carmelite Church, 329 E. 28th St. Aup: National Graves Association.

OHIO

CINCINNATI

MY FIGHT FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM IN THE UNITED STATES. Speaker: Hector Marroquin, political refugee from Mexico. Tues., May 23, 7 p.m. Tammann University Center, Room 401. University of Cincinnati. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

CLEVELAND

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALIST UNITY. Speaker: Bruce Levine, member, Socialist Workers Party Political Committee, former leader of Revolutionary Marxist Committee. Sun., May 28, 7 p.m. 13002 Kinsman. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

TOLEDO

SHORTER WORKWEEK—A REPORT FROM THE FIRST ALL UNIONS' CON-

ERENCE TO SHORTEN THE WORK WEEK. Speakers: John Gaige, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant-governor of Ohio, member of UAW Local 12; Tim McCormick, longtime union activist, former CIO organizer. Sun., May 28, 7 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

PENNSYLVANIA

PITTSBURGH

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALIST UNITY. Speaker: Bruce Levine, member, Socialist Workers Party Political Committee, former leader of Revolutionary Marxist Committee. Fri., May 26, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. East Liberty. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN! Speakers: Imani Kazana, National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee; Frank Shaffer-Corona, D.C. School Board; Phil Wheaton, Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action; others. Fri., May 26, 7:30 p.m. All Soul's Church, 16th & Harvard streets NW. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: D.C.-

area Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Correction

Two errors appeared in the story on the April 24 Boston meeting sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom that appeared in the May 12 *Militant*.

The story incorrectly reported that members of the Revolutionary Student Brigade had earlier attacked another CAIFI meeting in Portland. In fact, the Portland meeting was attacked by members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and a Maoist Faction in the Iranian student movement.

The article also reported that at the Boston meeting, a group of members of the Iranian Student Association-U.S. was excluded from the meeting after threatening to disrupt it. In fact, what happened was that a delegation from the ISA-U.S. was permitted to come into the meeting to explain their point of view. When they said they would not disrupt the meeting, the audience voted to let the entire group in.

Rights Alliance, the American Civil Liberties Union, Atlanta National Organization for Women, the Tuesday Democratic Association, and two Unitarian-Universalist ministers.

AND LOOK WHAT YOU GET!

More cars were recalled by automakers last year than were sold. And this year promises to be another record-breaker.

The Environmental Protection Agency has ordered the recall of every American Motors car manufactured in 1976 because of defective emission-control systems.

And for the fourth time in six months, Chrysler has called back more than 1 million Plymouth Volares and Dodge Aspens. Eighty percent of the owners of these models—once the apples of Chrysler's eye—are stuck with highly dangerous lemons. The latest difficulty: problems in the suspension system that can cause the driver to lose all control.

But safety hazards and pollution are profit-making, and that's what counts in the corporate world. Recalls "are just part of doing business today," as AMC put it.

ALMOST TO THE NUCLEAR BRINK

Daniel Ellsberg, the former Pentagon analyst who released the Pentagon Papers, said in an interview May 1 that "every president has considered using nuclear bombs."

He said both Truman and

Eisenhower considered dropping nuclear weapons in Korea, and that Eisenhower, Johnson, and Nixon considered using them in Vietnam.

EVERY SILVER LINING HAS A CLOUD

According to government figures, unemployment in April dropped to 6 percent.

This news was greeted with some alarm by Brookings Institution economist George Perry (Brookings is a capitalist think-tank).

Was Perry upset by the fact that 6 million people remain jobless, by the government's own admission? No.

He told the *New York Times* he found it "disturbing" that wages were rising rapidly as a result of the lower level of unemployment.

"The strong employment situation" is pushing wages up, Perry said.

However, Perry and his employers can rest easy. Real wages for workers employed in manufacturing have dropped more than 7 percent since 1974.

BOMB VICTIMS WIN DAMAGES

On April 28, 1973, thirteen carloads of bombs being sent to Vietnam exploded in a rail yard near Sacramento. No one was killed, but several were injured and damage was extensive. Now, five years later, a federal judge has finally ruled that the railroad companies and the government must pay \$14.6 million in damages to 800 people who sued.

Toward a fairer count

Under mounting pressure from oppressed Black and Hispanic national minorities, the U.S. Census Bureau will include questions for the 1980 census aimed at more accurately determining their numbers. National minorities have been undercounted in past decades.

The 1980 form will collect more complete population figures on fourteen groups. For example, it will for the first time ask people if they are Mexican-American, Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Spanish.

The bureau says it will try harder for an accurate count of Blacks. Official estimates show that one Black in thirteen was overlooked in the 1970 census.

An accurate count of Blacks and Latinos is vital for at least two reasons: first, to determine their percentage in the population as a guide to formulating affirmative-action hiring and school admissions quotas; and second, to see that areas heavily populated by minorities get their proportional amount of federal aid and political representation.

This does not sit well with some "population experts," according to the *New York Times*. One such "expert" moaned, "It's pretty appalling. At the rate we're going, by 1990 everybody in the United States will be asked if they are Apache, Iroquois, or Passamaquoddy Indians."

LIBROS EN ESPANOL

¿Qué Hacer? by V.I. Lenin	\$1.50
Democracia y Revolución by George Novack	3.50
Introducción a la Lógica Dialéctica by George Novack	1.75
Reforma o Revolución by Rosa Luxemburg	1.50
En Defensa del Marxismo by Leon Trotsky	2.75
Sobre la Liberación Nacional by Leon Trotsky	2.60
La Dialéctica Actual de la Revolución Mundial, edited by Will Reissner	3.45

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

The Great Society

Harry Ring



No funeral gloom—Service Corporation International, the biggie in the funeral industry, feels the present decline in the mortality rate "will be of short duration and that the long-term trend will be toward a higher mortality rate." And the trade magazine, *American Funeral Director*, adds that the apparent bottoming out of the death-rate decline is reason for "cautious optimism."

Making it perfectly clear—"I did not see it then, but in the end it would make less difference that I was not as involved as Dean had alleged than that I was not as uninvolved as I had claimed."—R.N.'s *Memoirs*.

Like freeing the slaves—The National Conference of Catholic Bishops refused to endorse the ERA. Archbishop John Roach said they feared the ERA would allow women to "unilaterally consider abortion without the man being consulted . . . (and) might open the way to less cohesion between men and women."

It's the principle—Faced with the prospect that a domestic ban might be extended abroad, manufacturers quickly exported several million dollars worth of children's sleepwear treated with Tris, which causes cancer. Perhaps the haste was due to the moral issue involved: If we start putting children's health before prof-

its, what is the future of the free-enterprise system?

That'll do it—In a major new move against inflation, the Carter administration announced it intends to urge doctors, dentists, and lawyers not to increase their fees unduly.

DOA?—With all due respect to rank-and-file postal workers, it struck us as gallows humor when Los Angeles officials announced a joint plan with the Post Office to aid elderly people who may be stricken. Mail deliverers will notice if senior citizens don't pick up their mail and look in on them. Can you imagine having a heart attack and waiting for the mail person to arrive?

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL



'Don't worry, we'll have you on your feet and out of here in no time. Your hospital insurance doesn't cover much.'

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Sun Day

Suddenly, everyone says they're for solar power. President Carter stood in a driving Colorado rain May 3, Sun Day, to tell us he's increasing federal expenditures for current solar projects by \$100 million.

(He forgot to mention he's trying to cut spending on future projects by \$10 million. He also didn't mention that research on nuclear power gets more than \$1.5 billion.)

Mobil Oil tells us in an ad that it wants to see solar power developed. Of course, Mobil cautions, we shouldn't expect too much too soon. Not while they're still raking it in from oil, anyway.

Solar power is all the things nuclear power is supposed to be and isn't—abundant (the sun will be there practically forever) and nonpolluting.

One of the possible benefits of solar energy is that solar users needn't be dependent on a giant central-station electricity generator. It will be possible in the not too distant future to put silicone crystals on your roof that will convert sunlight to electricity.

Equally fascinating are the possibilities of heating and cooling houses with solar energy. This could mean less dependence on utility companies.

None of these ideas are weird or exotic or unproven. They all work.

So why doesn't every house and apartment building have a solar collector on the roof?

A closer look at some Sun Day activities may give us a clue.

At one New York City exhibit, advertisers included Grumman Aircraft, a major defense contractor, pushing its Sun Stream roof collectors. "Invest in the sun—start collecting today," Grumman urged.

Also present was the stock brokerage firm of Merrill Lynch, which offered counseling for investors interested in the "emerging solar energy industry."

The simple truth is that solar energy is used so little in the United States because

corporations are just now figuring out how to make money from it.

Working people don't control energy. For the present, decisions on the use of different energy sources are being made at the highest levels of government and industry. And those decisions are based on one thing—how to extract the greatest possible profit.

Nuclear energy is getting politically expensive. There is a rapidly growing movement against it, a movement that has taken to mass demonstrations.

So the energy monopolies, trying to shield themselves from the attack, have begun to make a few token gestures in the direction of solar energy.

But they are not concerned with making solar energy cheap and available to everyone. The \$500 million in research funds from the federal government will provide customers for the fledgling solar industry, which will have the same aim as every other industry: profit.

Instead of looking for ways to make cheap solar energy available to everyone, the energy companies are researching high technology, expensive ways of generating electricity from sunlight. Although this is relatively inefficient, high-technology products are high-profit products.

Most of the people who took part in Sun Day activities look at solar energy as an alternative to nuclear power. It may be. But in the meantime, opponents of nuclear power aren't obliged to accept the government/industry claim of an "energy crisis" and endorse any of their "alternative" ways of ripping us off.

Of course, the world will run out of oil some day—hundreds of years from now. And the sun may well be our best energy source.

But it will be up to working people to develop the real solution to our energy needs. And to do that we'll have to take the entire energy industry out of the hands of the profiteers and run it in the interests of humanity.

Little Steel strike

American war dead—the victims of this country's imperialist ventures—are supposed to be remembered on Memorial Day. Labor has its own martyrs to remember on this day, as well.

Forty-one years have passed since ten steelworkers were murdered by cops in the infamous Memorial Day Massacre at Republic Steel in Chicago. They were victims of America's longest war—the class war between labor and capital.

In early 1937, with the spectacle of 140,000 auto workers occupying the plants of General Motors, the giant U.S. Steel Corporation decided to come to terms with the CIO's Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC). But its chief competitors, allied in the Little Steel bloc—Bethlehem, Republic, Youngstown, Inland, and Weirton—were determined to hold out against the union.

Philip Murray and the other top leaders of SWOC and the CIO feared any further spread of the radical sit-down strikes even more than they feared the bosses.

But the steelworkers' ranks were ready to join the battle for their rights. They responded enthusiastically to the union's strike call; initial steel walkouts were 100 percent effective.

The SWOC strikers braved some of the most brutal strikebreaking the labor movement has ever confronted—eighteen strikers were killed, scores were wounded, hundreds were arrested—200 in Youngstown, Ohio, alone. Their union was hit by a steady barrage of court injunctions outlawing picketing and other forms of strike activity.

In *Labor's Giant Step* Art Preis, a participant in the big labor struggles of the 1930s and a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, explained:

"[The SWOC leaders] did nothing to prepare the workers for effective defense against the strikebreaking forces of the local and state governments."

The crippling weakness of the strike was the reliance of the union officials on the Democratic Party. Preis wrote, "These union leaders told the workers that all the 'New Deal' public officials were 'labor's friends' and that the strikers should 'welcome' the National Guards, state troopers and police sent in to keep 'law and order'. . . . Nothing proved more demoralizing and disorienting to the strikers than to be greeted with hot lead and cold steel by the armed strikebreaking forces who the union leaders said were being used to 'protect' the strikers and 'keep the mills closed.'"

The price paid for these policies was the May 30 massacre. Fifteen hundred strikers and their families had decided to observe the holiday by staging a protest parade past the struck Republic plant in South Chicago.

Union leaders—including the Roosevelt loyalists of the Stalinist Communist



Party—assured the marchers that Chicago's Democratic Mayor Kelly had guaranteed their right to peaceful picketing.

But when the festive parade flowed into an empty field across from Republic, the workers confronted a solid wall of 200 cops.

One march contingent stepped forward to negotiate. But without warning the cops opened fire with tear-gas shells. Men, women, and children retreated in panic.

Then the shooting began—hundreds of bullets were sprayed into the panic-stricken crowd. Within moments ten were dead—all shot in the back. Forty more suffered gunshot wounds.

When CIO leaders appealed to Roosevelt for help in saving the Little Steel strike, he rebuffed them: "A plague on both your houses!"

This treachery prompted CIO President John L. Lewis to break ranks with other CIO leaders and publicly lay the blame for the Memorial Day killings where it belonged—at the White House door.

In a coast-to-coast radio broadcast, Lewis threatened Roosevelt with revenge at the polls.

"It ill behooves one who has supped at labor's table and who has been sheltered in labor's house to curse with equal fervor and fine impartiality both labor and its adversaries when they become locked in deadly embrace," Lewis declared. "Labor next year . . . must determine who are its friends in the arena of politics and elsewhere. . . ."

Lewis never delivered on his promise to break politically with labor's enemies. But today—with the employers driving to roll back the gains workers have won over the decades—this remains the crucial task if new defeats similar to the Little Steel strike are to be averted.

—Shelley Kramer

From restaurant worker

I enjoy reading articles that support the working class and its unions. The job market and economic conditions being as they are, I'm working as a waitress with a B.A. degree in psychology.

I'm interested in any material or information you can give me on organizing the restaurant workers or attempts past or present. Our need is great. For example, we have no job descriptions for specific duties, wages by tips at the mercy of the customer results in a worker-as-slave relationship.

Virginia Chismar
Anderson, Indiana

[In reply—We are sending you the address of the restaurant employees international union. We also suggest you contact the Socialist Workers Party in Indianapolis, which has classes, forums, and discussions on the labor movement, as well as other political movements: women's liberation, Black liberation, international struggles, etc. They also have a bookstore carrying a wide variety of books and pamphlets on these subjects. The name and address are listed on page 31.]

Coal miner subscribes

I am a coal miner and recently came across your paper. I would like to be accepted as a new subscriber.

In addition, there were several pieces of literature advertised in your paper that I would like to have sent, on China and Marxism vs. Maoism.

If you can think of some pamphlets that might be useful for an activist in the United Mine Workers . . . please throw them in the package too!
F.S.

Beckley, West Virginia

[In reply—We are sending you a free catalog of books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press. Any readers interested in getting a copy of the catalog should write to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

[Of particular interest to miners and other trade unionists is Pathfinder's recently published pamphlet *The 110-Day Coal Strike. Its Meaning For All Working People*, which sells for seventy-five cents.]

Protest Carter policies

About 150 protesters circled outside an appearance by Jimmy Carter at a Democratic Party fund raiser in Denver May 3.

Masked opponents of the shah of Iran, pro-Palestinians, supporters of the Wilmington Ten, and opponents of Carter's deportations plan took part in the picket.

Several striking farmers also stood nearby with their own picket signs. People on the picket line chanted, "One, two, three, farmers need parity," "Long live Palestine," and "Stop the deportations now."

A small group of Zionists tried unsuccessfully to provoke the demonstrators.

Among the pickets was Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, First C.D., Sue Adley, carrying a sign demanding freedom for the Wilmington Ten. Her Democratic opponent, Pat Schroeder, was inside applauding Carter and Floyd Haskell, incumbent senator from Colorado.

A reader
Denver, Colorado

'Militant' gets around

Several recent *Militant* articles have reached a wide audience in the Black communities of South Carolina and the Chicano community of Houston.

The February 25 issue of the *Chronicle*, a Black weekly published in Charleston, reprinted "Malcolm X: the road to Black political power," which appeared in the February 24 *Militant*. This article consisted of major excerpts from Malcolm X's famous speech, "The Ballot or the Bullet."

The *Chronicle* also reprinted an article by *Militant* staff writer Omari Musa in its April 28 issue. Musa's article, "Blacks recall three decades in the mines," was based on an interview with a Black retired mine worker and his wife, who recounted their experiences in the West Virginia coalfields.

La Prensa, a newly founded Houston community paper, reprinted Arnold Weissberg's interview with Mexican activist Rosario Piedra: "We fight for justice in Mexico." This article originally appeared in the April 14 *Militant*.

In an introduction to the interview, *La Prensa* condemned the brutal and repressive response of the Mexican government to "all attempts to change the unequal social and economic conditions that keep masses of Mexicans in grinding poverty."

However, they continued, "one of the bright spots on the horizon in the fight against this repression is the growing movement for freedom for political prisoners. Rosario Ibarra de Piedra is a national leader of that fight."

Hope other readers will let the rest of us know when they see the *Militant* "getting around."

Priscilla Schenk
New York, New York

Job safety issue

Occupational injury and illness are far more common than is usually thought. More accidents occur at work than at home, in cars, or anywhere else, according to Fred Lonidier, who gave a video presentation at the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees hall in New York City.

Hundreds of thousands become ill each year due to exposure to occupational stress, chemicals, noise, and

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Militant Forums: a proud history

Every week the "What's Going On" section on page 28 of the *Militant* lists Militant Forums scheduled in many different localities. These forums provide a platform and a meeting place for all those fighting for social justice. The topic at any particular forum may be women's liberation, international affairs, a strike support meeting, a talk on school desegregation, or a discussion of socialist theory. Like the *Militant* itself, the Militant Forum is run in the interests of the working class and its struggles.

Malcolm X, who spoke several times at the Militant Forum, commented in January 1965: "It's the third time that I've had the opportunity to be a guest of the Militant Labor Forum. I always feel that it is an honor and every time that they open the door for me to do so, I will be right there."

(That speech, on "Prospects for Freedom," was later printed in the book *Malcolm X Speaks*, available from Pathfinder Press.)

The door was open to many other civil rights fighters—W.E.B. DuBois, Robert F. Williams, and John Hulett, leader of the Lowndes County, Alabama, Freedom Now Party, to mention a few.

At the very beginning of the civil rights movement, Militant Forums helped to publicize and raise money for the Montgomery bus boycott. Today, the Militant Forum is continuing this tradition by exposing the U.S. role in southern Africa, by giving a platform to participants in the struggle against campus complicity with apartheid, and through talks on the struggle against racism here in the United States.

With the rise of feminist organizations in the late 1960s, the Militant Forum also became an important meeting place for those interested in the struggle for women's equality. In contrast to the bitter denunciations of feminism by Maoist and Stalinist organizations, the Militant Forums welcomed women's rights activists who spoke in defense of the feminist movement.

Although the Militant Forum is associated with the Socialist Workers Party, it has always served as a platform of discussion among different currents in the radical movement. During the struggle against the war in Vietnam, for example, the Militant Forum often organized debates on which road the movement should take.

At one forum in 1959, Earl Browder, the former general secretary of the Communist Party, debated SWP leader Farrell Dobbs on prospects for Marxism in the United

States. Browder made quite a stir when he admitted that the SWP had "correctly described" the Communist Party "as a reformist party."

Defense of civil liberties is another area where the Militant Forum has a proud record. Victims of capitalist injustice have always been welcome at Militant Forums, no matter what their political views. From the fight to save the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the two most famous victims of the cold war witch-hunt, to the struggle for justice for the Wilmington Ten, the Militant Forum has held to the maxim that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Those attending Militant Forums are able to get first-hand accounts from participants in the social struggles that are the true history of our epoch. Forum bookstores carry a wide variety of literature on socialism and the struggles of the working class, and those seeking more information will frequently find notices of classes and discussion groups that they can attend.

Although SWP branches held occasional forums in earlier years, weekly forum series were first organized during the 1950s, in the midst of the cold war witch-hunt. Faced with growing suppression of socialist and radical ideas, the SWP fought to preserve a platform for democratic discussion.

An example was set by the Detroit branch of the SWP, which instituted a Friday Night Socialist Forum. Eugene V. Debs Hall became the place in Detroit to go for all those who wanted to hear speakers not heard elsewhere, and to discuss the issues facing the labor movement.

For many young socialists, these weekly forums became a school for speaking. Their seriousness and the importance of what they had to say made up for their inexperience in addressing an audience—an inexperience that was soon overcome.

Today, as can be seen by a glance at the "What's Going On" column, a new generation is continuing this tradition. And among the speakers are an increasing number of trade-union militants.

During the coal strike, when the embattled miners were struggling to maintain their health and pension plans, and to protect themselves against injury and death caused by the greed of the employers, Militant Forums contributed to that struggle.

Militants in the labor movement today are seeking much-needed answers on how best to fight back against the capitalist attack on their hard-won rights and standard of living. They will find no better place to go than to the Militant Forum.

—Paul Montauk

other agents in the workplace.

Other unions can schedule similar presentations by contacting Lonidier at the Visual Arts Department, University of California at San Diego, B-027, La Jolla, California 92093.

Kendall Green
New York, New York

St. Patrick's day

St. Patrick's Day is usually a day for Democratic Party politicians to parade through the streets in whatever green clothes they can dig out of the moth-balls, giving lip-service from a safe distance to the struggle of the Irish people for self-determination.

Of course, none of these politicians give a damn about Ireland—but they feel that it's wise to make some noise about the struggle there to pull in the Irish vote in the next election.

When it comes to really showing support for the Irish people, however, these politicians invariably line up with British imperialism.

Take House Speaker Tip O'Neill. May 10 some big shots threw a \$175-a-plate fund-raising affair. The fund is supposed to go toward furthering peace in Northern Ireland. O'Neill was guest of honor at the affair.

Of course, the quickest step to peace in Northern Ireland would be for the British troops to get out of the Catholic ghettos of Belfast and go back to their own country.

But O'Neill and the other figures in the Democratic Party aren't really too interested in that. He and several other prominent Irish-American politicians have been loud in their condemnation of "terrorism"—by which they mean any part of the Irish people's struggle. They've conveniently forgotten who the real terrorists in Ireland are—the British occupying forces.

A picket line of fifty people demonstrated outside the dinner. The protest was organized by the Human Rights for Ireland Committee, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the Irish National Caucus. A spokeswoman for the pickets, Mary McNichol, pointed out that if O'Neill were really concerned about violence in Ireland, he would have agreed to hold congressional hearings on British human rights violations in Ulster.

"I am against inhumanity anywhere in the world or I would not be here tonight," blustered O'Neill. But, he added, there "will be no congressional hearings on Northern Ireland." P.A.

New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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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.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, North Side: SWP, 1870 N. Halsted. Zip: 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811. Chicago, South Side: SWP, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 10 N. Cicero. Zip: 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles

St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

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WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Mississippi Blacks wage civil rights battle

By Gregory Nelson

TUPELO, Miss.—A major civil rights struggle is developing here.

On one side is the Black community, united in an effective boycott and protest movement against police brutality and the erosion of Black rights and living conditions.

On the other side are powerful white businessmen backed up by city officials and, recently, the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The capitalist media have portrayed the incidents here as violence between Black and white residents. But actually the roots go back to a year ago when cops beat a Black youth in jail.

The United League of Northern Mississippi, a civil rights group, began organizing protests against the beating. They began a boycott of white-owned businesses to hit the whole pattern of racist discrimination here.

Proclaiming itself the "all-American city," Tupelo has a population of 20,000, 28 percent of it Black. Black unemployment is about 35 percent.

Many of the Blacks who are employed work part-time, at low-paying jobs. Skilled Black workers were the first to be laid off when local manufacturing firms were hit by the recession. Few have been rehired.

Sharecropping is still common on Mississippi farms.

NEW ORLEANS

The fight for civil rights in Tupelo, Mississippi—an eyewitness account. Hear Joe Siegel, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Tupelo. Friday, May 26, 8 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 3319 South Carrollton.

Sponsored by Militant Forum. Donation: \$1. For more information call (504) 486-8048.



Tupelo Black community marched May 6 to protest cop brutality, Ku Klux Klan harassment, and attacks on Black rights and living standards.

In many places Blacks are forced to live in weathered wood-frame shacks on dirt roads with no sewers or running water.

The social programs granted as a result of the civil rights movement of the 1960s did not alleviate racism in Tupelo. As Alfred "Skip" Robinson, president of the United League, told the *Militant*:

"A lot of the programs that were created by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations were primarily used to pacify folks. These programs bought off a lot of Black leaders. None of these programs were designed to work. And if you are not determined yourself, mainly to struggle, you're not going to make it work."

Tupelo Blacks are determined. They have organized eight marches in Tupelo already.

On May 6, more than 350 Blacks marched down Main Street here.

Marchers were well aware of the city's history of racist violence. Two years ago, for example, the Klan took credit for fire bombing a barn owned by General Young, president of the Monroe County NAACP. Moreover, city officials have refused to do anything about recent threats against Blacks by the Klan.

So marshals were organized and armed to protect the demonstrators.

Ten members of the Ku Klux Klan, carrying clubs, lined Main Street and shouted racist insults at the marchers.

But league monitors kept the potentially explosive situation peaceful.

The civil rights marchers went to a nearby park for a rally.

Later that day the Klan organized a motorcade of about fifty vehicles through the city—escorted by Tupelo police. League members monitored with CB radios and listened in as the Klan and cops coordinated their efforts.

That night the Klan held a rally in a city park, complete with thirty sheeted White Knights and a cross burning. A small crowd of unrobed whites watched as Imperial Wizard Bob Wilkerson from Louisiana introduced two former Tupelo cops, Roy Sandefer and

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Mass protests erupt in Iran

By David Frankel

Tanks were deployed in the streets of Tehran May 11, as Iranian troops opened fire on thousands of demonstrators chanting, "Down with the shah." As many as 100 persons were killed or wounded in the capital alone. At the same time, antigovernment protests were also taking place in thirty-three other cities.

In Qum, scene of the largest demonstrations, the government shut off electric power May 10 in hopes of dispersing the protesters. But demonstrations in the darkened city continued until 10 p.m. that evening. The following day, the shah ordered thousands of troops into the city. Reports in the tightly controlled press admitted that nine persons had been killed.

Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, who modestly styles himself "King of Kings, Light of the Aryans," postponed a scheduled trip to Hungary and

Bulgaria with the announcement that he had a "cold." Meanwhile, a May 11 Associated Press dispatch reported that the shah had taken personal command of the assault on unarmed demonstrators—supposedly to prevent "unnecessary bloodshed."

The shah's nervousness was understandable. Beginning this January, he has faced the most massive and sustained upsurge against his rule since the CIA-organized coup that returned him to his throne twenty-five years ago.

An indication of the scope of the mass movement came in February, when several hundred thousand people came into the streets of Tabriz—Iran's second-largest city—to protest the shah's regime. The government was forced to send tanks into the city and to use machine guns to break up the protest.

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Tanks patrol Tehran May 12 after massive demonstrations in thirty-four Iranian cities protested shah's brutal rule.