

# THE MILITANT

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

## STOP CARTER'S THREATS AGAINST CUBA!

Red scare is  
pretext for U.S.  
saber rattling

—PAGE 4

## Job safety under attack by high court

Judges put  
profits before  
workers' lives

—PAGE 6

**All out July 9!**

## Why workers have a stake in ERA fight

—PAGE 9

# Argentine junta jails Hugo Blanco

Urgent protests needed to free  
thirteen deported Peruvians

—PAGE 3



San Francisco protest

Militant/Thurson Williams

## UN disarmament talks

U.S. war drive causes  
nuclear weapons race

—PAGE 5

## End threats against Cuba and Africa!

Over the past several weeks Washington has sharply intensified its saber-rattling campaign against Cuba and the Soviet Union. The aim of this sustained propaganda offensive is to justify increased U.S. intervention against the African liberation struggle, new moves against the Cuban revolution, and a deadly new escalation of the nuclear arms race.

Carter hopes that this barrage of lies and bellicose threats can counteract the deep antiwar sentiment in this country, which has placed a check on Washington's military adventures since the Vietnam War. By raising the fake accusation of "Cuban and Soviet imperialism," Carter would also like to deflect some of the deep hatred the oppressed masses of the world feel for Washington's use of the marines and CIA to prop up tyrannical regimes and guarantee the continued plunder of their lands by U.S. corporations.

He hopes to blunt growing opposition in this country to U.S. backing for the white minority rulers in South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Namibia.

A brief review of events over the past month shows the dangerous implications of Washington's campaign.

- In the wake of the bloody U.S.-French-Belgian intervention against rebels in Zaïre, Carter complained that his "hands are tied" in calling on the Pentagon and CIA to protect U.S. interests abroad. In particular, Carter appealed for removal of all limits on aid to antigovernment forces in Angola. This poses the threat of a direct clash with Cuban forces there and stepped up U.S. efforts to topple the Angolan government.

- At meetings of the North American Treaty Organization (NATO) in Washington, Carter urged this imperialist military alliance to spend billions more on a vast expansion of its nuclear arsenal. Clearly referring to such weapons of mass murder as the neutron bomb, Carter said, "We cannot be sure of countering the future [Soviet and Cuban] military threat unless our alliance modernizes its forces and adds additional military power."

- The Carter administration even used the UN disarmament talks as a forum for its threats. The main thrust of Vice-president Walter Mondale's speech before the General

Assembly was to justify increased NATO atomic arms spending.

- This belligerent talk is wholeheartedly supported by both Democratic and Republican party leaders in Congress. On May 30, Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd proposed that Washington close down its diplomatic mission in Cuba.

The American people must put Carter and Congress on notice that we are determined to oppose each and every move toward U.S. military intervention abroad.

Already this spring there have been important demonstrations demanding a halt to all U.S. government and corporate complicity with the apartheid regime in South Africa. This movement has an important stake in opposing imperialist military operations, no matter where they occur in Africa.

This spring there have also been demonstrations of 6,000 at the Rocky Flats nuclear munitions plant; 5,000 at a Trident nuclear submarine base in Washington state; and 15,000-20,000 demanding, "Stop the arms race, fund human needs," outside the UN disarmament conference.

These protests are testimony that the deep antiwar sentiment that grew up during the Vietnam War is very much alive.

But something *has changed* since then.

The openness to radical ideas challenging the U.S. government has increased rapidly in the American working class. This means that the opportunities to mobilize the power of the union movement against Washington's policies is greater than ever before. Moreover, the identification Blacks in the United States feel with the struggle for national liberation in Africa provides the basis for a powerful outcry against any U.S. aggression on that continent.

Activists on the campuses, in the Black community, and in the trade unions can answer Carter's war moves by demanding:

*Hands off the Cuban revolution!*

*End all U.S. support to the racist regimes in southern Africa!*

*No Vietnams in Africa!*

*Abolish NATO!*

*Not one penny for the Pentagon or CIA!*

## All the news that fits

During the rebellion in Zaïre's Shaba province last month, headlines in the capitalist press screamed about the "massacre" of whites by African liberation fighters. So trans-

parently racist and inaccurate were these accounts that the *Washington Post* felt it necessary to run an article May 28 about the distortions.

"In retrospect," remarked *Post* correspondent David Ottaway, "it seems some of the initial reports from French and Zairian sources of whites being massacred were deliberately exaggerated to gain quick Western public sympathy for the French-Belgian rescue mission. . . ."

Ottaway described how the French government "seemed to play politics with death tolls last week, as illustrated by the mid-week announcement of 200 Europeans having been killed—while in Kolwezi not even the French military could confirm half that number."

No one could. In fact the contradictory estimates of white deaths ranged from 64, the figure of a Belgian medical team, to 95, the Red Cross's tally, to 123, the estimate of a French consular officer.

Meanwhile, no capitalist media report has even attempted to estimate the African death toll. But they have all admitted the rate was many times higher than that for whites.

Contrary to the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times* continues to defend the racist tales used by President Carter and foreign imperialists to step up their intervention in Africa. *Times* reporter Deirdre Carmody claimed May 27 that "the killings at Kolwezi were indeed a massacre of whites. . . . While blacks were apparently killed at random in many isolated incidents, the horror of roundups and group slayings involved only whites. . . ."

This claim is refuted by Ottaway, who was able to authenticate only one such incident—in which Zaïrian troops were implicated.

Carmody talks about the "emotional impact of the sight of bodies" on reporters, noting that several "broke into tears when they first . . . saw the bodies of 32 whites who had been shot to death."

And what about the hundreds of Black victims? Apparently the sight of their bodies didn't have much of an "emotional impact" at all.

In contrast to the mouthpieces of big business, the *Militant* from the beginning told the truth about what was happening in Zaïre and what the hypocritical talk about a "rescue mission" meant. That is the difference between the capitalist press and a newspaper published in the interests of the working people.

## Militant Highlights This Week

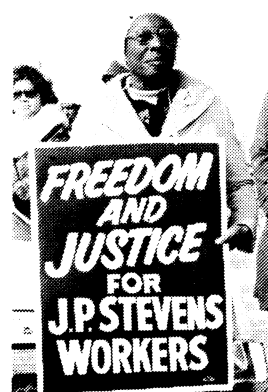
- 3 Free Hugo Blanco
- 4 U.S. and Africa
- 5 U.S. escalates arms race
- 6 Job safety & health
- 7 'Militant' sales
- 9 Stakes in ERA
- 10 Socialist campaigns
- 15 Marroquin case
- 18 A. Philip Randolph
- 20 Decline of dollar
- 8 Marching toward July 9
- 14 Steel Notes
- 26 In Review
- 28 In Brief
- What's Going On
- 29 The Great Society
- Their Government
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage
- Letters
- 31 Learning About Socialism
- If You Like This Paper . . .

- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 21 Cops attack Spanish socialists
- 22 PSP & P.R. elections
- 23 World News Notes
- 25 New Zealand abortion law



### Split in the RCP

The shake-up in the Peking regime since Mao's death has also shaken up the American Maoist movement. **Page 12.**



### Labor law reform bill

Is this what's needed to head off attacks on working people and revitalize the union movement? **Page 16.**

### Skyhorse-Mohawk victory

'Innocent' was the jury's verdict—in a resounding defeat for government efforts to convict the two AIM activists on phony murder charges. **Page 11.**



## The Militant

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK  
Business Manager: ANDREA BARON  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Editorial Staff: Peter Archer, Nancy Cole, David Frankel, John Hawkins, Cindy Jaquith, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Omari Musa, José G. Pérez, Dick Roberts, Andy Rose, Priscilla Schenk, Peter Seidman, Diane Wang, Arnold Weissberg

Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone Editorial Office (212) 243-6392. Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 404, Los Angeles, California 90017. Telephone: (213) 482-3184.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year, outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London then posted to Britain and Ireland: £2.50 for ten issues; £5.50 for six months (twenty-four issues); £10 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe: £4 for ten issues; £8 for six months (twenty-four issues); £13 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money orders (payable to *Intercontinental Press* account) to: *Intercontinental Press* (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

# Argentine junta jails Blanco, 12 others

By José G. Pérez

Amnesty International and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) have issued urgent appeals on behalf of Hugo Blanco and twelve other Peruvians being held in an Argentine military camp.

According to a May 30 "urgent action" cable the central office of Amnesty International sent to its affiliates, the thirteen "were deported from Peru on May 25 on a plane to Buenos Aires. They are being detained in a military barracks in Jujuy, which is the northernmost province of Argentina."

This is a dangerous situation. Argentina is ruled by one of the most brutal military dictatorships in Latin America. Thousands of political activists are in prison, and many others have been murdered by government-sponsored death squads.

All thirteen deportees are prominent political figures in Peru. Seven are opposition candidates in the constituent assembly elections scheduled for this month.

The deportees were among 2,000 persons arrested by the Peruvian government in an attempt to crush a popular upsurge against draconian austerity measures decreed in mid-May.

Based on information from Amnesty International and press reports, the thirteen are:

- Hugo Blanco, a leader of the Peruvian Socialist Workers Party, a sister organization of the American SWP.

Blanco is known internationally as a central organizer of a land-reform movement among Indian peasants in the early 1960s. Since 1963, he has been almost uninterruptedly either in prison or exile, having returned to his homeland from Sweden April 12. Blanco is a candidate of the FOCEP (Spanish initials for Workers, Peasants, Students and Poor People's Front) in the elections.

- Genaro Ledesma, labor attorney and FOCEP candidate.

- Ricardo Napurí, FOCEP candidate and a central leader of the Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party, Peruvian affiliate of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

- Ricardo Díaz Chávez, an attorney for the miners union and a candidate of the UDP (Democratic People's Union).

- Humberto Damonte, president of the editorial board of *Marka*, a radical newsweekly.

- Ricardo Letts Colmenares, also a candidate of the UDP and an editor of *Marka*.

- Javier Díez Canseco, UDP candidate and member of the editorial board of the weekly *Amauta*.

- José Luis Alavarado, candidate of the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party).

- José Arce Larco, a retired admiral, former member of the Peruvian cabinet, and member of the PSR.

- Guillermo Gaura Gaig, retired admiral, former cabinet minister, and PSR member.



HUGO BLANCO

- Alfonso Baella Tuesta, editor of the right-wing weekly *El Tiempo*.

Apprehension for the deportees is especially acute, because the Peruvian and Argentine dictatorships have failed to provide information on their situation.

On May 31, a delegation that included peace activist Daniel Berrigan and Barry Fatland, national coordinator of USLA, visited the United Nations in New York to make inquiries.

Officials of the Argentine UN mission flatly denied knowledge of the case. This assertion was obviously false, since representatives of the UN high commissioner for refugees had already become involved in the case.

Klaus Feldmann, deputy regional representative of the commissioner, said they had made inquiries with the Argentine government and confirmed the Peruvians were in Jujuy.

He said the UN agency had been told that the deportees had been allowed to contact their families shortly after arriving in Argentina. But relatives of the refugees in Peru report only one phone call from one deportee had been received.

Peruvian consul Manuel Boza and an assistant claimed they didn't have any official information. Nevertheless, they had quite a bit to say.

When asked why the deportees had been sent to—of all places—Argentina, the assistant said this was "routine." He also claimed the deportations were "sanitary measures for the moment" and that in his opinion, the thirteen

would be allowed to return before the constituent assembly elections now scheduled for June 18.

However, in Peru the government has not said whether the thirteen are being permanently exiled. Deporting oppositionists has been a favorite tactic of Peruvian governments for many years.

In Peru, opposition to the repression is being organized by the Committee of Relatives of the Political Deportees and Prisoners, which was scheduled to hold a news conference on May 31 to explain its two central demands: return of the thirteen and release of other political prisoners.

The austerity measures that led to the current wave of repression included price hikes in basic foodstuffs of up to 120 percent.

Reporters said women in supermarkets broke into tears upon seeing the new prices. The May 30 *Washington Post* reported that "many of Peru's poorest families have been reduced to eating sweet potatoes and bread."

Beginning May 15, Peru was swept by street protests, strikes, and clashes between the masses and government troops. Food stores in Lima and other cities were emptied and burned. The upsurge culminated in a two-day general strike that paralyzed most of Peru on May 22 and 23. During the protests, at least 41 people were killed, and more than 2,000 arrested.

Blanco was one of the first prominent figures arrested. Cops dragged

*Continued on page 13*

## Your help is needed

Your help is needed to win the swift release of Hugo Blanco and the twelve other Peruvians imprisoned in Argentina.

Amnesty International has called for emergency telegrams to be sent to the Argentine government, urging it to respect the human rights of the Peruvians and guarantee them safe passage to a country of their own choosing.

Leaders of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) have endorsed this call.

"Protest messages and publicity around this case can have a real impact," says Barry Fatland, national coordinator of USLA. "In the 1960s, when Hugo Blanco faced a death sentence for his political activities in Peru, it was an international campaign that saved his life."

Protest activities are now underway again around the world.

In the United States, just two days after the thirteen Peruvians were deported, USLA supporters in Chicago organized a picket line of fifty people at the Argentine airlines office.

Fifty people participated in a San Francisco picket line at the Peruvian consulate on May 23.

Fatland noted that Blanco is especially well known in the United States because he recently conducted a national speaking tour here. It took a two-year fight to force the U.S. government to grant Blanco a visa.

"We're contacting the people who supported Blanco's visa fight, and those who sponsored or attended his meetings here, to send protest messages," said Fatland.

"In addition, USLA supporters are seeking telegrams from trade-union officials, human rights activists, professors, and others. Where possible, picket lines, meetings, and news conferences can help publicize the case."

Protest messages can be sent to the Argentine Embassy, 1600 New Hampshire Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Telephone: (202) 332-7100.

Copies should be sent to USLA at 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 254-6062.

## Free to new readers...

### 6 issues of the 'Militant'!

That's right. When you subscribe to the *Militant* at our special trial subscription rate—ten weeks for \$2—you get ten issues of the paper for what you would pay for four issues at our single-copy price.

And besides saving money, there's another advantage. You won't miss an issue.

Even though there's a good chance you'll find the person who sold you this issue at your factory gate or in your neighborhood each week of our spring sales drive, why take chances? Clip the coupon at right, and send it in today.

- ☐ Here's \$2 for ten weeks, mailed to my address each week.
- ☐ Better yet, here's \$15 for an entire year.
- ☐ Or, \$8.50 for six months.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: THE MILITANT, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014



## Fears aid to African freedom fight

# Carter whips up anti-Cuban red scare

By David Frankel

Complaining that opponents of U.S. intervention in Africa are trying to "tie my hands too much," President Carter has resorted to the same "red menace" scare campaign that his predecessors relied on to justify U.S. intervention in Vietnam. This time the Cuban revolution has been singled out for special attack.

Carter's latest hypocritical barrage came at a meeting of heads of NATO countries in Washington May 30. "As I speak today," Carter claimed, "the activities of the Soviet Union and Cuba in Africa are preventing individual nations from determining their own course. As members of the world's greatest alliance, we cannot be indifferent to these events. . . ."

Making explicit what he meant about not being "indifferent," Carter hailed the imperialist intervention in Zaïre to prop up the corrupt dictatorship of President Mobutu Sese Seko. Carter described this joint U.S.-French-Belgian military operation as an effort "to work for peace in Africa and to support nations and peoples in need. . . ."

There is not an ounce of truth in the campaign against Havana and Moscow. As Cuban Vice-president Carlos Rafael Rodríguez declared May 30 before the United Nations General Assembly, Carter's repeated charges that Cuba had a role in the events in Zaïre's Shaba province were "absolutely false."

Denouncing Washington's "impudently repeated lies," Rodríguez said: "I can reaffirm before this Assembly that Cuba has not participated directly or indirectly in the events in Shaba; that not only were there no Cubans present in this action but that, furthermore, Cuba did not supply the arms for that purpose nor did it train those who attacked."

"Neither does Cuba have political ties with the organization which claimed responsibility for the said events."

This categorical denial came on top



CARTER

of an earlier one by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Carter has not offered a shred of proof to back up his charges. On May 25, he claimed that the Cuban government knew of the rebel plans in advance and "played a key role in training and equipping" the rebel forces. But Secretary of State Cyrus Vance admitted to reporters the night before Carter's statement that he had no specific information linking the Cubans to events in Zaïre.

Vance later claimed that "new evidence" had been received by the State Department. "However," *Washington Post* correspondent John Goshko reported May 27, "some department officials are known to still have doubts about the reliability of the administration's evidence. Some reportedly have said privately they believe Carter made his public charges as part of a White House campaign to win a loosening of congressional restraints on actions the executive branch can take to counter Soviet and Cuban influence in Africa."

One "highly placed official" quoted by *New York Times* reporter Bernard

Gwertzman argued that "there was no evidence that the Cubans had instigated the attack."

Nevertheless, on May 28 Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's national security adviser, reiterated the charge that "the Cuban government and in some measure the Soviet government bear the responsibility" for the bloodshed in Zaïre.

Administration efforts to link the Cubans to the Ethiopian regime's war against Eritrean rebels fighting for their self-determination have been similarly exposed. Although the Cubans support the Ethiopian regime, they have consistently urged a negotiated settlement to the conflict in Eritrea.

According to a report in the May 27 *Washington Post*, which described a recent meeting between Sen. George McGovern and Cuban Vice-president Rodríguez:

"... Rodríguez said Cuba, which aided Ethiopia in its recent conflict with Somalia, would not take part militarily in Ethiopian actions against rebels in Eritrea province 'unless other foreign powers intervene.'"

The Eritrean Liberation Front, one of the two main groups fighting the Ethiopian regime, says "there is no evidence that they [the Cubans] are assuming a direct role in combat," according to a May 26 *New York Times* article.

Another report, this one in the June 5 issue of *Time* magazine, notes that "the Cubans are doing their best to keep from getting dragged into the fighting" in Eritrea. According to *Time*, Havana's refusal to help crush the Eritrean struggle has "led to friction" between the Ethiopian regime and Cuba.

Of course, Carter and his underlings have good reason for lying about the Cuban role in Africa. The Cubans have already created an obstacle for imperialist designs in Angola, and Carter fears Cuban support to the struggle of the African masses elsewhere, especially in Zimbabwe.

At the same time, Carter is trying to prepare public opinion for new military interventions in Africa, including the eventual use of U.S. troops there.

Already, Carter has sent up trial balloons to test the possibility for further U.S. intervention in Zaïre and Angola. Moreover, *Time* magazine reports that "Defense Secretary Harold Brown is known to favor the creation of a Persian Gulf strike force that would establish a symbolic U.S. presence in the [Horn of Africa] area. . . ."

In his May 28 statement, Brzezinski insisted that Washington must show its resolve to counter Soviet and Cuban moves "to stir up racial difficulties in Africa."

After a century of imperialist plunder and aggression—including the current imperialist intervention in Zaïre—Brzezinski has the gall to blame "racial difficulties in Africa" on



CASTRO

the Soviets and Cubans!

If anybody is responsible for prolonging such "difficulties," it is the U.S. government and its allies. They are the ones providing economic, political, and military support to the racist regimes in southern Africa. And it is U.S. and West European corporations and banks that continue to suck the wealth out of the African continent, while the masses live in misery.

What Carter wants is the ability to intervene directly in Africa to protect U.S. investments and the repressive regimes that guarantee those investments—including in South Africa itself.

That was what the editors of the *New York Times* were talking about when they called May 28 for the elimination of "the whole web of restrictions on Presidential freedom to conduct foreign policy which Congress has passed into law since Richard Nixon sent American troops into Cambodia eight years ago."

Washington's hypocritical talk about "Africa for the Africans," and its attempt to whip up a red scare against Cuba, are propaganda screens designed to hide the real intentions of the capitalist government. As *New York Daily News* columnist James Wieghart pointed out May 29:

"First will come economic assistance and humanitarian aid. Next it will be military aid and U.S. advisers. Finally, if that doesn't suffice, it will be the inevitable demand for troops. That's the way it always is, isn't it?"

Certainly that's the way Carter wants it. Whether that will be the way it is, however, depends on the American people. We were the ones who forced passage of "the web of restrictions on Presidential freedom" that the *Times* editors and Carter are complaining about. And we are the ones who can prevent any new Vietnams in Africa and put a halt to Washington's threats against the Cuban revolution.

Prepublication Discount

# OUT NOW!



Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War by Fred Halstead.

Buy now and save \$2.25 from the regular price of \$8.95! A Monad Press book, 850 pages, 32 pages of photos. Your copy will be mailed to you as soon as it comes off the press in early August.

Enclose \$6.70 plus \$.50 for postage and handling with this coupon and mail to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Or inquire at a bookstore listed on page 31.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## CIA's bloody record in Zaïre

In January 1961, Patrice Lumumba, the first president of the former Belgian-ruled Congo (now called Zaïre), was beaten to death by henchmen of imperialism.

A Senate committee investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency revealed in November 1975 that President Eisenhower may have authorized Lumumba's assassination as early as August 1960. It also revealed that a deadly poison was shipped to the Congo for this very purpose, but was never used. The assassination plot was discussed with the CIA's local allies.

According to the newly released book, *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story*, by former CIA official John

Stockwell, Lumumba was apparently beaten to death by persons who were loyal to local CIA agents.

Stockwell also cites an anecdote that if accurate, makes a high CIA official at least a direct accessory to the killing. The official, who later became a station chief in Asia, addressed one of Stockwell's training classes in 1965. "Afterwards," Stockwell writes, "he had opened up a surprisingly long way, referring to an adventure in Lubumbashi [the capital of Katanga], driving about town after curfew with Patrice Lumumba's body in the trunk of his car, trying to decide what to do with it."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



# Imperialist powers tighten grip in Zaire

By David Frankel

The imperialist military intervention in Zaïre, despite earlier claims by the governments involved, is far from over.

On May 30 the Carter administration announced that it would take part in a meeting in Paris to discuss further military and economic action to prop up the shaky dictatorship in Zaïre. Also participating will be the governments of Belgium, France, West Germany, and perhaps others.

According to the May 31 *New York Times*, a State Department spokesperson "indicated that the meeting would examine collective methods of restoring military security and stability in Shaba province in southern Zaïre."

"I think what we did in Shaba Province the last few weeks is some indication of the kind of approaches we would be willing to consider," the State Department official told reporters.

"When asked if the constraints on future U.S. action will permit the United States to send military advisers or other ground personnel to support an African defense force, the spokesman said it was too premature to be able to answer those questions," according to *Washington Post* reporter Murrey Marder.

Later that day, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance tried to backtrack on some of the admissions made in the earlier press briefing. Vance claimed that "the principle reason" for the Paris talks would be to discuss the "economic" damage sustained by Zaïre as a result of the Shaba rebellion. But Vance refused to rule out discussion of military action.

A force of 1,200 French and Belgian

troops remains in Shaba province, where it has occupied six key mining centers. The decision to maintain imperialist troops in the Shaba area comes as no surprise. As the commander of the French Foreign Legion forces in Kolwezi indicated a few days after his troops took the town, "Zaïre does not have the means to protect this area."

Copper and cobalt mines in the Shaba area provide the bulk of Zaïre's foreign exchange earnings. The country's copper production has been cut about 25 percent, and its cobalt production almost totally halted by the rebellion in Shaba, according to a report in the May 26 *Wall Street Journal*.

Even before this blow, the repressive and corrupt regime of President Mobutu Sese Seko was in deep trouble. Inflation has been running at a yearly rate of 75 percent, and there is a massive foreign debt of about \$2.3 billion.

Opposition in Shaba province is even more widespread than elsewhere in the country. Inhabited by ethnic groups that are distinct from those in other parts of Zaïre, Shaba has been treated as enemy territory by the Mobutu government.

Thus, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Jim Browning reported May 30 that "according to one refugee, a former mechanic at the mines, the Zairian troops which were garrisoned locally had for one year been forcing the local black residents to pay as much as half their wages in exchange for the right to pass to and from work."

Mobutu made his attitude clear May 25 when he ordered a sixty-five-mile stretch of Shaba province declared a free-fire zone, similar to those established by U.S. forces in Vietnam. Mo-

Continued on page 13



## Protests Demand French Troops Out of Africa

Emergency rallies and demonstrations took place in several cities across France May 22-25 to demand the withdrawal of French troops from Africa.

• **Bourges:** A demonstration organized on the evening of May 22 by the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) and Workers Struggle (LO) drew eighty persons who marched through the downtown area.

• **Grenoble:** On May 23, the United Socialist Party (PSU), LCR, Communist Workers Organization (OCT), and LO organized a rally in the downtown area to distribute leaflets to workers coming off afternoon shifts. Police ordered the leafleters to disperse, and then attacked violently, while cops on motorcycles pursued demonstrators down side streets. Three persons were injured, including a bystander, and seven were arrested.

• **Nanterre:** A rally on the uni-

versity campus was held on May 23, sponsored by a wide spectrum of organizations, including the Communist and Socialist parties, several trade unions, and other political groups including the LCR.

• **Rouen:** Three hundred persons gathered in the downtown area on May 23 to demand, "French troops out of Africa and Lebanon," although the demonstration had been banned by city officials earlier that day. Fourteen persons were arrested, but all were subsequently released after protests from the SP, CP, and several trade-union federations.

• **Caen:** Police broke up a banned demonstration attended by 400 persons, arresting 15 persons. A General Confederation of Labor body, and CP and SP officeholders, demanded the release of those detained.

Further actions were planned for Angers, Amiens, and Montpellier.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

# UN disarmament parley: U.S. talks war, not peace

By Peter Seidman

"A cold war speech against the Russians and the Cubans for their aggression in Africa." That's how *New York Times* columnist James Reston described Vice-president Mondale's May 24 address to the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament.

Far from offering any real proposals to end the arms race, Mondale used the conference to add his voice to the chorus of hawkish shrieks that is growing louder every day in Washington.

Mondale's speech dramatized how far real U.S. policy is from Carter's demagogic inaugural appeal a year and a half ago for the "elimination of all nuclear weapons from this earth."

Washington is now moving full speed ahead towards developing a nuclear first-strike capability against the Soviet Union, China, and other countries where capitalism has been abolished.

In fact, just as Mondale was proclaiming to UN delegates the need to "substantially cut the number of strategic nuclear arms" and "delivery vehicles" and "immediately slow down and then reverse the sharp growth in conventional arms," the House of Representatives was passing a \$38 billion military procurement and research bill.

And four days later, the administration proposed that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) adopt a ten-year, \$80 billion defense program—one of the most ambitious since NATO was founded in 1949!

The hypocrisy in all this was even hinted at by *New York Times* reporter Kathleen Teltsch. "Next week, the President will be discussing increases in American arms for Europe at a Summit meeting in Washington of members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization," she wrote, "which would have made it difficult for him to come to the United Nations at almost the same time and advocate arms reductions."

Concerned about adverse reaction at the United Nations and in U.S. public opinion to his hawkish moves, Carter proposed at the same time a five-year nuclear test ban to the Soviet Union.

But the president's test ban proposal is clearly not a substantial move towards disarmament. As the *New York Times* reported May 26, the proposal leaves open "an option for American testing after the accord lapses" and also provides for "extensive safeguards . . . including the maintenance of weapons development and production capabilities."

Propaganda ploys such as these aside, Washington is using events in Africa as a pretext for a big new escalation of the arms race. And Carter is relying on the same old arguments used by every president since Truman to justify this move.

The president put it this way when he spoke at the May 30 opening ceremonies of the NATO conference in Washington:

"The Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries pose a military threat . . . which far exceeds their legitimate security needs," he said. "For more than a decade, the military power of the Soviet Union has steadily expanded. . . . In significant areas, the military lead we once enjoyed has been reduced."

This isn't the first time a U.S. president has waved a flag-tipped spear at

the Soviet workers state to justify the growth of Washington's war machine. But the truth is that this posturing turns reality upside down.

The record shows that the U.S. government—not Moscow, Peking, or Havana—has been responsible for the arms race and every escalation of it:

• Washington was the first to develop and use the atom bomb against human beings (the USSR didn't have the bomb until four years after the United States). Similarly, the United States developed the hydrogen bomb nine months before the USSR. Washington was also first with nuclear submarines, Multiple Individually Targeted Re-Entry Vehicles (MIRVs), Maneuvering Re-Entry Vehicles (MARVs), and cruise missiles.

• Washington has spent \$2 trillion since World War II to maintain this grim lead. And it is spending money for this purpose faster and faster. In 1948 it spent \$12 billion; in 1973, \$80 billion. This year it's \$128 billion. And projections are that by the end of Carter's first term it will hit \$173 billion.

• These vast sums have built the United States a nuclear arsenal far greater than that of the Soviet Union.

Washington can push the button on 9,000 strategic and 22,000 tactical nuclear weapons—the equivalent of 620,000 Hiroshima-type bombs. *This is enough to kill every person in the world twelve times over!*

By comparison, the Soviet Union is estimated to have 4,500 strategic and 7,000 tactical nuclear weapons. And these are thought to be only half as accurate as U.S. bombs. Clearly, any attempt by the Soviet Union to improve its war chest is aimed only at catching up with Washington in an effort to deter the United States government from thinking it might be able to afford the price of launching a nuclear holocaust against the USSR.

• This is not an idle fear, either. Every U.S. president since Eisenhower has discussed the possible use of atom bombs.

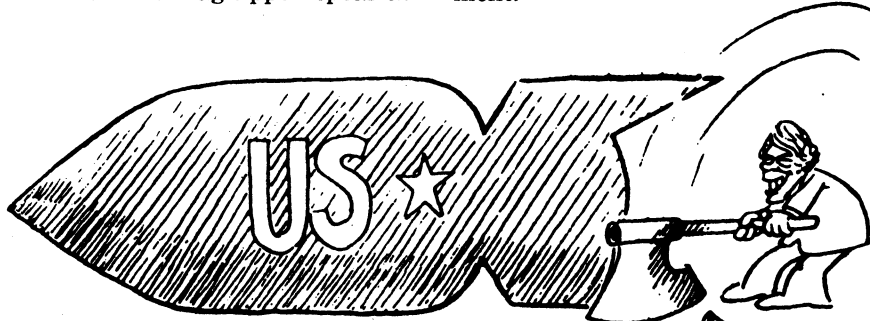
In self-defense, the Soviet Union and other workers states have had to arm themselves as well. To do otherwise would have been suicidal. This is especially true given the nature of the U.S. nuclear weapons now being developed—which are aimed at providing first-strike capability of destroying Soviet missile silos and submarines.

Such a first-strike plan is consistent with Washington's long-range political goal of turning back the social revolutions that have toppled capitalism in parts of the world and reopening their vast markets to renewed imperialist exploitation.

Even in the short run—as events in Africa show—the United States government brandishes its nuclear stick to defend and increase the profits reaped by imperialist exploitation around the world.

But this handful of nuclear terrorists in Washington has no right to hold the majority of the human race hostage.

When 15,000 people demonstrated outside the UN disarmament conference on May 27, and some 5,000 protested the Trident missile in Bangor, Washington, the week before, they showed that growing numbers are ready to go into action to stop such nuclear bullying by the U.S. government.



Bas/Tachydromos

# Socialist hits attacks on job safety and health

The following statement was released by Kevin Kellogg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York lieutenant-governor. Kellogg is a textile worker in Albany and a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

The Supreme Court ruling restricting safety inspections amounts to a death sentence for thousands of workers.

Just one week after the court declared bosses' right to "privacy" more important than workers' right to health and safety, a series of explosions ripped through an oil refinery in Texas City, Texas, killing four people.

Such accidents are a recurring nightmare in grain elevators, factories, construction sites, mills, and mines across the country.

Each year at least 12,000 workers are killed in industrial accidents. One out of eight factory workers is injured. At least one of four workers is exposed on the job to substances that cause disease or death.

The court's ruling can only mean the killing will escalate. We will see more tragedies, such as the April 27 massacre of fifty-one construction workers in Willow Island, West Virginia.

Once again, profits are callously put before the lives of working people.

This is the real face of the capitalist government. Without a court warrant, federal inspectors cannot intrude on the "rights" of employers to maintain unsafe working conditions. But Carter

contends he can trample on democratic rights with wiretaps and mail openings—all without warrants.

The antilabor Carter administration picked May 23 to deliver working people another blow. It announced a "delay" in promised regulations



KEVIN KELLOGG

to curb brown lung disease among workers in the cotton industry.

Big business and the Carter administration are perfectly willing to let thousands of textile workers suffer and die from brown lung. Why? Because Carter's advisers said the rules might cost the textile bosses too much money!

Workers in my plant were shocked by Carter's action. Our international union lobbied for the new rules. During the 1976 presidential campaign, we were urged by our union leadership to vote for Carter because he supposedly supports efforts to prevent brown lung.

It is not the first time Carter has stabbed working people in the back since the labor movement helped get him elected. His actions prove once again that the Democratic Party—no less than the Republican Party—is a party of big business.

It's high time workers had our own political representatives. We need a mass labor party that can really fight for our needs.

The Socialist Workers Party stands in full support of the fight by working people for safe, healthy working conditions. We believe all workers should have the guaranteed right to leave unsafe workplaces and to be paid for the time it takes to make them safe.

The Supreme Court decision and Carter's sabotage of the brown lung rules show that only when workers themselves control industry and it is run for human needs not profit, will murder on the job end once and for all.

## High court bans warrantless safety checks

By Nancy Cole

In a decision that will have deadly consequences for all U.S. workers, the Supreme Court has declared that employers can bar federal safety inspectors if they don't have a court warrant.

The May 23 five-to-three ruling upheld a lower court decision that found health and safety inspections in violation of the Fourth Amendment's ban against "unreasonable searches and seizures."

The case relates to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), but there can be little question that industry will rapidly try to expand it to other agencies as well.

In a minority opinion, Justice John Stevens said he thought the decision "renders presumptively invalid" inspection provisions in other federal laws. That would include the coal mining safety law.

On the same day, President Carter's economic advisers directed OSHA to delay publication of rules aimed at reducing brown lung disease among workers in the cotton industry.

An estimated 35,000 current and former cotton textile workers have byssinosis, or brown lung. Like coal miners' black lung, it leads to chronic coughing, severe breathing problems, total disability, and death. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union waged a campaign to win the new regulations.

Despite the fact that OSHA whittled down projected costs for the bosses from \$700 million each year to \$200 million, the Carter administration put the kibosh on the rules because of their possible "inflationary impact."

The Council on Wage and Price Stability even figured out that the proposed plan would prevent 284 cases of brown lung a year. At that rate, the council cynically estimated, each life saved would cost industry \$440,000!

Both attacks on the health and safety of workers were major victories for the nation's corporations, which have tried to sabotage OSHA regulations and inspections since the agency was established by law in 1970.

The Supreme Court case began in

Pocatello, Idaho, in 1975 when Ferrol Barlow—an active member of the John Birch Society—refused to allow an OSHA inspector into his plumbing and heating supply shop.

When the inspector returned *with a warrant*, Barlow still refused and went to court. His case became a rallying cry for right-wing, antilabor groups. Friend-of-the-court briefs were submitted to the Supreme Court by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Conservative Union, among others.

United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser condemned the court ruling, charging "it virtually paralyzes a most important section of the law."

He continued, "The decision places property rights of employers above the human rights of workers to do their job free from the frightening hazards of being maimed or even killed in industrial accidents."

The AFL-CIO said, "The decision can delay and complicate OSHA's job of insuring the health and safety of America's workplaces—and that's not good for workers."

The majority of Supreme Court justices contend that in order for OSHA to get a warrant, it will *not* have to show "just cause"—that is, have evidence that a health or safety violation exists at the particular workplace.

The agency will only have to prove that it is inspecting a place as part of a general enforcement plan and not arbitrarily, the court said.

Whether the courts—known better for their antiunion warrants—will be so cooperative is highly unlikely.

The top court's ruling strikes at the safety law's primary justification—surprise inspections.

Before 1970, employers were automatically notified in advance of inspections. This allowed them to temporarily patch up violations. But workers' deaths and maimings steadily mounted.

The occupational safety law was passed in response to widespread public outrage at this slaughter on the job.

Yet the Supreme Court majority writes that the "great majority of businessmen can be expected in nor-

mal course to consent to inspection without warrant."

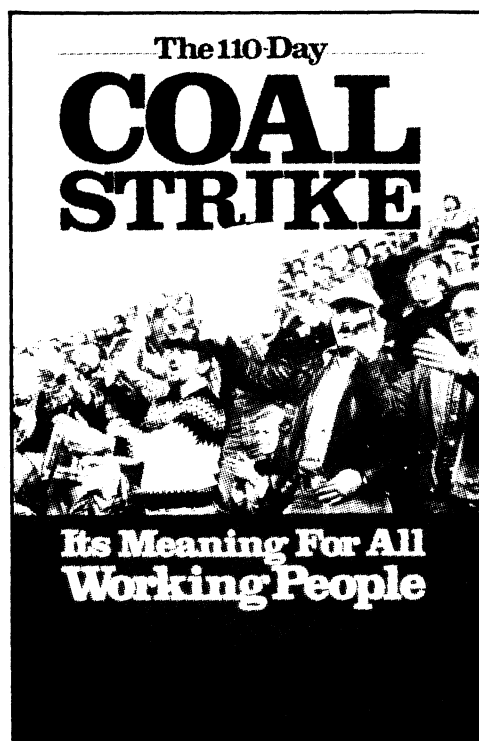
At a news conference called to respond to the court ruling, OSHA Director Eula Bingham admitted that in some cases of imminent danger it might mean that "while we were off getting a warrant, the whole place could blow."

She expressed hope too that most businesses would "act in good faith" and consent to warrantless inspections. That way, she added, the agency's work could go on "pretty much as it has."

That, of course, leaves much to be desired. With only 1,300 inspectors, the agency makes about 60,000 inspections a year. That is fewer than 2 percent of the businesses covered by the law.

On May 23, the General Accounting Office released a report concluding that OSHA inspectors overlook many health and safety hazards and don't do enough to see that even the ones they do cite are corrected.

With the highest court in the nation backing it, OSHA and the entire government will be able to ignore the lives and health of workers even more.



## Help get it around

The coal strike shook up the government and corporations and inspired working people across the nation. Join the effort to circulate Pathfinder's new pamphlet on the lessons of the miners' fight.

*The 110-Day Coal Strike: Its Meaning for All Working People.* By Nancy Cole and Andy Rose. 40 pages. Single copies 75 cents. Discount of 25 percent on orders of five or more.

Please send me:

\_\_\_ 1 copy (\$.75) \_\_\_ 5 copies (\$2.75) \_\_\_ 10 copies (\$5.50)

\_\_\_ 15 copies (\$8.25) \_\_\_ 25 copies (\$13.75) \_\_\_ other

Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 for postage and handling; \$.50 if order of more than \$5.00.

# Socialists organize for summer 'Militant' sales

By Nelson Blackstock

While the spring socialist press circulation drive is over, regular weekly sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will continue through the summer.

This week we are printing the scoreboard for the final week of the drive. An evaluation of the ten-week campaign will appear in a coming issue.

*Militant* coverage of some important developments this summer will provide the axis for getting the paper out.

This includes the groundswell of concern over the fate of the Equal Rights Amendment. This is reflected in the interest among women, trade unionists, and other ERA supporters in the July 9 March on Washington called by NOW.

The *Militant* will be campaigning for that march. And a campaign to get out the *Militant* is a good way to both build support for the ERA demonstration and to introduce new readers to this paper.

Developments in Africa are also a focus of attention, particularly in the Black community. The *Militant* is giving much space to this, hitting hard at the danger of U.S. intervention.

These are two of the issues that will provide bases for vigorous campaigning with the paper.

In addition, the *Militant* that goes on sale June 23 will feature a major statement by Socialist Workers Party candidates on the unemployment crisis. (See ad below.) This attractive feature will provide big sales opportunities, especially at unemployment centers, in the Black communities, and at plant gates.

This summer will be a good time for setting up tables in shopping areas. Banners with slogans on the ERA, Africa, and other issues are useful in

attracting the attention of potential readers.

Socialist Workers Party candidates are running for office in many parts of the country. Selling the *Militant* is one of the most effective ways of campaigning for these candidates.

The coming weeks will also be a time for maintaining the special gains of the spring circulation work. Top priority will be given to regular sales of the paper at plant gates and on the job.

Socialists will also be selling on campuses during summer sessions and at political events and demonstrations.

Cleveland SWP organizer Kathleen Fitzgerald says her branch is considering maintaining the same level of sales during the summer as they had this spring.

And Caroline Fowlkes writes from Phoenix: "Our plans for summer sales are ambitious. We are taking on nearly the same goal as that we met during the campaign."



*Militant*/Charles Ostrofsky

## Weekly sales results

(Reporting Issue # 20 of the *Militant* Dated May 26, 1978)

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Tacoma	90	157			90	157	174.4
Indianapolis*	30	44			30	44	146.7
Seattle	150	213			150	213	142.0
Pittsburgh*	30	40			30	40	133.3
Morgantown	100	111			100	111	111.0
Minneapolis	100	109			100	109	109.0
Cleveland	150	161			150	161	107.3
Albuquerque	113	115	7	10	120	125	104.2
Baltimore	100	101		1	100	102	102.0
Salt Lake City	115	127	10		125	127	101.6
New York	575	582	75	77	650	659	101.4
Raleigh	85	86			85	86	101.2
San Diego	25	50	25		50	50	100.0
Toledo	75	75			75	75	100.0
Miami	90	81	10	12	100	93	93.0
Los Angeles	300	255	50	40	350	295	84.3
Albany	60	50			60	50	83.3
Oakland	150	125			150	125	83.3
Philadelphia*	30	25			30	25	83.3
Portland	90	73			90	73	81.1
Denver	105	81	5	5	110	86	78.2
Cincinnati	85	65			85	65	76.5
St. Louis	200	142			200	142	71.0
Newark	130	78	20	22	150	100	66.7
Chicago	282	183	18		300	183	61.0
Berkeley	138	90	12		150	90	60.0
San Jose	100	62	10	3	110	65	59.1
Boston	165	90	25		190	90	47.4
Atlanta	250	110			250	110	44.0
Washington, D.C.	230	98	20	7	250	105	42.0
Detroit	300	120			300	120	40.0
Milwaukee	120	50	5		125	50	40.0
Kansas City	90	35	10		100	35	35.0
San Francisco	220	68	15	3	235	71	30.2
Louisville	100	24			100	24	24.0
Dallas*	115		10		125		.0
Houston*	300				300		.0
New Orleans*	150				150		.0
Phoenix*	75		10		85		.0
San Antonio*	100		10		110		.0
St. Paul**	80				80		.0
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>6,093</b>	<b>3,876</b>	<b>397</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>6,490</b>	<b>4,056</b>	<b>62.5</b>

\*Petitioning

\*\*Not Reporting

## Desegregation order at Andrew Jackson H.S.

By Lou Howort

NEW YORK—Andrew Jackson High School has 2,530 students. Only one is white. On May 16 Federal District Court Judge John Dooling ordered the board of education here to submit a plan for desegregating the Queens school within forty-five days.

Dooling's decision was made in response to a lawsuit by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The judge also ordered the State Education Department to stop its one-year-old policy of allowing Queens schools with more

than 50 percent white student enrollment to maintain white majorities until 1985.

This plan was unconstitutional, Dooling said, because its goal is "the education of the largest possible number of children in schools in which the majority of the students are white for the longest possible time."

The judge ordered the board of education to submit a desegregation plan "substantially in accordance" with one ordered in December 1975 by State Education Commissioner Ewald Nyquist.

That plan said the composition of Jackson's student body must reflect the ethnic composition of Queens schools as a whole. Queens high schools now have an overall white enrollment of 48 percent. But the plan said this goal could be achieved through rezoning, without busing.

City officials and Queens racists opposed Nyquist's order.

The board of education raised the specter that Queens whites might flee the city if their children were forced to go to desegregated schools. Queens Borough President Donald Manes also

opposed the order publicly, as did fellow Democrat city council member Matthew Troy.

Nyquist refused to uphold the law against this racist pressure. In May 1976 he reversed his previous order.

That's when the NAACP filed suit.

Dooling's decision is a victory not only for the NAACP's lawsuit, but for all those defending the rights of Blacks and other oppressed minorities to an equal education.

Segregated, predominantly Black and Latino schools are the victims of

*Continued on page 13*

# WHY CAN'T EVERYBODY HAVE A JOB?

## A special 'Militant' feature coming soon

Millions are desperate for a job. But the government has turned its back on the unemployed—while big-business economists juggle figures to hide the reasons for mass joblessness. This major statement by the 1978 Socialist Workers Party candidates explains the truth about unemployment. It presents realistic proposals for full employment, and tells how the unions, the unemployed, Blacks, women, and youth can organize to win jobs for all.

## On sale June 23



# Christopher Street rally to urge 'Intro 384 now!'

By Jean Savage

NEW YORK—This year's Christopher Street Liberation Day demonstration here on June 25 will demand passage of Intro 384, the New York City gay rights bill, and protest the repeal of gay rights ordinances in St. Paul, Minnesota; Wichita, Kansas; and Eugene, Oregon.

Intro 384 would ban discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in jobs, housing, and public accommodations. The bill is presently before the General Welfare Committee of the City Council, needing five out of nine votes to be sent to the council for consideration.

On June 25 lesbian and gay rights supporters will assemble at Seventh Avenue and Christopher Street. At noon they will march up Fifth Avenue to Sheep Meadow in Central Park for a 3:00 rally.

Keynote speakers will be Betty Santoro and David Thorstad, spokespeople for the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Composed of some fifty organizations, CLGR has led the fight for Intro 384. Endorsers include many lesbian and gay groups, as well as the National Organization for Women-New York and the state Americans for Democratic Action.

Other speakers will include representatives from gay teachers and lesbian mothers groups, as well as from the Black, Puerto Rican, women's and labor movements.

Mayor Edward Koch is being invited to speak to publicly throw his efforts behind the bill. Since Koch's executive order last January banning discrimination against lesbians and gay men in municipal jobs, he has done little to support Intro 384.

Many activists who felt that the election of Koch and City Council President Carol Bellamy would guarantee passage of the bill are now turning toward mobilizing gay rights supporters for Christopher Street Liberation Day to demand the bill.

Despite recent national setbacks, activities in support of lesbian and gay rights have escalated in New York. On April 16, 1,200 people attended a march and rally sponsored by CLGR for Intro 384.

On May 10, 150 people came to a rush-hour rally called by CLGR, and hundreds more attended a protest march sponsored by the Gay Activists Alliance later that evening.

On May 20, forty CLGR and Lesbian Feminist Liberation activists chartered a "Freedom Bus" to spend the day distributing 26,000 Spanish and English leaflets on Intro 384 and the June 25 march and petitioning for Intro 384. The bus took activists to Brooklyn, the Bronx, and a Manhattan street fair.

For more information contact CLGR at 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 505, New York, New York 10010, phone (212) 924-2970.

## Gay rights loses in Ore.

By Curt Johnson

PORTLAND, Ore.—The Eugene, Oregon, gay rights ordinance was defeated in a May 23 referendum by a margin of two to one.

Last October the Eugene City Council approved an ordinance to protect gays from discrimination in jobs, housing, and public accommodations. Anti-gay bigots immediately began a repeal drive.

A group called Volunteer Organization Involved in Community Enactments (VOICE) collected enough signatures to put the ordinance on the May ballot. VOICE's intensive media campaign urged voters to "keep it straight" and repeal the ordinance "for your children's sake."

In response the Eugene Committee for Human Rights (ECHR) raised more than \$30,000 from supporters around the state for a campaign to defend gay rights.

ECHR Co-coordinator Mary Anne Johnson described the campaign in the May issue of the Portland Town Council's newsletter. ECHR, she explained, focused on a door-to-door canvassing project and advertisements that emphasized that "gays are everyday people deserving the same rights everyone else has."

The Portland Coalition for Gay Rights called for a demonstration on May 20 in support of ECHR's efforts. But unfortunately, at ECHR's urging, the demonstration was postponed. ECHR felt that any militant gay rights manifestation would provoke reaction at the polls.

After defeat appeared certain on election night, 200 gay rights supporters marched to the Lane County Courthouse for a rally. Speakers said they would bring the issue before the Eugene City Council again with the next year.

## Pgh.: 'No more silence!'

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Anita Bryant, figurehead in the drive against human rights for lesbians and gay men, came here to receive a religious award on May 22. And she was greeted appropriately.

Nearly 1,000 gay rights supporters brought together by the Pittsburgh Committee for Human Rights (PCHR) picketed Bryant's meeting, declaring, "Bigotry has got to go!"

At a rally following the picket line, Sister Rose Della Tezza, president of the Pittsburgh Catholic Interracial Council, said, "No one should be denied access to food, clothing, or shelter solely on the basis of human relationships."

Pat Miller was loudly cheered when she told the rally, "The only way our opponents can defeat you is if they can silence you. Women would still be using back-alley abortions if it weren't for hundreds of thousands of women and men who stood up and said, 'No more!'"

Miller is currently fighting an at-

tempt to refuse her a job as attorney in the Community Advocate's Office. She was denied the job because of her outspoken support of women's right to choose abortion.

Demonstrators responded to Miller with prolonged chants, "No more silence! No more silence!"

Kay Whitlock was the keynote speaker. Whitlock is co-coordinator of the National Organization for Women Task Force on Sexuality and Lesbianism, and a member of the National Gay Task Force. She stressed that feminists and gays "have everything in common."

The rally was organized by PCHR, a coalition endorsed by more than twenty-five organizations, including the Greater Pittsburgh American Civil Liberties Union; Pennsylvania Social Services Union, Allegheny Chapter; Rapid Action for Gay Equality; Catholic Interracial Council; three local chapters of NOW; the Young Socialist Alliance; the New American Movement; and the International Socialists.

## Marching toward July 9



The National Organization for Women is sponsoring a national march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment on July 9.

### Chicagoans to Carter: stop passing buck on ERA

About 300 ERA supporters greeted President Carter in Chicago on May 15 with a picket line organized by the Chicago National Organization for Women chapter. The picket line was called to give Carter notice that the "time for buck-passing is over. The buck stops here."

Carter, who has been silent on the ERA for months, apparently felt pressured the next day when he addressed the Illinois state legislators. "The eyes of the nation are focused on the men and women in this chamber," he warned them. The Democratic-controlled legislature, which has blocked the ERA for years, is expected to vote on it again soon.



Picket line organized by Chicago NOW greeted Carter

### Pittsburgh gay rights demonstration

About 1,000 people demonstrated their support for gay rights at a Pittsburgh rally when Anita Bryant appeared in that city on May 15. Several NOW chapters had endorsed and helped build the rally.

Aprile Collier of the Pittsburgh Coalition for Human Rights chaired the rally and urged the crowd to go to Washington for the ERA march on July 9.

### Leaflet available

The NOW National Action Center has a leaflet for the march, designed for reprinting locally. To get the leaflet or more information about the demonstration write the National ERA March Office, Suite 1048, 425 Thirteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20004. Phone: (202) 737-2295.

The purple-gold-and-white button for the July 9 march shown in last week's column is put out by NOW-New Jersey. The button reads, "ERA March on Washington July 9." It costs fifty cents or, for orders of twenty or more buttons, twenty-five cents each. Order from NOW-New Jersey ERA, 9 Kurdyla Avenue, Carteret, New Jersey 07008.

**NATIONAL  
ERA  
MARCH**  
FOR EXTENSION AND RATIFICATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

**SUNDAY  
JULY 9  
1978**

- ASSEMBLE 11am AT THE 14th STREET END OF THE MALL, WASHINGTON
- MARCH EAST ON CONSTITUTION AVENUE TO THE U.S. CAPITOL
- RALLY AT THE CAPITOL FOLLOWING MARCH

PARTICIPANTS WILL DRESS IN WHITE

FOR LOCAL INFORMATION:

Coordinated by the National Organization for Women  
Suite 548, 425 13th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004, (202) 737-2295

### New Orleans rally and picnic

On June 18 New Orleans NOW will have a rally and picnic in Audubon Park from 11 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. The day will be a chance to gather ERA supporters together, talk about the coming ERA action, and raise funds.

### Solidarity in the West

Albuquerque NOW has voted to call a solidarity action at the Federal Building there on July 9. And an ERA coalition in Seattle plans a demonstration July 8.

In addition, the Northwest Women's Action Conference will be held June 17-18 at the University of Washington in Seattle. For information on the conference call (206) 543-1817, or write the Northwest Women's Action Conference, c/o ASU Women's Commission, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98105.

### Raising money to get to D.C.

The Dallas NOW chapter decided to raise money for a common transportation fund to make bus tickets to Washington as cheap as possible. They plan a June 4 walk-a-thon to both publicize the July 9 ERA action and raise money. They have also raised funds through an April 1 ERA rally, a women's concert, a fund appeal to prominent people, and by collecting money on corners.

—Diane Wang

## Socialists urge huge July 9 turnout

# 'Everyone has stake in equal rights drive'

By Diane Wang

What's at stake in the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment?

"The ERA is not just a symbol, and it's not exclusively a women's issue," answered Joel Britton. "The ERA will benefit the majority in this society. That's why it has become a major working-class issue."

Britton is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. He is responsible for coordinating the party's activity in the trade unions. Recently he and Willie Mae Reid, who coordinates the party's activities for women's liberation, spoke to the *Militant* about the fight to pass the ERA and extend the deadline for ratification.

"We're urging every SWP member, every person who supports SWP candidates, every *Militant* reader to do everything possible to make the July 9 march on Washington for the ERA, called by the National Organization for Women, big and successful," said Britton.

"As individuals, people can go to the demonstration and donate time and money to build it," he explained. "As members of trade unions or civil rights or community organizations, they can get resolutions of support passed and funds contributed. They can get buses and contingents sent to Washington."

"Of course, women, who are doubly oppressed in this society, have the most immediate gains to make through the ERA. But a victory for women's equality will be a victory for all working people. It will strengthen the labor movement and help overcome divisions on sex and race lines," Britton said.

"We're fighting a common enemy. The blocking of

the ERA is part of the general attack on all working people's rights and living standards and expectations" he continued. "Union contracts, school desegregation, affirmative action, the right to strike, health and safety standards, abortion rights, the ERA—all are under fire."

"And in response," Reid interjected, "there is a real ferment today. What's on people's minds today is the question: What can we do? How can we save this contract or that right?"

"We saw this sentiment in the response of working people to the recent coal strike, and we're seeing it now as the struggle for the ERA reaches a climax."

"Just look at the demonstration for the ERA in Chicago last month," Reid continued. "Not only were there all sorts of women's groups, from NOW to the League of Women Voters, to Women for

Racial and Economic Equality.

"There were people from Operation PUSH, veterans of the 1960s civil rights struggles. There were students, concerned with what kind of future they will have. And, most significantly, there were sizable contingents of steelworkers and auto workers."

"Uniting victims of all the attacks in defense of the ERA is important," said Britton. "It can be a model. It can point the way toward how we can defend busing for desegregation, or affirmative-action quotas, or the right to strike."

"The unions, in particular, must develop the ability to defend workers' interests on all fronts. So involving unions in the fight for the ERA and in the July 9 march will be a valuable experience."

Most people are already pro-ERA, pointed out Britton. That makes it easier to convince them to actively support the July 9 march on Washington.

The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists voted at its recent convention to back the ERA and the demonstration. Chapters of the NAACP have agreed to support it. Baltimore's labor leaders are urging unionists to attend a NOW meeting on "Labor and the ERA."

"We can expect to get a good response everywhere," said Reid. "From unions and community groups and Black churches—everywhere people can think of to appeal for help."

Turning the support that already exists into active support for the ERA is the key to victory, said Britton.

After all, he concluded, paraphrasing the old slogan of labor solidarity, "A victory for one is a victory for all."



Willie Mae Reid  
Militant/Arnold Weissberg



Joel Britton  
Militant/Lou Howort

## Black trade unionists back ERA action

By John Hawkins

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—In a unanimous decision, the seventh annual convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) voted to endorse the July 9 march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment called by the National Organization for Women. The CBTU instructed its chapters to help build the action.

How to win ratification of the ERA was a major topic of discussion at the CBTU convention held here over the Memorial Day weekend. Close to half the 1,278 delegates and guests at the convention were Black women unionists, who view the fight for passage of the ERA as a matter of vital concern.

This was reflected in discussion at a convention workshop on Black women and the labor movement. Among the panelists at the workshop were Lillian Hatcher, director of women's division, United Auto Workers; Anita Shelton, National Committee on Household Employ-

ment; and Yvonne Price, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

This concern was also voiced in several resolutions on the ERA submitted by CBTU chapters to the gathering. The resolutions pointed out the importance of the ERA to the trade-union movement, to women workers, and to Black women workers in particular.

The final resolution adopted by the convention, in addition to endorsing the July 9 demonstration, called for extension of the deadline for ratification of the ERA. It called upon CBTU chapters to work for passage of the ERA, especially in those states where it has not been ratified.

The resolution urged CBTU chapters to make a special effort to see that Black women are included in job training programs and that anti-sex-discrimination laws are enforced. It also urged chapters to work for legislation and contract clauses to provide maternity leave and benefits.



Militant/Joel Aber

## Baltimore labor: 'solidarity until victory'

Labor leaders in the Baltimore area have signed the following appeal urging unionists to support the Equal Rights Amendment and attend a May 31 meeting sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW) to plan labor participation in the July 9 march on Washington.

Those who have signed the letter include Dominic Fornaro, president of the Maryland AFL-CIO; David Wilson, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 2609; and Martha Mirnill, president of Communication Workers of America Local 2110. Also, Jerry Menapace, president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America Local 117; Joseph Townsley, president of the Teamsters Joint Council; and Peter Moralis, executive director of the Virginia Public Employees,

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 30.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

The deadline for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is rapidly approaching. Although poll after poll confirms that the vast majority of Americans supports ratification we are still three states short of making equality for women the law of the land.

Among the strongest ERA supporters is organized labor. Almost without exception, the unions of this country have taken firm positions in support of ratification. Thousands of unionists marched with women, church, campus, and civil rights organizations in the first national march for the Equal Rights Amendment held in Springfield, Illinois, in May of 1976. And the first labor-initiated demonstration for the ERA was held last January in Richmond, Virginia.

Once again we are calling on your support. The National Organization for Women (NOW) has issued a call for a national demonstration in Washington, D.C., for July 9. (Please see the enclosed leaflet.) We would like you to endorse the march, publicize it through your paper or newsletter, announce it at meetings, distribute leaflets to your members, organize a contingent for the march, make a financial contribution if possible, and finally, send a representative to the next planning meeting which will be held at the offices of the Baltimore chapter of the National Organization for Women. . . .

Clearly we confront a powerful, common opposition. Of the fifteen states yet to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, twelve are so-called "Right-to-Work" states. We who support social progress must forge an even more powerful movement whose rallying call, like labor's, must become, "Solidarity until Victory."



# 'We need labor in elected office!'

## KC socialist candidate addresses teachers

Below are excerpts from a speech given by James Levitt, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Kansas City School Board, to a May 11 meeting of the Kansas City Federation of Teachers. Sixty teachers were at the meeting.

I work as a machinist, and I'm a member of the United Steelworkers of America. So I'm going to speak to you tonight both as a candidate and as a member of the organized labor movement.

First, on desegregation. The Socialist Workers Party favors thorough desegregation of the Kansas City School District—now. The plan implemented by the school board does not go nearly far enough. Two-way busing of students, aimed at achieving a district-wide racial proportional balance in each school, is necessary to ensure equal sharing of the school district's resources. The "magnet school" plans presently being hailed by the board are no substitute.

Ultimately a metropolitan desegregation plan is needed. And it will take a powerful social movement to force the legislatures and courts to concede metropolitan desegregation.

The teachers union can play a leading role in this fight. First, your union needs to formally, vocally, and vigorously go on record in favor of thoroughly desegregating the Kansas City School District.

This will help win the union fresh support in the Black and Chicano communities—which will help teachers in your continuing struggle to improve your working conditions, your standard of living, and the quality of education of our children.

Next is the question the other candidates refer to as "labor-management relations." We are in favor of full union rights for teachers, including the right to strike. This is a basic right of all working people, and you need it just as much as coal miners, steelworkers, or auto workers.

Last spring, when the board forced you out on strike, our campaign supporters helped organize a student support committee at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. We walked picket lines with you. We sponsored community meetings to give a representative of your negotiating team a chance to explain the teachers' side of the story to the public.

And we pledge to stand by you in the future.

Next, we come to finances—the big question in this election. Every candi-

date here will tell you they're in favor of regaining the state AAA rating of the Kansas City schools. We're all in favor of reducing class sizes. But all this requires money. How are we going to get it?

This financial crisis is not limited to Kansas City. You've seen thousands of your union brothers and sisters fired in New York, left without pay in Cleveland and Toledo, and facing more of the same in Philadelphia.

We need to place the responsibility for this crisis squarely where it be-

longs: on the Democratic and Republican parties, who have placed a criminally low priority on public education.

Working people here in Kansas City have shown our opposition to bond issues; we're opposed to high taxes. *And we should be!*

Education is a right, and the government is responsible for turning that right into reality. And the money we need does exist. We could start by using the \$126 billion wasted on the so-called defense budget. One Trident submarine, which costs \$1.3 billion, could fund the Kansas City schools for fifteen years!

Next, corporations could be taxed to pay for social services and education. The Democrats and Republicans have been cutting corporate taxes steadily since the 1940s. Locally, Crown Center, City Center Square, and TWA have all had their taxes cut.

My opponents in this race propose more of the same methods that brought on the crisis in the first place: sales taxes, earnings taxes, and so forth. All of these methods place the burden of public education on the backs of individual working people.

The approach my party urges requires the labor movement to take the field politically. As a first step in that direction, we urge your union, the Central Labor Council, and other bodies of organized labor to run for office in this election.

Does it make any sense to go out on strike against this board, suffer jailings at the hands of Democratic and Republican party elected officials, suffer the effects of a financial crisis caused by these two parties, and then turn around and vote for them or their supporters on election day?

We don't need any more such "friends of labor" in elected office.

We need labor in elected office!

We urge you to support our campaign as a step on the road to solving the crisis of public education in the United States today.

### the Socialist Campaign for School Board

Upon his departure from the school board, former Board president James Lyndon stated "I am tired of racial and union problems being injected into the education of our children..." But Lyndon neglected to mention who had "injected" racial and union problems into the district. It was the school board itself, which consciously maintained a segregated school system for 25 years. It was the school board and the school district administration which forced the teachers to strike last spring in defense of their right to a union, their standard of living, their working conditions and the quality of education. The Board also instituted a series of cutbacks: it fired 450 teachers in 1976, closed schools without erecting new facilities to

replace them, and increased student-teacher ratios. The end result has been a deterioration in the quality of education provided for our children to the point where the District lost its AAA rating from the state last spring. In campaigning for the half-cent sales tax, the school board members were telling the people of our city that they would have to pay more money for poorer schools. Despite its "nonpartisan" facade, the school board has kept its policies in line with the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties. It has consistently put the priorities of corporate wealth and profits over the needs of the community. It has maintained a school system which reflects and reinforces the injustices and inequalities which exist in our society.

What is needed is a school district leadership committed to overcoming discrimination and social injustice in the schools. We need a new leadership which places human needs before profits and the defense of the status quo. The socialist candidates for school board in the Kansas City School District are pledged to defend the right of Black and Chicano students to equality in education through desegregation. We are resolved to defend the right of teachers to full union representation, and to place the burden of financing the schools on those who can afford it: big business. We are posing an alternative in the school board elections which represents the interests of working people and our children.

#### Shirley Smith



For School Board Member; At-Large

Shirley Smith, 24, is an accountant. A member of the National Organization for Women and the NAACP, she is also experienced in organizing and working with student organizations. Shirley has participated with the Kansas City Coalition Against the "Baker Decision" and the Kansas City Committee Against Desegregation. She recently helped to form a chapter of the Student Coalition Against Racism at Penn Valley Community College. Shirley was a member of a Young Socialist Alliance team that toured college campuses in the South publicizing the March 18 demonstration in Nashville, Tenn., called by the NAACP and other groups to protest South Africa's participation in the Davis Cup tennis matches.

#### Jim Levitt



For School Board Member; At-Large

Jim Levitt, 25, is a machinist and a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 3844. He holds a master's degree in history and was formerly an instructor at Washington University in St. Louis. Jim is a member of the NAACP. In 1974-75 he was active in the national effort to defend school desegregation in Boston.

#### Bill Bolinger



For School Board Member; Sub-District 2

Bill Bolinger, 35, is a auto worker and has been an active member of UAW Local 31 for the past 15 years. Bill was involved in the Democratic party through the McGovern campaign. Following 1972 he concluded that both the Democrats and Republicans served only big business interests and could not solve the problems facing working people, women, and minorities. Bill is a member of the Troost School PTA where his son is enrolled.

## Salt Lake candidate challenges filing fee

By Pam Burchett

SALT LAKE CITY—A suit challenging prohibitive filing fees, brought by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Bill Hoyle of the Socialist Workers Party, has put the SWP campaign here in the middle of the news.

In the days following the filing of the suit, three articles about the legal action and Hoyle's campaign for Congress appeared in the city's two daily papers. Three TV news broadcasts covered it, as well as several radio stations.

The suit challenges the election

law requirement that candidates must pay .25 percent of the total salary for the full term of the office they seek in order to get on the ballot. Candidates for state legislature pay only \$5. Hoyle had to put up \$287.50, and a candidate for U.S. Senate would have to pay \$840.

"This fee is not only arbitrary," Hoyle said. "It is prohibitive. The filing fee for U.S. Senate is the equivalent of two month's take-home pay for most working people in Utah."

Utah ACLU Executive Director Shirley Pedler declared that the filing fee "quite clearly perpetuates the two-party system. The effect of keeping individuals or parties off the ballot for economic reasons is to restrict the citizens' right to vote."

The Utah socialists plan to make the suit a big part of their campaign. "Exorbitant filing fees effectively prohibit steelworkers, miners, office workers, or any of the millions of unemployed from challenging the parties of the banks and big business, the Democrats and Republicans," said Hoyle.

"A victory in this case will not only aid socialists and other independent candidates in Utah," he added, "but it will set a precedent that can aid in eliminating similar laws in other states."



Bill Hoyle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Salt Lake City.

## Socialist supports auto strike

SEATTLE—Harold Schlechtweg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the Seventh District, joined more than 1,000 other unionists here in a May 13 march to support striking auto trades workers.

Members of five local unions—International Association of Machinists, Auto Sheet Metal Workers, Auto Painters, and two Teamster locals—have been on strike against King County Auto Dealers since May 1977. The only issue the dealers still refuse to negotiate is the union security clause.

The aim of the dealers, Schlecht-

weg said in a statement handed out to the demonstrators, "is to restore open shop conditions in an industry which has had a union shop for forty years."

"A victory for the dealers will encourage employers to attack our unions in other industries as well."

"As a socialist and trade unionist, a member of Local 3112, United Steelworkers of America," Schlechtweg said, "I support the auto trades in their strike and am proud to join with the hundreds of other trade unionists here today in this demonstration of labor solidarity."

## Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

☐ I want to join the SWP.  
☐ Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of Prospects for Socialism in America at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$\_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Please send me more information.  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

## JOIN THE SWP



## After 3 1/2 years in prison

# Indian activists vindicated in L.A. trial

By Dave Brown  
and Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk stood with clenched fists, and their supporters wept, cheered, and applauded as a jury declared them not guilty of murder and robbery.

Within hours of the May 24 verdict, the two American Indian Movement (AIM) activists were released from prison. They had been incarcerated on frame-up charges for three years and seven months.

Their trial had lasted an entire year, and pretrial proceedings thirty months.

They had been accused of the 1974 killing of a cab driver at a Ventura County camp used by the Native American community.

In the trial, not a shred of physical evidence was presented against them. The prosecutor's case rested on the unsubstantiated word of three people arrested at the scene with blood on their clothes.

The three admitted hijacking the cab and beating and torturing the driver. In exchange for their freedom, they swore the actual killing had been done

by Skyhorse and Mohawk.

In his summation to the jury, prosecutor Samonsky conceded that if the three had been tried for murder they would almost certainly have been convicted.

At a victory celebration the night of May 25, juror Sandra Gonzales told supporters of Skyhorse and Mohawk that the jury voted unanimously for acquittal on the first ballot.

Richard Mohawk, speaking at a news conference that morning, declared the verdict a defeat for what he characterized as "an FBI frame-up."

The charge was buttressed by recently obtained copies of FBI documents. One established that Skyhorse and Mohawk, founding organizers of Chicago AIM, had been the target of FBI surveillance for some seven years. Another FBI memo discussed bureau plans to disrupt AIM and cut off its support by discrediting it.

At the trial itself, a member of the Ventura County sheriff's staff responsible for liaison with the FBI testified that even though there was no federal jurisdiction involved, FBI agents were on the scene immediately after the murder was reported.

He testified he had no idea who called them, or why they were there.

Additional involvement by the FBI was indicated by its provocative role in AIM. During the pretrial hearings it was revealed that Douglas Durham, who had become an AIM security officer, was an FBI plant.

He had initially advised AIM that Skyhorse and Mohawk were guilty, and for several months they were without the support of their organization.

It was further revealed that "Blue Dove" an AIM activist who was with them the day of the killing, was also an FBI plant.

During the trial, the defense sought to subpoena FBI agents and officials but were blocked by presiding Judge Floyd Dodson who stubbornly asserted the issue was "irrelevant."

Following the trial, Leonard Weinglass, principal attorney for the de-



Richard Mohawk (left) and Paul Skyhorse

Julie Evening Lilly

fense, indicated the matter was not ended, stating, "We hope that the role of the FBI in this case will be further revealed."

Mohawk pointed to a recent burglary of AIM's Los Angeles office and the theft of membership lists.

He said that along with fighting several lesser charges that have been lodged against them, he will resume his activity in AIM. He expressed particular concern over congressional efforts to abrogate remaining Native American rights.

Paul Skyhorse, spending the morning with his five-year-old daughter whom he had not seen since his imprisonment, sent a message to the press conference.

Discussing the trial, Mohawk said their acquittal was not proof that "the system works," but rather that the jury was persuaded of their innocence. "These twelve people gave us our free-

dom, not the judicial system," he declared.

During the trial, AIM activists and others were able to build a defense committee which aided greatly in fighting the frame-up.

Support of the National Council of Churches was enlisted, and through three national fund appeals this raised sufficient money to cover legal expenses.

Rallies, demonstrations, and benefits were held frequently here. One benefit, featuring entertainment by Buffy St. Marie, drew 2,000 people.

In a *Militant* interview, Mohawk voiced his thanks "for the spiritual and financial support from the community and people around the country."

He expressed appreciation to the *Militant* for its "fair and extensive" coverage of the case.

## Continuing harassment

LOS ANGELES—Since their arrest, Skyhorse and Mohawk have been subjected to constant harassment and victimization including a variety of trumped-up charges. Because of these, they were required to post a total of \$16,000 bail before being released from prison.

Then, as a final touch, Skyhorse was told he could not be released unless he posted an additional sixty-five dollars bond on a 1974 traffic violation. Skyhorse did not own a car and was in prison on the date the alleged violation occurred. But to get him out, the defense committee posted the sixty-five dollars.

## Tuition tax credit: no break for working people

By Nancy Cole

The easiest way to camouflage reactionary legislation these days is to pass it off as a tax break for the average American.

It's a well-known fact that working people pay too many taxes and corporations pay next to none. So it's easy to whip up support for mea-

## As I see it

sures that purport to offer the average wage earner some tax credit.

What's wrong, for instance, with a bill to offer parents tax credit for half the tuition they pay—up to \$500—from elementary school through college?

That's the essence of a bill now awaiting Senate action, having been approved by the Senate Finance Committee. The House version of the bill allows only for college tuition credit, but it is expected that an amendment will be proposed adding elementary and secondary tuition credit when it comes up for debate on the House floor.

Yet the bill is opposed by the American Federation of Teachers, National Education Association, AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, Urban League, NAACP, Parent Teachers Association,

and a host of other groups.

The main fire is directed against the elementary and secondary school tuition credit. For one thing, \$500 for each private school student is considerably more than the \$128 a year spent by the federal government on each public school student.

At a time when public school budgets are being ripped to shreds—teachers laid off by the thousands, critical education programs dropped—it seems out of kilter to propose *increasing* aid to private schools.

The AFT estimates that the cost of the bill would reach \$4.7 billion in 1980. Right now the total federal support for elementary and secondary schools is only \$6.7 billion.

More than 80 percent of nonpublic schools are run by religious institutions. So what happened to the constitutional principle of separation of church and state? Five years ago, the Supreme Court struck down a state-tax-benefit plan for parochial schools.

But the most ominous aspect of the proposed legislation is the aid it would give to opponents of desegregated education. It amounts to an outright subsidy to racist efforts to sabotage school busing by providing "alternative" schools for whites.

Not so, says cosponsor Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.). It is a bill, he argues, "to encourage educational choice."

Few proponents of desegregation fall for that, however. In a May 16 letter to Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, Arthur Flemming, head of the

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, wrote, "The commission opposes such legislation on the grounds that it would unconstitutionally subsidize private schools which have been established to circumvent the desegregation of public schools."

Objections to the college tuition credit aspect of the bill center around its across-the-board application. Writes AFT President Albert Shanker, "For the rich, \$500 means a little extra spending money; for the poor, it is not enough for college."

It will only be used, critics contend, as an excuse to cut back, rather than expand, programs to aid low-income college students.

The AFT, in particular Shanker, has waged quite a campaign against the tuition credit bill. "It will be the beginning of the end for American public education," says Shanker. "It won't end with a \$500 credit, and it won't end at the federal level."

As private school subsidies go up, aid to public education will plunge.

Along with Senator Packwood, the other central sponsor of the Senate bill is New York Democrat Patrick Moynihan. When Moynihan ran for the Senate in 1976, Shanker threw him the AFT's enthusiastic backing, claiming Moynihan "favors more aid to education, more aid to the cities."

This is another example of what kind of "aid" Moynihan had in mind. And another example of why neither teachers nor other working people can put any stock in the promises of Democratic and Republican politicians.

# Behind split in the RCP

## Rifts in Peking bureaucracy tear apart U.S. Maoists

By David Frankel

During the 1960s, Maoism became an influential current among radical youth around the world. Over the past few years, however, the Maoists have been beset by a deep political crisis. Many of their earlier gains have been eroded as a result.

The most recent indication of this crisis here in the United States came this January when the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) split. The RCP had been the largest Maoist organization in the country, but the split took 40 percent of its membership (or "somewhat less than one third," depending on which side one believes). The RCP also lost the majority of its youth organization.

Similar factional struggles and splits have been taking place in Maoist groups all over the world. The explanation for this development is to be found in the policies of the Chinese regime.

### Pro-imperialist policy

Under Mao's direction, the Peking regime began to follow an openly pro-imperialist foreign policy in the early 1970s. This was symbolized by Mao's warm reception for Richard Nixon in Peking in February 1972, at the same time that U.S. warplanes were raining death on Vietnam.

After Mao designated the Soviet regime as the main enemy of the people of the world, the right-wing character of Peking's foreign policy became increasingly apparent.

In the name of opposing the supposed Soviet threat, Peking has backed imperialist war spending and called for strengthening the NATO alliance. The Maoist regime has also backed many of the most repressive capitalist dictatorships, such as those in Iran and Chile, on the basis of their strong opposition to Moscow.

These reactionary policies have been hard to swallow for groups that were originally built up on the basis of opposition to imperialism during the Vietnam War. In the United States, Mao's course finally led to a debate within the Maoist milieu when the *Guardian* newspaper criticized Peking's policy in Angola. (Together with Washington, Peking focused its fire against the Soviet and Cuban presence in Angola.)

While the *Guardian* became more and more critical of Peking's foreign policy, Mao's betrayals were defended up and down the line by the October League [OL—now called the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)].

The RCP took a third course. It tried to squirm out of the dilemma by claiming to defend Peking's policy while misrepresenting that policy, which was to join hands with the imperialists against the USSR. The RCP tried to maintain its anti-imperialist image by attacking OL's version of the Peking line.

Thus, a major article in the January 1977 issue of *Revolution* charged that the OL was falling into "objective unity with U.S. imperialism" because of its focus against the Soviet Union. The article continued:

"And how, we must ask, does OL's agitation around the USSR as the main source of war differ in substance, once it is stripped of its flimsy 'Marxist' cloak, from the agitation and propaganda of the U.S. bourgeoisie itself?"

A good question. However, the RCP should have addressed it not to OL, but to the Maoist regime in Peking. This must have become clear to many RCP members in July 1977, when Peking formally recognized the CP(ML)—OL's successor—as its chosen representative in the United States.

But if the CP(ML) remained true to Mao's foreign policy, which was not



Demonstrators wave Mao's 'little red book' during Cultural Revolution. RCP split after Mao's successors began reversing many policies initiated during Cultural Revolution and downplaying Mao cult.

changed after his death, it is the RCP that has been loyal to the domestic policies of the "Great Helmsman."

### 'Gang of four'

In October 1976—only six weeks after Mao's death—the Chinese Communist Party officially announced the purge of the "gang of four." The "gang" included Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's widow, as well as three other top party leaders who had been most closely associated with the dead tyrant.

It soon became clear that the attack on the "gang of four" was really an attack on Mao himself. An article by Les Evans in the December 31, 1976, *Militant* summed up the situation less than four months after Mao's death:

"Now the Chinese press has launched a massive campaign to expose the 'towering crimes' of the four. The campaign has turned into a broadside attack on the economic and cultural policies of the Mao regime over the last decade."

The disgrace of Mao's closest followers and the rehabilitation of his chief enemies in the party hierarchy has been accompanied by the rapid dismantling of the remnants of Mao's "Cultural Revolution."

Thus, Maoist groups around the world, which had originally been built around opposition to imperialism and unquestioning loyalty to Mao and glorification of his personal leadership, have had their foundations pulled from under them.

Under these circumstances, the CP(ML) chose to retain its identification with the Peking regime at all costs—even if it meant repudiating

policies that it had defended unflaggingly for years.

RCP sympathizer C. Clark Kissinger had some justice on his side when he remarked in November 1976 in regard to the purge of Mao's faction, "If a chimpanzee had been elected chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, he would have gotten a telegram of congratulations from [CP(ML) Chairman] Michael Klonsky."

### RCP shuts up

However, the RCP is hardly in a position to flaunt its supposed dedication to principle. *For a year and a half, the RCP maintained total silence on the purge in China and on the new internal policies being followed by the regime.*

As in the debate on Peking's foreign policy, RCP Chairman Bob Avakian thought he could cheat his way out of political difficulties. When Avakian was no longer able to evade the political issues within his own organization, he proposed that the RCP adopt a position in support of the defeated Mao faction, *but that its backing for the "gang of four" be kept secret from all but the RCP's most trusted supporters.*

Not even all those in the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, the RCP's youth organization, would be told the truth, according to a report by Avakian to the RCP's central committee. "Only those closest to the party within the RCYB should be told our full position," Avakian said.

If Avakian were operating in China, his reticence would not be so strange. Over there, the people with his position are in jail.

But here in the United States, Ava-

kian and his followers are afraid of an open debate that would lead to them being publicly denounced as counterrevolutionaries by Peking.

After all, Avakian is well aware that disagreements in the Maoist movement are not dealt with by democratic, open discussion. The ranks of the RCP, like those of other Maoist groups, have been trained to react on command from Peking. Would they now be able to stand up for their position in defiance of the Chinese government? Avakian obviously hoped he would not have to find out.

### What RCP defends

Of course, Avakian may also be aware of the problems involved in defending the record of his hero, now that the Peking regime has begun to tell a little bit of the truth about Mao's rule.

Under Mao's leadership, anyone who expressed the slightest disagreement with the government or the Mao cult was imprisoned or deported to remote "reeducation" camps. Mao's policies left China's educational system in chaos, disrupted the country's economy, and hurt the standard of living of the Chinese masses.

Meanwhile, those who carried out these policies in the name of "class struggle" and "socialist revolution" were living in luxury never dreamed of by the Chinese workers and farmers.

All this has now been admitted by the new rulers in Peking. Discontent among the masses had become evident and was threatening to get out of hand. Just as Khrushchev made concessions to the Soviet masses following the death of Stalin, Chairman Hua



Kuo-feng has begun to make concessions of his own in order to preserve the basic structure of bureaucratic rule.

But Avakian wants none of this. He defends the worst abuses of the Mao regime. In a report titled, "Revisionists are Revisionists and Must Not Be Supported; Revolutionaries are Revolutionaries and Must Be Supported," Avakian declared that "the capitalist-roaders . . . have now usurped supreme power in China and are taking China down the capitalist road."

In the field of culture and art, Avakian charged, the new line "is to let a hundred poisonous weeds bloom. . . ." Even "such things as Shakespeare, Greek mythology, the piano compositions of Beethoven, Chopin and Bach, the drawings of Rembrandt, etc., are being allowed into China. . . ."

True followers of the Mao cult are, like loyal members of the Catholic church, expected to abide by an index of prohibited works.

### Maoists 'debate'

Avakian's position on China was narrowly adopted by the RCP leadership in December, but a substantial minority, led by RCP Central Committee member Mickey Jarvis, opposed the new line.

Not surprisingly, the Maoist-Stalinist organization that Avakian and Jarvis had collaborated in building proved totally incapable of carrying out any kind of democratic discussion. An open letter by the Jarvis faction in the RCYB (renamed the Revolutionary Student Brigade), described the way the debate was conducted by Avakian's followers in Cincinnati:

"They came complete with chains, bats, blackjacks and attacked our members—particularly the National Office of the Brigade. Six foot six goons wielding baseball bats clubbed women."

Nor is the Jarvis faction ready to talk out the issues with its former leader. Jarvis and the others in his group stood up with the rest of the RCP and applauded Avakian in the standing ovations that were considered obligatory for public appearances by the "Chairman." Now, however, they address their open letter to "Pipsqueak Avakian." This particular piece in the debate featured a caricature of Avakian with the caption, "This short person's got no reason to live."

### Double-talk from Avakian

To this day, Avakian has refused to admit publicly that the issue of China was involved in the split of the RCP. When it comes to the central issue in the split, readers of *Revolution* are treated to obscure hints. Thus, in the April-May *Revolution*, a lengthy article on the split never mentions the question of the Chinese regime. Referring to the RCP Central Committee meeting where the fight came out into the open, it says:

"The Central Committee met to discuss vitally important developments which served to concentrate the two lines within the Party. And the resolution of this . . . was that the revisionist line and splitting and wrecking activities of these opportunists were rejected. . . . In future issues of *Revolution* we will further explore and analyze some of these questions."

What "vitally important developments" precipitated the split? What are the questions that *Revolution* plans to "explore and analyze"? Avakian doesn't say.

The same issue of *Revolution* prints Avakian's opening remarks at the RCP's postsplit convention. Here too, Avakian refers only obliquely to what is happening in China. At one point he says:

"Mao understood and constantly taught that one Cultural Revolution would not be enough to prevent capitalist restoration, and he constantly reminded the masses of the possibility of reversals and the danger of revisionist triumph and the rise to power of the bourgeoisie all throughout the socialist transition period."

Another article in the April-May *Revolution* is devoted to extolling "Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions," never mentioning the role of the current Chinese leadership. Avakian is clearly preparing to quote Mao against his successors.

### Who is for Chinese people?

As a defender of the existing Chinese regime, Jarvis, who has organized the "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters," makes no bones about the origin of the dispute.

Jarvis's faction makes its case in an article in the March 1978 issue of *The Young Communist*. The article, titled "Counterfeit Crew Unmasked," says that the "gang of four" turned their backs on the Chinese people, and that by refusing to support the Hua regime, "The Avakianites have also chosen to turn their backs on the Chinese people."

Yes, the Mao faction did turn its back on the Chinese people. A regime that truly represented the Chinese masses would have had no need for the tyrannical methods used by Mao.

In defending the criminal record of the Mao regime, Avakian acts as an enemy of the Chinese people and of the socialist cause.

But what about Jarvis, who hopes to pawn himself off as the representative of 900 million Chinese? Is he any better?

### Jarvis picks winner

The regime that Jarvis supports has just admitted that for the past ten years the Chinese government has been systematically framing up and victimizing innocent people. It admits that education, cultural life, and economic progress were badly hurt.

Revolutionists in the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance were pointing out these facts at the time, while Jarvis was energetically defending the Mao regime.

Does Jarvis now say that it is necessary to discuss how it was possible for such crimes to be carried out by a supposedly socialist government? Does he suggest that a reassessment of the past is now in order?

No. Instead, he jumps to denounce what he previously defended and assures everybody that things are now fine in China.

But how does Jarvis know that things are fine? Why should he be any more correct this time around than last time?

The fact is that Jarvis is defending the interests of the current Chinese government, not of the Chinese people. The quarrel between Avakian and Jarvis is not over revolutionary politics but over which bureaucratic clique to defend. Unlike Avakian, who remains loyal to Mao, Jarvis wants to go with the winner.

Unfortunately for Jarvis, the Peking regime already has an authorized toady in the United States—Chairman Michael Klonsky of the CP(ML). Unless Jarvis can secure a second franchise from Peking, his future as an "independent" leader appears dim.

### 'Excellent' situation?

As for Avakian, he is simply continuing his policy of trying to lie and bully his way out of difficulties. After the loss of the majority of his youth organization and at least a third of the RCP, he insists in the February issue of *Revolution*:

"All told, the situation in the RCYB is truly excellent, and the basis is laid for even further advances in organizing among students and youth."

In case bravado like this is not enough to reassure his shrinking membership, Avakian has launched a series of violent attacks on other groups on the left to insulate the RCP from political discussion.

His thugs have assaulted meetings held in solidarity with the coal miners in their recent strike, meetings in defense of democratic rights in Iran, and, of course, their own former comrades in the Revolutionary Socialist Brigade.

This frenzy, however, cannot save Avakian and the RCP, any more than Jarvis's toadying to Peking can assure success for the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters.

In the long run, there is no future for groups claiming to be socialist unless they have a program based on the interests of the international working class. Those who thought that Maoism could provide such a program were sadly mistaken. As the breakup of the Maoist movement continues, hopefully many will choose instead the road of revolutionary socialism.

## ...Blanco

Continued from page 3

him from his bed at 4:30 a.m. May 19, a few hours after he had appealed for support to the strike on television.

As of the end of May, Peru remained under a "state of emergency," including curfews, suspension of constitutional rights, and suppression of non-government weeklies. (The daily press and electronic media were already under government control.)

The elections have been postponed from June 4 to June 18, but the May 30 *Washington Post* reported that "it looks increasingly doubtful that the government will proceed with the election on June 18."

"It is generally believed the military was so shaken by the general strike and the ability of the left to organize it that a major reassessment of the government's political agenda is now under way."

## ...Zaire

Continued from page 5

butu said the zone would be cleared of all residents, after which his troops would "shoot at anything that moves within the area."

While imperialist troops helping Mobutu suppress the Shaba rebels, the banks appear to be closing ranks behind his regime. Browning says in the *Monitor* that "reports from New York City say a Citibank consortium is prepared to follow through on plans for another loan for Zaire despite doubtful financial reports. . . ."

## ...school

Continued from page 7

discriminatory funding. They have had older facilities, fewer materials, and generally poorer education.

For example, at the time of the NAACP's lawsuit, reading levels at Andrew Jackson were among the lowest in New York. The two nearest high schools in predominantly white areas had among the highest.

This pattern remains true throughout New York. Schools in the nation's largest city are more segregated today than they were in 1954 when the U.S. Supreme Court decreed that desegregation was the "law of the land."

Judge Dooling failed to rule on one major demand in the NAACP's lawsuit: cross-county busing. Jackson is about one mile from the boundary between New York City and Nassau County, a largely-white area where Blacks are a very small percentage of the student population.

The NAACP urged that children be bused across this boundary in order to desegregate Queens schools. Dooling ducked the question on technical grounds, leaving it open for future litigation.

James Meyerson, the attorney who argued this case for the NAACP, emphasized the importance of Dooling's decision. "Any time we win a civil rights case we are making a significant advancement," he said.

Eli Green, a spokesperson for the New York chapter of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, a group that has been active in the struggle to desegregate Jackson, also welcomed Dooling's latest decision. "It could be a major step towards winning desegregation of all New York City high schools," he said.

But Board of Education President Steven Aiello and Schools Chancellor Irving Anker have vowed to go "all the way with appeals" against the order.

"What's needed to overcome the racist opposition to desegregation at Andrew Jackson," said Green, "is to build actions such as teach-ins, marches, and demonstrations that can help mobilize broad community and labor support."

## —From Pathfinder Press—

# China: Marxism Versus Maoism



**Leon Trotsky on China** includes Trotsky's writings on the 1925-27 revolution in China. 688 pages. \$7.45

**Marxism versus Maoism**—A reply to the *Guardian* by Tony Thomas. Includes "Lenin, Mao, and the Theory of Two-Stage Revolution." \$60

**Women in China** by Katie Curtin. A Canadian feminist examines the changes in women's status since the Chinese revolution. 95 pages. \$1.95

**The Chinese Revolution** by Peng Shu-tse and Peng Pi-lan. Part one only. Education for Socialists bulletin. \$85

**The Chinese Revolution and its Development.** Anthology. Documents and resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party on China and the nature of Maoism. Education for Socialists bulletin. \$75

**Revolutionaries in Mao's Prisons**—The Case of the Chinese Trotskyists by Li Fu-jen and Peng Shu-tse. \$50

**China & the USA**—Behind the Great Turnabout by Dick Roberts. \$60

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 with payment for postage and handling, \$.50 if order of more than \$5.00.



## Offers cancer or layoffs

# Reserve Mining blackmails iron ore workers

By Fred Virts

VIRGINIA, Minn.—Reserve Mining has threatened to close its operations on the Mesabi Iron Range if state officials succeed in forcing the company to install pollution-monitoring equipment to keep track of its taconite wastes.

Reserve, jointly owned by Republic Steel and Armco Steel, mines taconite, a low-grade iron ore. The iron is extracted, leaving two-thirds of the ore as residues called tailings. Taconite tailings are high in asbestos.

Asbestos is known to cause cancer.

Reserve dumps 67,000 tons of taconite tailings into Lake Superior every single day.

The city of Duluth, and other communities on the north shore of Lake Superior, draw their drinking water from it. Duluth has some of the highest rates of stomach and gastrointestinal cancers in the country.

Since 1969, Reserve Mining and the Minnesota State government have come under attack for allowing this massive pollution to continue. In response, an "alternative" has been proposed to dumping in Lake Superior—on-land disposal of tailings. This is the process used by other taconite-mining companies.

An area of almost six square miles near Silver Bay, known as Mile Post 7, is the site for this scheme. But it isn't much of an alternative.

The state's *Draft Environmental Impact Statement* of October 1975, while admitting there is no known safe



Cartoon from 'Range Facts,' a local newspaper in Aurora, Minnesota

exposure level to asbestos fibers, goes on to say that "it should be recognized that all asbestiform fibers cannot be kept out of waters and the air surrounding the proposed Mile Post 7 site or the alternative sites. This is inherent in on-land disposal of Reserve Mining Company's tailings."

Seepage through the proposed dams surrounding Mile Post 7 into nearby streams has been accepted as inevitable. The dams themselves will be built with asbestos-laden tailings.

There are no proposed controls over air pollution. It will take up to five years to establish a monitoring station—which will only find out how much the air is polluted.

For years the Minnesota State government has pandered to every wish of the steel companies on the Mesabi Range. A "taconite tax law" constitutional amendment was enacted in 1964 exempting these corporate giants from paying any land taxes on the taconite mines for twenty-five years.

There are no pollution controls to speak of at present. A number of court orders to halt Reserve's dumping of tailings into Lake Superior in 1974 and 1975 have been either tied up in court or simply ignored.

Reserve's threat to shut down was based on the false claim that it can't afford to finish the Mile Post 7 disposal site. The company also declared it would import taconite rather than mine it here.

Its threat to import ore exposes the hypocrisy of the steel industry's scare campaign against steel imports.

Democratic Party politicians were quick to take Reserve's side. Gov. Rudy Perpich asked "both sides" to be "reasonable," and U.S. Senator Muriel Humphrey and Wendell Anderson told Reserve they would seek federal financing for Mile Post 7.

Regardless of the outcome of the latest skirmish, Reserve will continue to dump taconite tailings for the two to five years it will take to complete the Mile Post 7 plant.

And even if Reserve finally stops dumping taconite, the long-term damage to Lake Superior is incalculable. It is one of the largest bodies of fresh water in the world.

Old-timers recall that not so long ago you could see twenty feet down in the lake. Those days are gone, perhaps forever.

During the time it has taken you to read this article, 500 tons of Reserve's taconite tailings has settled on the bottom of Lake Superior.

## Steel notes...

### Protest firing of union activist

Tom Tomasko, a member of United Steelworkers Local 5649, is winning support in his fight to regain his job at Cerro Metals in Newark, California. Cerro hired private detectives to "investigate" Tomasko after he wrote an article for the *Militant* about dangerous working conditions at the plant. Tomasko was also known as a leading activist in support of the coal miners' strike.

The pretext for the firing was that Tomasko had falsified his job application by not listing a former clerical job. But Cerro management admitted that his work record at their plant was good.

Local 5649 is challenging Tomasko's victimization through the grievance procedure. To strengthen the union case, Tomasko is also soliciting public support from unionists and supporters of civil liberties.

One of those who has spoken out is Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100, who worked with Tomasko in the Bay Area coalition to support the miners. "Maybe I'm a bit old-fashioned," Johnson says, "but I believe a person ought to be judged on their work performance rather than their politics or religion. Employers should spend their time improving working conditions rather than spending unnecessary time and money engaging in witch-hunts."

Mike Nye, business agent of the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council, states: "It is no coincidence that disciplinary action occurred after a critical article was written by Tom. This is a typical employer tactic which has been used historically and one which we will continue to fight."

Tomasko told the *Militant* that at the May 8 meeting of Local 5649, "there was a lot of anger expressed over the company's violation of my constitutional rights of free speech and expression. Even more, though, the members were upset about the threat this firing means to job security. As long as the company claims the right to fire you at any time for falsifications or omissions on an application, there is no job security."

### Inflation fighter?

Edgar Speer, chairman of U.S. Steel Corporation, says he can't promise to hold the line on either steel prices or executive salaries, as President Carter has suggested. Speer's own salary last year was a tidy \$373,000. But then, \$100,000 won't buy what it used to.

Meanwhile, *Business Week* reports it is "almost certain" that the steel companies will raise prices in the next few weeks. That's on top of the 6.6 percent steel price hikes already imposed this year. Markets have been strengthening, and plants are now operating at more than 92 percent of capacity.

A major factor in allowing the increase is the government's system of "trigger prices" to protect the U.S. steel monopoly from foreign competition. The Carter administration's recent 5 percent increase in trigger prices allows the U.S. companies freedom to jack up prices without fear of being undersold.

—Andy Rose

## Kansas City bosses attack food industry workers

By Bruce Lesnick

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Hundreds of union meat cutters here are on strike against area food chains. At issue is an attempt by Safeway, A&P, Milgrams, and United Super stores to introduce block-ready beef and prepricing of cold cuts at retail stores.

Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers Local 576 contends that this mechanization would eventually eliminate 25 percent of meat cutters' jobs.

The union refuses to agree to any mechanization plan that is not coupled with a guarantee of no layoffs.

The strike began April 9 at five United Super stores, spreading a day later to Milgrams stores. A&P stores were struck April 21. Then Safeway announced a lockout of its meat cutters May 8.

Most grocery store clerks refrained from crossing the meat cutters' picket lines. Then, on May 7, the 2,400 members of the Retail Store Employees Union Local 782 joined the picket lines—launching their first local strike ever.

As with the meat cutters, the main issue for the clerks was job security. Negotiators for the food chains tried to introduce "non-food stockers" as a new job classification for stores scheduled to be built.

These non-food stockers would be paid three to four dollars per hour less than clerks. Aside from the fact that nearly all of these jobs are now held by clerks, it was feared that introducing the new category would lay the basis for expanding it later to eliminate even more clerks' positions.

After a week the clerks reached a settlement prohibiting this new cate-

gory from including more than the five currently employed by A&P.

Members of the Teamsters who deliver to local grocery store warehouses have also been honoring the meat cutters' picket lines.

On May 4, 315 driver-salespeople at area bakeries, represented by Teamsters Local 335, went on strike for wage increases and shorter working hours. The drivers now work sixty to seventy hours per week.

Six hundred members of Bakery and Confectionary Workers Union Local 218 have been honoring the Teamsters' and meat cutters' picket lines.

The offensive against workers in the food industry here was carefully coordinated. The grocery chains began by jointly setting up and publicizing a scab hiring hall to break the meat cutters' strike.

Safeway, the biggest of the chains, has generously donated its management personnel to the other stores to fill positions of striking meat cutters and clerks.

And, of course, the store owners have made full use of the big-business news media to try to convince consumers that granting the strikers' demands would result in higher food prices.

Unfortunately, this antilabor propaganda has yet to be answered in a countercampaign by the Kansas City labor movement.

Each union involved has gone its separate way, rather than joining forces to fight back.

In spite of the grocery chains' arrogance, the spirit of the strikers remains unshaken. One of the pickets seemed to speak for many when she told the *Militant*, "As long as it takes to settle this I will be out."

## 'I fight to make U.S. respect the right to asylum'

Following are major excerpts from an article by José Reveles printed in the April 10 'Proceso,' a Mexico City newsweekly. Translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

NEW YORK—Do you know when it will be possible to speak of political reform in Mexico?, Héctor Marroquín Manríquez was asked. "When there is not one political prisoner. When no one is persecuted or disappears because of his ideas. Without amnesty for political prisoners, what they are calling political reform means nothing."

Héctor is twenty-four years old. The object of persecution since 1974, he was forced to enter the United States and work illegally. In 1974 he was a Mexican student, active in politics at the Autonomous University of Nuevo León [UANL]. And he was accused—"ridiculously, absurdly," he says—of taking part in violent guerrilla actions.

He asked for political asylum in the United States when "La Migra"—the American police who arrest undocumented *braceros*—took him prisoner and were preparing to send him to Mexico. "Even if the absurd charges against me should be withdrawn, I don't think I would return to Mexico now—there are too many political murder cases that have never been cleared up; too many persons have disappeared."

He is now awaiting a U.S. government decision on his request for asylum. "But my case is not a personal matter; I am fighting to expose political repression in Mexico and make the United States respect the right to asylum. Asylum here has been discriminatory."

Héctor Marroquín had to flee when the police singled him out as "one of the murderers" of UANL librarian Joel Rojo Hernández. "I was teaching a class at High School No. 8 when that occurred, leaving aside the fact that I have never agreed with the practice of political terrorism, individual terrorism—which only brings adverse

consequences for those seeking change by other means and which miseducates the people, since it involves an act isolated from the struggle and consciousness of the workers and peasants."

Four other youths were denounced as "guerrillas" at that time along with Héctor, who was then twenty years old. They met with a worse fate: two died in purported confrontations with the police, one was sent to jail, and the fourth, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, disappeared several years ago after being detained by the police.

The story of Héctor Marroquín could fill pages. He would later be accused—once he was already in the United States—of participating in a confrontation with the police on April 23, 1974. "It was strange to be sitting in my house in Houston, and at the same time read about a shootout in Monterrey in which, according to the police, I had been wounded in the shoulder."

But the crudest accusation against Héctor was that he took part in an attack on a bakery on August 29, 1974. Marroquín had been in the University of Texas hospital since August 10 with a fractured leg, a punctured lung, and other injuries suffered in an auto accident.

"Besides all that, I am accused of conspiracy and sedition, the classic charges the Mexican police make when they want to eliminate someone or justify jailings or even criminal acts," explains Héctor, who in recent weeks has been on a tour of various U.S. cities (he intends to go to the eighty principal ones, at least), seeking support and solidarity for the causes to which he has committed himself. He is doing this full-time, since the American authorities have prohibited him from working so long as his asylum case remains unresolved.

Today the case is receiving very broad publicity in the United States. He has the support of the most progressive groups and individuals, from Aileen Adams of Amnesty International to Joan Baez, Angela Davis, Noam



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/Harry Ring

Chomsky, Herbert Marcuse, and many others. There is a Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, which paid the extraordinary bail of \$10,000 the judge imposed in order to free the Mexican.

The documentation assembled by attorney Margaret Winter and by the whole Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee is impressive both in its quantity and its persuasiveness. It includes everything from pay stubs in the Uni-

ted States for the dates when Héctor was supposedly participating in some criminal action in Mexico, to documents from the hospital where he was treated, clippings from newspapers in which his photo appeared as a man wanted by the police, and clippings reporting the murders of other youths accused of the same crimes.

Using documents, the attorney shows how the U.S. authorities have committed a series of violations in Marroquín's case. While they were telling the young Mexican that they couldn't verify if he was actually being persecuted in his country, the same immigration authorities had already sent a memorandum to the State Department including photographs and a letter from the chief of the federal police in Monterrey requesting Marroquín's deportation.

Héctor does not hide his convictions. He speaks with *Proceso* in the office his defense committee has rented. "I am a socialist," he says. "I think socialism is the only way to solve the economic crisis facing Mexican society."

"I believe that only the workers, peasants, teachers, and students can carry out this change, organized independently of official control—that is, the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party, Mexico's ruling party]—which does not represent their interests but those of the ruling class and the big corporations. What's needed is a party that really represents the workers. I think it's necessary to be patient, to try to educate and organize to bring this about."

Finally, Héctor expresses his "enthusiasm and optimism" that his asylum request will be favorably resolved. "Whatever happens I will stay active in the struggle against deportation of undocumented workers, and I will certainly do as much as I possibly can to defend politically persecuted Latin Americans. Those are the two sides to my case, and I've realized that if what I've gone through is good for anything, that is how to take advantage of it."

## New proof of repression in Mexico sent to INS

By Roger Rudenstein

New documents supporting Héctor Marroquín's case for political asylum in the United States have been submitted to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) by Margaret Winter, Marroquín's attorney.

"We are sending more than 100 pages of sworn statements to the INS," Winter told the *Militant*. "These statements are by Mexicans who are willing to come to the United States to testify in support of Marroquín."

Marroquín was a student leader who was forced to flee Mexico in 1974 to escape persecution on phony charges of murder and "subversion." Since moving to the United States, he has been active in a Teamster organizing drive and has joined the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

The INS has threatened to deport him back to Mexico where he would be jailed, tortured, and possibly killed. "The new documents," said Winter, "show that fabricated charges, torture, and arbitrary and unreasonable sentences are the norm in Mexico. This contrasts sharply with what INS chief Leonel Castillo told Marroquín last March. Castillo said that he didn't believe there was any repression in Mexico. He also said that Marroquín would be treated 'fairly' by the INS."

"But the evidence shows the only fair thing Castillo can do is quit burying his head in the sand and grant Héctor Marroquín political asylum."

Among the statements is one by Elisa Gutiérrez de Cortés, who lives in the city of Oaxaca. Cortés is the mother of four sons who have been tortured by the Mexican police because of their political activities.

Another sworn statement has been submitted from Manuel Peña Doria, the principal of High School No. 8 in Monterrey. Héctor Marroquín taught at that school while he was studying at the University of Nuevo León.

Peña testifies that many teachers and students at his school were constantly harassed and persecuted by the police. This included "arbitrary and illegal arrests, torture, solitary confinement, and threats against their lives," says Peña.

He states that Marroquín was a political activist with "legal goals who was anxious to democratically transform the university and Mexican society as a whole." He says that others with similar views were arrested and tortured by the police. This kind of repression is still going on today, Peña reports.

"Peña's statement deals a blow to the INS's attempt to deny that Marroquín is a political refugee," observed Winter. Last December, Joe Staley, the INS official in charge of Marroquín's case, sent a letter to the State Department asking for an "advisory" opinion on the case.

In the letter Staley made a big point of telling the State Department that

the Monterrey cops had accused Marroquín of criminal activities, not "political offenses." He tried to buttress his argument by noting that although Marroquín arrived in the United States in 1974, he didn't go to *la migra* to ask for political asylum until he was arrested for not having the proper papers.

"As Peña's testimony shows," said Winter, "the Mexican government makes up phony criminal charges to persecute activists solely because of their political views. As long as U.S. immigration officials take these as good coin, it's no wonder that people like Héctor Marroquín don't go to them for 'help.'"

### How you can help

**MY STORY**  
By Héctor Marroquín



**The Struggle for Political Asylum in the U.S.**

This pamphlet, available in English and Spanish, outlines the facts of Marroquín's case and shows that he is innocent of the charges of terrorism leveled against him by the Mexican government. The price is fifty cents, or thirty-five cents a copy in orders of ten or more.

You can help save Marroquín's life by ordering and selling this pamphlet in your area.

You can also help by:

- Donating money to the defense effort;
- Circulating petitions demanding asylum for Marroquín;
- Endorsing the defense committee;
- Getting your union or other organization to endorse Marroquín's request for political asylum.

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



By Nancy Cole

"Nothing is more important to the labor movement at this point in its history. Nothing," says George Meany.

The AFL-CIO president is talking about the labor law reform bill now being filibustered on the floor of the Senate. For some time, this legislation has been the rallying cry and political priority of virtually every union in the country.

The Labor Law Reform Bill would amend the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, known as the Wagner Act. It passed the House last year, but it has been stopped and may well be killed in the Senate.

The bill aims to strengthen the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), giving it somewhat more power to penalize those employers who violate the law's prescriptions for union organizing. The J.P. Stevens organizing drive—and the company's illegal victimization of union organizers and supporters—is often cited as a prime example of why such reform is needed.

The debate over what appears to be a modest reform has been heated and long-winded. Lined up noisily against the bill are such right-wing business outfits as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers. They claim it will lead to "pushbutton unionism" at a much higher cost to the bosses.

Those who support it—from President Carter to eight present and former secretaries of labor—counter that it is neither pronoun nor antiunion.

#### Businessman Carter

"I have gone over every item in this labor reform package," says Carter in an interview reprinted and distributed by the AFL-CIO. "It is much more moderate or conservative or much more inclined toward the employer's position than it was in its original form. . . .

"I am a businessman, I have been an employer, and I want to be sure that both the rights of workers and their employers are protected," Carter concludes.

The bill is likely to be even more "inclined" toward business by the time it comes up for a vote in the Senate. Opponents have already introduced 400 amendments to it.

The target of these amendments are the bill's more positive features—sections requiring prompt representation elections, rehiring of illegally discharged activists, double back pay for those fired, and loss of federal contracts for the law's persistent violators.

The bill's "friends" in Congress are likely to accept a good number of amendments. That has been the pattern all along.

For instance, Carter at first refused to support the labor reform bill. He gave it his blessing only after the AFL-CIO agreed to drop a section repealing section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act—the infamous "right to work" provision that allows states to outlaw the union shop.

But aside from what the bill *doesn't* have, as it stands is it worthy of labor's all-out support? Is it what is needed to head off the attacks on workers and revitalize the union movement, which now stands at less than 25 percent of the U.S. nonfarm work force?

The problem, recognized by all union activists, is that employers stall, harass and fire union activists, and otherwise obstruct organizing efforts with virtual impunity.

But what is the role of the NLRB? The fact is that the NLRB has more and more openly *joined* the employers in attacking working people (see box).

The NLRB is above all an agency of the capitalist government. Its purpose is to uphold "labor peace"—meaning no strikes and no expansion of union power. The NLRB tries to keep the unions bound and gagged with legal restrictions while the employers escalate their antilabor offensive.

Take the J. P. Stevens organizing drive. The 44,000 textile workers at this company's sweatshops throughout the

South are among the most exploited in the country. Their efforts to bring the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union to their shops deserves the active support of the entire labor movement.

#### J. P. Stevens

In its latest ruling on the case, the NLRB agreed to withdraw a court injunction it had filed against J. P. Stevens in exchange for company promises to rehire temporarily a handful of workers and to correct a few other violations.

"They came out with a sweeping injunction and they compromised it with . . . empty promises," declared Meany.

The May 20 *AFL-CIO News* quotes a statement from ACTWU: "The NLRB has unfortunately chosen to abrogate its duty effectively to enforce the act by failing to fully utilize its clearly mandated authority in this unprecedented case."

Yet the article concludes with another quote from an ad run by ACTWU urging passage of the labor law reform bill. "Under present law," the ad reads, "the NLRB and the courts are helpless to protect American workers who want to join a union."

The example shows exactly the opposite! The problem is not that the NLRB and the courts *lack* authority, but that they refuse to *use* their authority to back the rights of workers who want to join a union.

#### Strikebreaking section

There's another less-publicized section of the proposed legislation that grants the courts authority they *will* use every chance they get. That is the strikebreaking section on "stranger picketing."

A report by Sen. Harrison Williams explains how it came up. "During the course of its deliberations, the Committee determined that in order to promote industrial peace, action was required to provide an added remedy against the debilitating illegal work stoppages which have in particular plagued the coal fields of Appalachia."

So the bill broadens the jurisdiction of the courts in slapping back-to-work orders against so-called wildcat strikers. This section has the complete backing of top labor bureaucrats, who are always mindful of finding new mechanisms for controlling the unruly ranks.

Despite such "sweeteners," the bill is still vehemently opposed by big business. And that has the union bureaucrats in a tizzy. They are desperately asking the Democrats and Republicans to force industry to respect the "institution" of collective bargaining—and guarantee a continued role for union bureaucrats in the capitalist system.

But their pleas fall on deaf ears. According to Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, "corporate America" is engaging in "class warfare."

#### 'Conditions for revolution'

United Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride recently tried to warn the capitalists: "The continued opposition of the far right and large multinational corporations against our stated policy [of collective bargaining] could have dire consequences, because if it succeeds it would remove the system of checks and balances from our industrial system and could produce the same conditions that were largely responsible for the Great Depression."

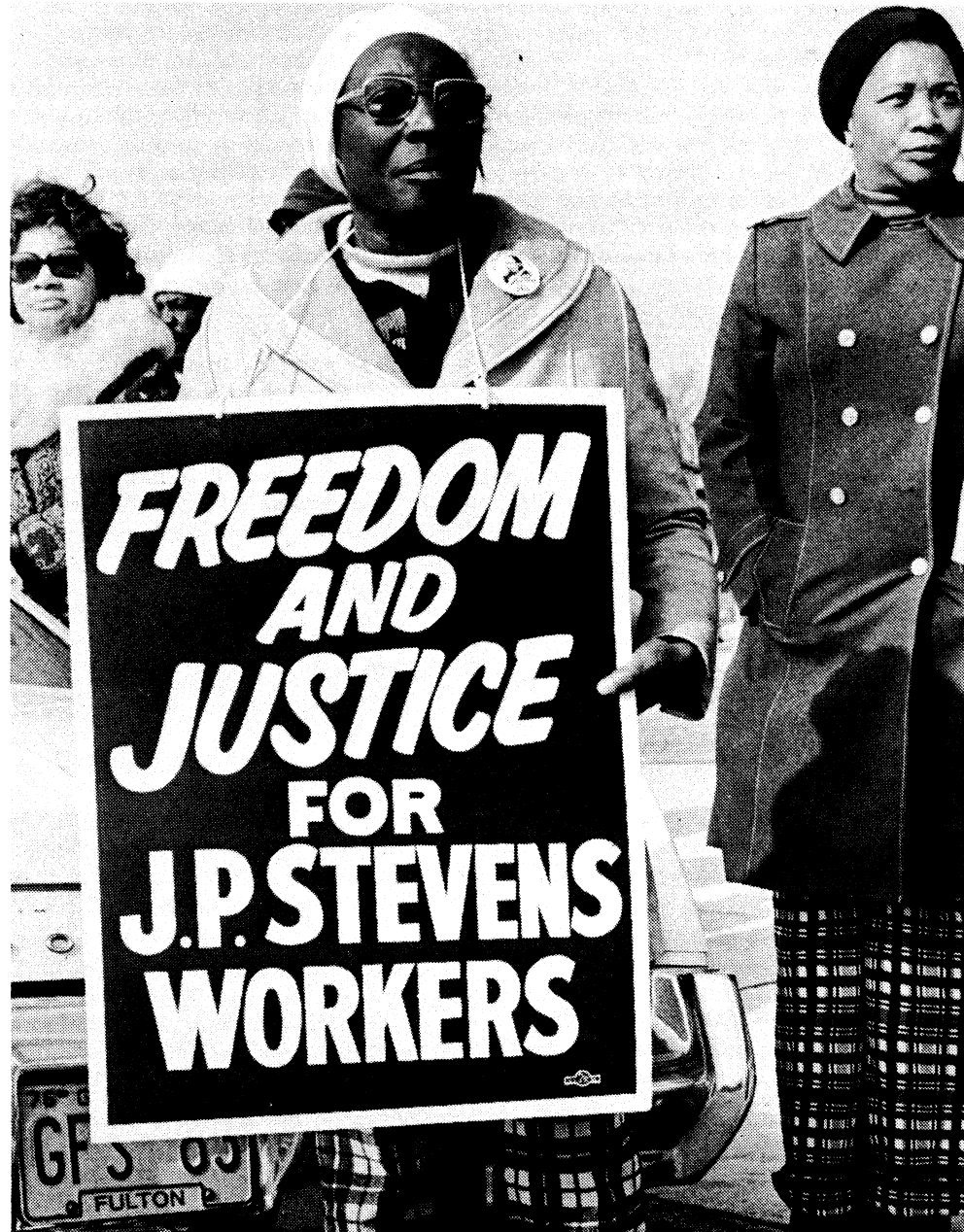
"I would not be surprised if such conditions would cause a revolution," McBride concluded.

Meany put it most clearly in his "open letter to American business leaders," run as an ad in the May 4 *Wall Street Journal*. "We in the AFL-CIO don't believe the majority of American businessmen want to give aid and comfort to law-breakers. We don't believe the majority of American businessmen are afraid of the democratic process in labor-management relations."

Why Meany doesn't believe so—despite all the evidence to the

# Labor law reform bill

## Will it curb corporate union busting?



J.P. Stevens workers deserve support, but won't get it from a 'stronger' National Labor Relations Board.

contrary—is never explained.

Meany went on to appeal to the "wise and intelligent leaders of the American business world" to "recognize that 'law and order' in labor-management relations will benefit not only business and labor but the entire nation."

The labor reform bill's significance, he explained, is "a symbol of good faith."

But the bosses today see little need to give *any* concessions to union officials, not even symbolic ones. The corporations are profiting quite nicely at this point with their "class warfare."

Meantime, the labor officialdom's

course is sabotaging the fight against attacks on working people. It does this in two ways.

First, it offers the Democratic and Republican politicians an easy out. Carter and the other so-called friends of labor in Congress can display "pronoun colors" with support to the empty labor reform bill. At the same time, they are leading the bipartisan charge against labor on every other front.

For example, the fact that Carter supported the labor reform bill meant very little to coal miners when the president invoked Taft-Hartley against them last March.



And second, this campaign around labor law reform diverts the energy of the union movement into meaningless appeals to "good bosses" and reliance on the very institutions of the capitalist government that are implementing the antilabor assault.

Sending postcards to Congress for labor law reform has been a convenient substitute for the kind of drive that could recruit millions of workers into unions.

The bill was even used by the AFL-CIO tops as an excuse to stab in the back the most inspiring battle an American union has fought in three decades: the coal miners' strike.

When the AFL-CIO Executive Council met in Miami Beach in the midst of the coal strike, *Business Week* reported there was a "pall" over the gathering. They were afraid the strike would jeopardize passage of the labor law reform legislation!

"The history of these things is that when the public is inconvenienced, it punishes the union," said Lloyd McBride.

The strike "gets people willing to say hell with the union and the hell with labor-law reform," added Martin Ward, president of the United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters.

As usual Meany stooped the lowest with his treacherous statement pledging not to "criticize" Carter if he invoked Taft-Hartley—because it is the law of the land."

Of course it wasn't the "people" or public" these union misleaders were really worried about. After all, the American working people were joining strike support rallies and caravans, saving money and time to aid the strikers, and pledging support until the miners won their fight.

#### Who was 'inconvenienced'?

Those "inconvenienced" by the coal strike were the nation's corporations and their mouthpieces in Congress and the White House. They were the ones Meany and company were afraid of leading on.



**MEANY:** Appeals to 'wise and intelligent' business leaders.

The coal strike showed nonunion workers the power of a labor union more than any number of postcards to members of Congress ever could.

*It inspired working people inside of unions and out, as no lobbying campaign ever will.*

It is this kind of fight by the labor movement that will batter down the government's antilabor restrictions and win new forces to its ranks.

A movement that stands up for its brothers and sisters when they take on the bosses.

A movement that fights for women's rights and organizes its members, for example, to demonstrate July 9 for the Equal Rights Amendment.

A movement that says no to attacks on affirmative action and joins the drive to overturn the *Bakke* decision.

This is the "labor reform" that will organize the unorganized.

## NLRB's antilabor record

When the National Labor Relations Act was amended in 1947 with the Taft-Hartley Act, it granted the National Labor Relations Board new powers to act in cases of "unfair labor practices" by employees and unions.

Before that time, such charges could be made only against employers.

While the NLRB drags its feet in forcing companies to quit unfair labor practices, it is quick to act against unions. The following are just a few recent examples:

**MINE WORKERS I:** Blue Diamond Coal Company refuses to recognize the United Mine Workers at the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky. This despite the overwhelming vote for union representation nearly two and a half years ago. For a year and a half, the antiunion company has declined all UMW offers to even negotiate.

When the union filed complaints with the NLRB—charging such strikebreaking practices as company guards shooting at pickets—the NLRB quickly dismissed the case.

When Blue Diamond complained, however, the NLRB accepted the company's charges and issued a complaint against the union, alleging more than thirty violations of the National Labor Relations Act.

**MINE WORKERS II:** In the midst of the nationwide coal miners' strike this winter, the NLRB managed to get in a plug for the coal operators. The board filed suit against United Mine Workers District 23 and two

union locals for picketing nonunion mines. Such action is an illegal secondary boycott, the NLRB claimed.

**STEELWORKERS:** Steelworkers at the Hussmann Refrigerator Company plant in St. Louis—which is owned by Pet, Inc.—have been on strike for more than a year. Hussmann currently operates the plant with 1,000 scabs.

Late last year the United Steelworkers launched a boycott of Pet products in support of the strike. The NLRB went to federal court for an injunction to prohibit the union from distributing boycott leaflets.

The boycott is illegal and unfair to Pet, the board claims, because the strikers' employer is technically Hussmann, not its parent company Pet.

**NEWSPAPER GUILD:** On May 11 the NLRB filed charges against the New York Newspaper Guild, accusing it of unfair practices for refusing to accept resignations from guild members at the *Daily News*.

The union constitution stipulates no resignations are to be accepted when a strike or lockout is imminent. Contract negotiations began in February, and the contract expired at the end of March.

When the guild filed complaints with the NLRB against the *News* in early April, the NLRB delayed a hearing date until October 18.

Nothing in the proposed labor law reform bill will alter this antilabor role of the National Labor Relations Board. —N.C.

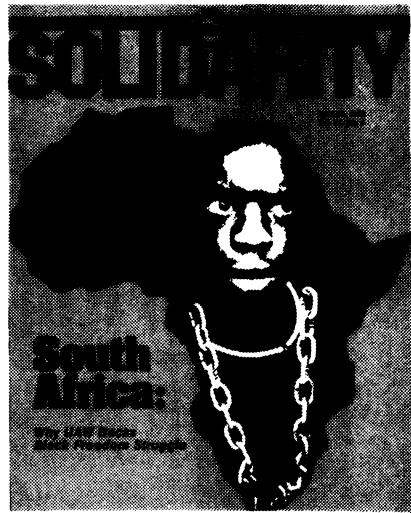
# National picket line

## UAW 'Solidarity' on South Africa

The April 24 feature story of the United Auto Workers *Solidarity* magazine—"South Africa: Why UAW Backs Black Freedom Struggle"—is a sign of growing identification among UAW members with the fight for majority rule in South Africa.

*Solidarity's* editors score the role of U.S. and other foreign investors in South Africa. "What has lured the investors is the promise of high profits, extracted from a predominantly black labor force, held in check by South Africa's minority white government, which, in turn, is kept afloat by foreign investors and banks," they write. In March UAW President Douglas Fraser pledged to withdraw UAW funds from banks that invest in South Africa.

The article also promises the UAW's "direct assistance" to Black trade unionists in South Africa. The names of twenty-five imprisoned trade unionists are listed, and UAW members are urged to join efforts to win their release.



## Supreme Court attacks picketing rights

The Supreme Court ruled in May that employers have the right to use state trespass laws to bar union picketing. The Court's six-to-three decision resulted from a 1973 lawsuit filed by Sears Roebuck and Company against the San Diego District Council of Carpenters. The carpenters had been picketing a Sears store in Chula Vista, California, to protest the employment of nonunion carpenters.

The Supreme Court majority overturned a state court ruling that trespass suits against picketing violate federal labor law.

Justice John Stevens, in writing the majority opinion, claimed that such suits will not "create any realistic risk of interference" with federal law. The courts would be ruling only on the "location of picketing." Unions could still appeal to the NLRB for the right to picket.

And we all know how fast and effective the NLRB is.

## Construction workers lose right to strike

The officials of eight major construction unions have signed a no-strike agreement with the National Constructors Association—composed of fifty companies that build big industrial plants. The signatories say the pact "rules out strikes, lockouts, picketing, work stoppages, slowdowns and other disruptive activities."

This union-crippling agreement will apply in eleven southeastern states and is seen by both sides as a pattern-setter. Of the AFL-CIO's heavy construction unions, only the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers failed to sign.

Not surprisingly, the government is exuberant over this "anti-inflation" pledge. It's just what the doctor orders for sagging profits: "a significant example of what can be achieved through labor-management cooperation to hold down costs," as Labor Secretary Ray Marshall put it.

In April the government had occasion to hail another construction agreement barring strikes and loosening work rules. This time the union bureaucrats' "patriotic contribution" was aimed at speeding up the construction of nuclear power plants—which endanger not only construction workers but the lives of all Americans.

## Forums: shorter workweek in Salt Lake. . .

Workers in Salt Lake City who tuned in to the 10 p.m. TV news April 21 heard Ken Morgan, a member of American Federation of Government Employees Local 2199, talk about the need for a shorter workweek to provide jobs for all.

Morgan, a delegate to the April 8 Shorter Work Week conference in Detroit, was the featured speaker at that night's Militant Forum. Several other trade unionists attended the discussion, which was covered by a local television station.

Workers at the Eimco foundry in Salt Lake have established a committee in their union, Molders Local 231, to organize educational activities around the proposal to cut the workweek.

## . . . and rail discussion in Milwaukee

More than forty people came to the Milwaukee Militant Forum May 5 to hear two railroad union activists discuss the attacks on their unions and how to fight back.

Guy Miller has been a member of the United Transportation Union for seven years and is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general in Illinois. He reported on the worsening conditions on the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad. C&NW, the first carrier to impose a cut in crew size, now has the highest reportable injury rate of any Class A railroad in the country.

"The C&NW agreement points to what rail workers on other lines can expect in the near future," Miller said. Greater union democracy—the right to know what goes on in negotiations, to vote on contracts, and to elect officers—is needed for rail workers to fight back, he added.

Jim Eymann, who has worked on the Milwaukee Road for twelve years, described how the bosses' profit greed has led to the decay of the line.

In the discussion period there was a lively exchange of views among railroad workers and others present on what strategy is needed to meet the employers' attacks.

—Shelley Kramer

# A. Philip Randolph & the civil rights movement

## The role of Black workers in the fight for freedom

By Frank Lovell

(Last of three parts)

The mass migration of Blacks to the industrial cities of the North and South during World War II brought with it a persistent struggle against discrimination—especially in the war industries and the armed forces.

In the forefront of these struggles were Black workers—equipped with a newfound self-confidence and organizational experience acquired through the union movement. And leading these worker-militants was the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters headed by A. Philip Randolph.

The wartime struggle for Black rights that Randolph led was comparable to the wartime miners' strikes led by John L. Lewis. Randolph won popularity in the Black community, as Lewis did in the mine regions and the ranks of the union movement.

Just as the United Mine Workers became a symbol of struggle for the union movement, so did the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters become the champion of Black rights in the eyes of the Black community.

But there was a difference.

Randolph, unlike Lewis, gained recognition from capitalist politicians of both parties. They were beginning to sense the new part that Blacks would begin to play in electoral politics, one similar to the "labor vote."

The capitalist parties had reliable lieutenants in the union movement to round up worker votes for them. But there were no such leaders with sufficient influence in the Black movement . . . and it was time to cultivate some.

### Postwar battles

Randolph continued his popular crusade against Jim Crow after the war ended. In 1948 he attacked segregation in the armed forces. "Negroes are in no mood to shoulder another gun for democracy abroad while they are denied democracy here at home," he told President Truman at a White House meeting.

This was an audacious statement at the time—words the timid leaders of the NAACP would not have dared utter, although they knew the truth of them.

Randolph called for civil disobedience. He told the Senate Committee on Military Affairs that both Black and white workers ought to refuse induction unless segregation was ended. He urged parents to support their sons who would choose jail instead of the Jim Crow army, "as a telling demonstration to the world that Negroes [have] reached the limit of human endurance."

This brought a quick response from both the Black community and the white rulers. Blacks at that time had many grievances—and not only



The last major Black rights demonstration in which A. Philip Randolph played a key role was the 1963 March on Washington, which attracted some 200,000.

because of segregation in the army. They were being pushed out of jobs as the war industries closed. And in the transition to peacetime production, they saw thousands of white refugees from war-torn Europe placed in unskilled factory jobs that were closed to Blacks . . . including those only recently discharged from the Jim Crow U.S. army.

A poll of young Black men in Harlem showed that 71 percent would refuse to be drafted. They cheered Randolph's stand.

In the U.S. Senate, Randolph was threatened with prosecution for treason. He responded that "we would be willing to absorb the violence, absorb the terrorism," to win democratic rights.

The Truman administration thought better of the situation. Like Roosevelt before him, Truman issued an executive order. On June 26, 1948, he announced his intention to end segregation in the armed forces "as rapidly as possible."

Randolph's initial reaction was to accuse Truman of a political maneuver "to obscure the issue of segregation"—which it was. But later Randolph concluded that Truman was sincere, that segregation in the military was "unequivocally banned," and therefore that the civil disobedience campaign was unnecessary.

That, however, did not resolve the problem of discrimination for Black workers. That struggle would continue in new forms and under different leaders.

### Roots of postwar struggle

The foundation of this new struggle in the postwar period was laid by important changes in the makeup of the working class. These changes had a significant impact on the union movement and Black organizations.

With the rise of synthetic fabrics during World War II and the resultant decline in the demand for cotton, a massive migration of Blacks to the country's industrial cities began. This migration continued during the postwar years, as cotton growers pressed forward the mechanization of production.

During World War II a higher percentage of Blacks found jobs in industry than before, and many were drawn into union activity. Some served as shop stewards and were elected presidents of their local unions. In this way a significant though narrow layer of Black workers gained organizational experience that was later turned to advantage in struggles for Black demands.

The war also brought changes in the composition, attitude, and political alliances of the established Black organizations. This was especially true of the NAACP. It discovered common political interests

with the trade-union bureaucracy and began to collaborate with it inside the Democratic Party to win limited reforms.

This was the essence of the so-called labor-Negro alliance that Roosevelt encouraged as an electoral voting bloc. This arrangement was firmly established during the war as a working agreement between these two potentially powerful political forces.

Because this labor-Black alliance remained locked inside the Democratic Party, however, it never succeeded in winning any substantial gains. But it did serve to raise the expectations of Blacks.

In addition, Black organizations—especially the NAACP—saw their membership rolls expand. Many of the new recruits were workers from the unions. And although the entrenched national leaderships remained thoroughly middle class in composition and outlook, many Black workers were beginning to take positions of responsibility at the local level and were beginning to think and act independently of the leadership.

### Montgomery bus boycott

A foreign observer of U.S. capitalist society in 1950, Daniel Guerin, noted the change. He wrote:

"A living example of this evolution was presented to me by E.D. Nixon of Montgomery, Ala., a vigorous colored union militant who was the leading spirit in this city both of the local union of Sleeping Car Porters and the local branch of the NAACP. What a difference from other branches of the Association, which are controlled by dentists, pastors, and undertakers! Nixon has both feet on the ground. He is linked to the masses. He speaks their language. He has organized the work of race defense with the precision and method of a trade unionists. Men like E.D. Nixon (to name only him) incarnate the alliance which has at last been consummated between race and labor."

Not quite.

The alliance that had been consummated at that time was between the tops—between the "progressive" union bureaucrats and the Black leaders. This alliance was of little use to the masses of Blacks when the civil rights movement exploded in 1955 in the South.

But Guerin hit the mark in one sense—that the organizational methods and self-confidence acquired by Black workers in the union movement conferred upon them key roles both in leading and pushing forward the movement.

Thus, it was not totally accidental that the civil rights movement began when Rosa Parks, a Black seamstress in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to

## Further reading...

**Labor's Giant Step, Twenty Years of the CIO**  
by Art Preis. 538 pp., cloth \$20, paper \$6.95.

**Black Liberation and Socialism**

Tony Thomas, editor. 207 pp., paper \$2.95.

**Prospects for Socialism in America**

edited with an introduction by Jack Barnes and Mary-Alice Waters. 256 pp., cloth \$14, paper \$2.95.

**The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution**

by Leon Trotsky. Contains section on "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation." 223 pp., cloth \$12, paper \$3.95.

**The History of the Labor Movement in the U.S.**

by Philip S. Foner. 4 volumes, paper. \$3.95 per volume.

**Organized Labor and the Black Worker (1619-1973)**

by Philip S. Foner. paper \$4.50.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 for postage and handling, \$.50 if order of more than \$5.00.



give up her seat on the bus, as otherwise prescribed by law, to a white passenger. Nor was it altogether an accident that the local NAACP branch that organized her defense was led by E.D. Nixon, the experienced trade unionist, who conceived the bus-boycott tactic.

### Backbone of struggle

The important role of Black workers was shown time and again as the civil rights movement rolled through the South in the last half of the 1950s. Even though the movement on a national scale came under the leadership of Black professionals, students, and intellectuals—personified by Martin Luther King—its strength, stability, and tenacity came from the hundreds of thousands of Black workers who marched in the mass demonstrations, and from the local organizations of worker militants that provided a grassroots base for the movement.

As that struggle unfolded, it had to seek new organizational forms on a national basis. Neither the union movement nor the established Black organizations such as the NAACP could serve the needs of the civil rights demonstrators. Both were bypassed.

King had to form the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, even though the movement, at the beginning, was led by the Montgomery NAACP.

Likewise, Black students had to form their own organization, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Dozens of lesser-known organizations (Black Guards, Deacons for Defense, and similar defense groups) flourished and guaranteed the success of local Black actions—all under the leadership of working-class militants.

The massive demonstrations and bloody confrontations with local Jim Crow authorities proved the great power of the Black masses and proved that the struggle for racial equality required the mobilization of the masses under Black leadership.

### Limits of leadership

However, the civil rights movement also showed the severe limits placed on the power of the Black masses by a national leadership with a middle-class outlook.

Although mass action was one important aspect of the perspective of leaders such as King, he and almost all other national figures in the civil rights movement shared an outlook of collaboration with the capitalist class, its government, and its political parties. Despite some skirmishes, most of them loyally supported the Democratic Party, which was directly responsible for the perpetuation of Black oppression.

In this, their views were no different from leaders of the more moderate groups such as the NAACP—or from the trade-union bureaucracy.

The impact of this class-collaborationist approach on the Black rights struggle can be seen clearly in Randolph's own evolution and in the role he played in one of the biggest demonstrations of the civil rights movement—the 1963 March on Washington.

It was Randolph who proposed the grand march “for jobs and freedom.” He convinced King that it



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

was timely and necessary, and he got the support of other Black leaders. He appointed Bayard Rustin to organize it. He forced President Kennedy to accept it.

“... The Negroes are already in the streets,” Randolph argued. “Is it not better that they be led by organizations dedicated to civil rights and disciplined by struggle rather than to leave them to other leaders who care neither about civil rights nor about nonviolence?”

This is the friendly plea of the established leader who seeks to control an angry mass—not a call for mass action to redress old grievances. Randolph had made his peace with the union bureaucracy and with the middle-class Black leadership.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was a rapidly dwindling organization, displaced by the expanding airline passenger service.

The Black working class would have to build new organizations and develop new leaders.

On August 28, 1963, Randolph chaired the demonstration of more than 200,000 at the Lincoln Memorial. In a sense it was a vindication of his most useful contribution—the idea that power lies in the mobilized might of the Black masses. Despite his changing outlook, his appeal on that occasion was again to the Black working class: “The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of human personality. It falls to the Negro to reassert his priority of values, because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls to us to demand full

employment and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits. . . .”

As the civil rights movement rolled into the North in the early 1960s, the idea of Black nationalism began to find expression within it, a natural development based on the sense of racial identity and the newfound pride in the achievements of struggle.

### Rise of Black nationalism

This new sentiment propelled many Blacks beyond the limits the civil rights leadership and Randolph sought to impose upon the movement.

As legal concessions were won by the movement, it became increasingly apparent to some that the problem of ending Black oppression had just begun with the toppling of Jim Crow. To truly accomplish that task, a fundamental reordering of American society was needed.

The most able representative of this militant Black nationalism was Malcolm X. Malcolm X began to pinpoint capitalism as the chief foe of Black people and the main obstacle standing between them and total emancipation. He put it well: “Show me a capitalist and I’ll show you a blood-sucker.”

Malcolm taught that only through independent action by Blacks in the streets and at the polls could Blacks win their liberation.

Others, however, twisted the nationalist vision to mean an improved and modernized replica of white society, a national cohabitation under capitalism. They were encouraged by the white ruling class to promote Black capitalism, financed with federal grants earmarked “poverty funds.”

In this way, the Black uprisings that erupted in major northern industrial centers in the mid-1960s were dissipated and turned to the personal advantage of a new crop of Black Democratic and Republican party politicians in the service of capitalist society.

Like their predecessors in the professions, they found more or less comfortable niches for themselves. Whatever their original intentions, they have, a decade later, abandoned the struggle for Black equality—including the fight for equal job opportunity so badly needed today by the millions of unemployed Black workers.

The dominance of this layer within the Black movement—the Black elected officials and civil rights leaders with a class-collaborationist outlook—has temporarily stifled mass actions against social and economic injustice.

### New leaders

The policies of the leaders of groups such as the National Urban League and NAACP have caused some people to become pessimistic about the prospects for an early renewal of the struggle against Black oppression in this country. But that view leaves out of account the potential of working-class Blacks.

There are more Black workers in industry now than ever before, more of them with trade-union experience and positions of influence.

Millions of Black workers share to one extent or another Malcolm's understanding that capitalists are bloodsuckers.

In some unions today there are Black caucuses organized especially to fight around Black issues. The idea that Blacks need their own organizations—applied so effectively in the civil rights movement—has not been forgotten by Black workers.

Many of these caucuses are active in fighting Black oppression both on the job and in society at large—and in fighting also for democratic, class-struggle unionism.

In combination with other militant forces in the Black communities, they could help lay the foundation for a new fighting organization devoted to total Black emancipation.

When the mass of Black people—frustrated by the unfulfilled promises of this society and infused with nationalist consciousness—seek again to redress social and economic wrongs as they did after World War II, they will find the new leaders for that movement in the unions, among the Black workers.

These new working-class leaders will have the vision of a future socialist society. They will be schooled in Marxist politics and experienced in union methods of class struggle, combined with the lessons of the recent civil rights and antiwar movements.

And they will pay tribute to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the forerunner and primitive model of it all.

### Correction

Due to a typographical error in the previous article of this series, the date of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union was given as June 22, 1943, rather than the correct date, June 22, 1941.



Buses idled by the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott that sparked the civil rights movement. E. D. Nixon, a Black Alabama unionist, initiated the protest against segregated public transportation facilities.



# U.S. exports get top priority

By Dick Roberts

(Last of six articles)

The Carter administration refused in 1977 and early 1978 to take any significant steps to stop the dollar from declining. U.S. protectionist measures were increased, especially against Japan, to bar the imports of such products as steel and color TVs.

U.S. corporations are on a campaign to step up exports and to clear away any existing barriers to the global penetration of American products. "The U.S. failure to earn its way in international markets is costing the nation hundreds of thousands of jobs, millions of dollars of corporate profits, and billions of dollars of added business activity that expanded exports would generate for industries and communities throughout the country," *Business Week* declared April 10.

"The consequence is likely to be lower economic

## Decline of the dollar



growth and, ultimately, a slower rise in living standards."

Foreign governments were forced to undertake massive interventions to buy up unwanted dollars in order to protect their exports against the depreciating dollar. This tended to inflate their economies, because they poured billions of marks, yen, and so on, into their economies in order to purchase the dollars.

This also forced foreign central banks to finance a considerable part of the U.S. budget deficit. Once they had bought up the dollars in their own economies, the overseas central banks invested them in U.S. Treasury bills—that is, precisely in the debt of the U.S. government.

### Inflation or deflation?

In order to stem the outflow of dollars abroad, foreign governments demanded that the Carter administration take steps to curb inflation in the United States.

The Carter administration answered that Europe and Japan should solve the problem of the faster rate of inflation of the U.S. dollar by inflating their own economies. Pointing to the slow economic growth rates abroad, the White House demanded that Europe and Japan stimulate their economies, increase government spending, increase their budget deficits—"pump prime" the economies in the old-fashioned Keynesian way.

This would provide greater markets for U.S. exports abroad and so bring dollars back from abroad by attracting foreign purchases of U.S. goods.

There is considerable irony involved in this diplomatic confrontation. Since the 1974-75 depression, all of the major capitalist governments have been bent on *deflationary budgetary policies*, compared to the earlier postwar period.

Their central aim is to slash government spending, to lower the standard of living for workers, to allow unemployment to increase to "tolerable limits" in order to make those who are employed work harder and at "reasonable" wages.

Carter promised jobs during his election campaign. But the whole thrust of Carter's economic policies has been against workers, towards wage restraint and cutting back federal social welfare spending. "We need to export more agricultural products and other goods and services," Carter said in his April 11 address on inflation.

It is no different abroad.

### U.S. pressure

The pressure from Washington on its competitors has therefore been double-barreled.

On one side, the decline of the dollar increasingly threatens the export ability of its foreign rivals. On the other side, the solution Washington has suggested is further inflation abroad, which also undermines the competitive ability of these economies.

"This is pressure of the most brutal kind," *Forbes* magazine declared in January. "It has infuriated the Germans and frightened the Japanese. But nothing else seems to work against their stubborn, almost chauvinistic and isolationist attitudes[!]"

A response from Geneva was expressed to the

*New York Post* by Claude Monnier, editor of the *Journal de Geneve*. Monnier believes, said the *Post*, "that the U.S. is essentially now doing what comes naturally, in other words, reclaiming the natural strength that was drained in Vietnam and by Watergate."

"The Geneva editor believes that the dollar crisis is symptomatic of what he calls 'the long, slow downward trend of European power.' That trend was slowed after World War II due to American protection, but in 1973, in the aftermath of the global oil crisis, he says, that protection disappeared.

"'With America's help in the past, we thought we were stronger than we are,' he asserted."

In Copenhagen, on April 10, the leaders of the Common Market nations met in order, they said, to prepare a common front against the United States and Japan. Their expressed agreement, however, was to seek a 4.5 percent annual growth rate by mid-1979 (compared to 1.9 percent last year). They had taken another step towards meeting Washington's demands for economic stimulation.

### Dollar decline

Where do these considerations leave the question of the decline of the dollar itself?

As we have seen, the decline is mainly a reflection of the faster inflation and growth rates, and the slower productivity increases, of the United States compared to three or four of its main imperialist rivals abroad, such as Japan and Germany.

In most of the capitalist world, the inflation rates



Despite the urging of U.S. imperialism's key competitors in Europe and Japan to shore up the dollar, Washington has given first place to promoting American exports.

are higher than here. This applies not only to semicolonial nations but to such important imperialist centers as Canada and Italy. Since the United States also trades with these nations, the "trade weighted" decline of the dollar, taking into account all currencies, has been almost negligible.

In fact the historic drop of the Canadian dollar, amidst massive unemployment for that nation and rapid inflation, has undoubtedly tended to counterweigh to a certain extent the advantageous position of the United States in the dollar's decline.

This is an important dynamic of the world economy that is somewhat independent of U.S. relations with Europe and Japan considered in this series.

### Conclusion

More important than the decline of the dollar itself are the other aspects of international capitalism it brings into focus, especially:

1. Washington's intransigence towards European and Japanese appeals that it intervene to resist the dollar's decline. The Carter administration placed the U.S. ability to export as its top priority, and it stepped up protectionist measures against foreign imports all the while.

2. More, not fewer, inflated dollars piled up abroad. The importance of the U.S. economy as an investment arena requires that foreign competitors hold dollars. U.S. corporations continue to play the largest role in international finance. The United States will continue to import oil and other products, spending more billions of dollars abroad.

Although other currencies—and gold!—play an increasing role in international finance compared to the dollar, the dollar's overwhelming role cannot be

displaced even when it is inflating. This is a permanently destabilizing factor in international finance, which world imperialism, dominated by the United States, cannot get around.

3. Waves of speculation in international money markets, including stock and bond markets, picked up sharply as production slowed, and the volume of world trade declined.

The biggest purchasing of U.S. stocks in history, which erupted in late April, seems a fitting episode in the saga of a year and a half of international maneuvering over the dollar. Carter's ever tougher stand against American labor makes the U.S. market all the more attractive.

Tens of billions of dollars poured into the stock market from abroad, strengthening the dollar overseas. U.S. financial institutions, which had watched the early period of the Carter administration somewhat apprehensively, also began to invest.

This provides a glimpse of a capitalist world future in which the United States increasingly becomes the vortex of an international speculative whirlpool.

"If you don't feel like investing at home and want to sell goods here, why not build factories in the United States?" U.S. finance cynically tells Europe, without asking: What does this mean for the future of European capitalism?

4. The massive extension of credit, of paper money of all sorts, places claims on future production that cannot ultimately be met. The groundwork of a new 1974-type international credit crisis was

being laid—and not least of all through the borrowings of central banks to prop up the dollar itself.

Restating the first point a little bit differently: As the need for European and Japanese export markets increased, and this is an irreversible historic process, the United States gave higher priority to the needs of U.S. industry.

This is a lethal proposition. Every time world imperialism has reached such an impasse before, following long periods of economic expansion, the end result was a sharp contraction combined with cataclysmic social upheavals.

Workers are being asked in every country to do the same thing: to tighten their belts, to work harder, to receive less pay, and to expect less. Each nation professes that this is the only course toward a better capitalist future.

In fact, it is a course toward disaster. The end result of such trade and financial warfare—for this is what is really involved—can only be catastrophe.

The price that capitalism is asking us to pay right now is already too high. It is critical, however, not to lose sight of the much higher price that lies ahead along the same road.

#### FOR FURTHER READING

**Decline of the Dollar** by Ernest Mandel  
128 pages, \$2.45.

**Capitalism in Crisis** by Dick Roberts  
128 pages, \$2.45.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 with payment for postage and handling, \$.50 if order is more than \$5.00.

## French Trotskyists oppose 'dirty wars' in Africa & Lebanon

The following article appeared in the May 8 issue of 'Rouge,' the French Trotskyist daily. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

By Michel Rovere

French imperialism is today directly involved in three "dirty wars"—in Chad, in the Sahara, and in Lebanon.

The French invading force in Chad consists of 1,200 paratroopers and Foreign Legionnaires, accompanied by the inevitable squadron of Jaguar jets, not to mention the "advisers" and "professional soldiers" who have donned Chadian uniforms for the occasion. It is these forces that represent the last bastion against the fall of General Malloum's regime and collapse of the Chadian "national state" itself.

In the Western Sahara, French Jaguars twice this week dropped napalm bombs on Polisario Front forces.

It seems that French intervention in the Sahara reached a new stage with the establishment of a joint Moroccan-Mauritanian headquarters, complete with French "advisers" at El Ayoun.

And then there is Lebanon. The French government is determined to impose a "just peace" on that part of the Mediterranean, and no one should think otherwise simply because the troops are hiding under the blue helmets of the United Nations.

Following last week's encounters

between Palestinian fighters and French troops, Lt. Col. Viard (who replaced the wounded Col. Salvan) did not mince any words in explaining that, yes, the main job of the blue helmets in general and the French troops in particular was to prevent the Palestinians from moving through the security zone under UN jurisdiction.

The fact that the leadership of the PLO is now backing the use of UN troops does not change the basic function of the blue helmets—to reestablish imperialist order in the region and put down the armed forces of the Palestinian resistance, so as to help rebuild a national Lebanese army that can bring to heel both the resistance and the Lebanese progressive movement.

The current imperialist intervention in the Mediterranean basin and in neocolonial Africa is not just an exercise in royal prerogative or some Giscardian impulse to carry out on foreign shores the type of heroic acts that the balance of forces prevents the government from even dreaming about within France itself.

It is not just some passing post-election spree either. The defeat of American imperialism in Indochina will for a considerable period of time prevent the U.S. government from intervening directly, particularly with its own troops, in the Middle Eastern or African hot spots.

The old colonial powers, Spain and



French paratroopers arrive in Lebanon

Portugal, tiptoed out of Africa just when direct Soviet and Cuban intervention, from Angola to Ethiopia to Mozambique to the aid given to the South African liberation fighters, was becoming increasingly significant.

A whole series of historical, economic, and political factors prevent Britain and West Germany from intervening actively and directly in this part of the world. So it is up to France—and to a Giscard more than willing to play the role of colonial cop—to defend imperialist interests within the so-called French spheres of influence.

The current interventions are no accident; they flow inevitably from the new international relationship of forces. This means that we have to be prepared for a long struggle against military interventions by our own bourgeoisie. Because after Chad, the

next place might be Djibouti, or Niger.

We have a big obstacle to overcome, however. Preoccupied with the elections of March 1978, the left—and all tendencies of the far left must be included here—did not respond to the first military interventions a year and a half ago.

We now have a difficult task ahead of us to rebuild a powerful anti-imperialist movement around the demand that can unify the whole workers movement: "French troops out of Africa." We must remember that it took two years after the May 1968 events before we were able to build a significant action in solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle.

Today we have perhaps an even more burning responsibility. Because of the apathy we must overcome.

And because it is our own bourgeoisie that is involved.

## Cops & ultrarightists attack socialists in Basque country

An ultraright terrorist gang besieged the headquarters of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), Spanish section of the Fourth International, in Pamplona the evening of May 10.

Hooded Guerrillas of Christ the King fired more than twenty bullets into the door, while others fought in the streets with members of the LCR and other left organizations that came to defend the headquarters.

The police, who failed to arrive until

two hours after they had been summoned, allowed the rightists to leave and then attacked the headquarters themselves. Using tear gas, they evacuated the offices and arrested all forty-eight LCR members inside. The headquarters was then "searched for weapons."

An immediate outcry against the arrest of the victims of the ultraright attack came from nationalist and left organizations throughout the Basque country. Demonstrations in several cities were scheduled for May 14, demanding the release of the jailed

Trotskyists and the dismissal of the civil governor and police chief.

The rightist rampage followed the burial of two policemen assassinated by the Basque nationalists of the ETA. They had been whipped up by the military chaplain, who denounced the government in his funeral sermon for tolerating Basque nationalism:

"When a deputy in Madrid dares demand independence for the Basque country and no one flinches, it is folly to continue to ask the forces of order to die for Spain."

After the funeral, rightist gangs tried to carry out a general pogrom against the defenders of the national rights of the Basque people. Among other things, they attacked the headquarters of the moderate Basque Nationalist Party and raised the flag of the Spanish state over it.

The LCR, along with other left and nationalist organizations, demanded police protection against the rightists. However, only the headquarters of the Workers Commissions, the largest union in Spain, was defended by police. When the police finally did come to the LCR headquarters, they did not move against the rightist gunmen, who greeted them with cheers.

In the May 12 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, G. Bengochea reported:

"The police fired several tear-gas grenades against the doors and windows of the headquarters, demanding that everyone inside come out. José María Solchaga and Valentín Prior, the leaders of the LCR in the province of Navarra . . . were immediately arrested and handcuffed, along with all the others on the premises. . . .

"The activists arrested, all trade-unionists, were roughed up by the police, who accused them of 'violence against the forces of order.'"

Following the arrests, the trade-union organizations, as well as the nationalist and workers parties, demanded the release of those being held. A delegation went to the civil governor, who protested: "I have inherited these police forces from the Franco regime; I can't control them."

The charge of "violence against the forces of order" in fact put the victims in the place of the guilty. The only two Guerrillas of Christ the King who were arrested (they had been wounded during the melee) turned out to be policemen in plainclothes.

While the civil governor promised to release all the left activists arrested, the police insisted that they will press their charges. As of May 14, forty-seven LCR members were still in prison. Only one had been released.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Why Sanchez Vilella is no alternative for

### Workers party or multiclass slate?



Luis Lausell, head of electric utility workers union, addressing May Day rally Claridad

By José G. Pérez

Since last February, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has been urging the formation of a multiclass electoral bloc around Roberto Sánchez Vilella, a prominent capitalist politician who served the U.S. imperialists as governor of their island colony from 1964 to 1968.

This proposal came as a surprise, since it marked a 180-degree turn in PSP policy. Until two years ago the PSP and its predecessor organizations had never participated in elections and had sharply criticized the capitalist parties and politicians. In 1976, the PSP ran an aggressive campaign against the capitalist parties and in support of its own slate of candidates, which it called "the socialist alternative."

Among those who have responded to the PSP's recent call is Pablo Soto, coordinator of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League, Puerto Rican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party).

In the accompanying article, Soto explains why the LIT is opposed to the formation of a class-collaborationist electoral front and offers some counterproposals.

Since Soto's article appeared, the PSP has made new statements that should further enrich the discussion on how best to advance the struggle for independence and socialism.

In mid-April, during a nationwide TV address, Luis Lausell, a member of the central committee of the PSP, urged the formation of an independent mass workers party. Lausell is president of UTIER, the union of electric company workers.

Lausell's call was reported in the PSP's newspaper *Claridad* and featured prominently on its front page. "We have to develop our own political instrument, our own party, the workers party," *Claridad* quoted Lausell. "We should unite as quickly as possible."

*Claridad* said the call was addressed to "the labor movement and Puerto Rican working people in general."

Undoubtedly there is growing receptivity to such ideas in the Puerto Rican labor movement. In 1976, then-Governor Rafael Hernández Colón lost the election precisely because the masses reacted to his anti-working-class policies by voting for Carlos Romero Barceló.

But the new governor proved no different. Lausell's call came as UTIER was concluding a bitter four-month strike on a settlement that

fell far short of the workers' expectations.

At the same time TUAMA, the union of San Juan area bus drivers, were also on strike to defend the union shop and to keep a no-strike clause out of their contract.

Lausell reiterated his proposal at a large May Day celebration in San Juan. According to the May 5-11 *Claridad*, Lausell urged "the revolutionary left" as a whole to join in an effort to build such a party.

In the same issue of *Claridad*, PSP General Secretary Juan Mari Brás endorsed Lausell's call. Mari Brás reported that Lausell had first raised the idea in his report to an UTIER mass membership meeting and that the UTIER membership had overwhelmingly approved the report.

He also said that what Lausell was proposing was a vanguard party based on a proindependence and socialist program.

Mari Brás said the PSP was only "the closest approximation to that kind of party in Puerto Rico today," only "an embryo" of such a party. He said what was needed was to bring together working-class fighters and leaders who are emerging through the course of various struggles.

Thus, it is unclear whether the PSP is proposing the formation of a mass workers party based on the unions—as Lausell's original formulations would imply—or the forging of a new party through a regroupment involving the PSP, other socialist groups, and unaffiliated militants.

Either way, in the last analysis, the logic of a proposal for organizing a mass workers party is incompatible with the earlier proposal of a multiclass electoral bloc around Sánchez Vilella.

Forming a workers party points toward increasing the organizational and political independence of the working class, so it can more effectively fight to defend its own interests and eventually establish a workers government.

A multiclass electoral bloc cuts across this dynamic, tending toward the subordination of the workers' interests for the sake of the alliance with supporters of capitalism such as Sánchez Vilella.

Nevertheless, the PSP continues to prominently raise the call for a class-collaborationist electoral formation. The week after it published Mari Brás's column endorsing Lausell's call, *Claridad* carried a two-page article arguing for the electoral bloc around Sánchez Vilella.

This contradictory stand remains to be explained.

The following article has been translated from the April-May issue of 'La Verdad,' newspaper of the Internationalist Workers League, the Puerto Rican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. The author, Pablo Soto, is coordinator of the league. Footnotes have been added by the 'Militant.'

By Pablo Soto

The internal crisis of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is being accompanied by a complete change in its political positions. The leadership that in 1976 called its party "The Socialist Alternative" has now revised this position, telling us that the alternative is Roberto Sánchez Vilella.

While the workers are outraged by antilabor governors such as Rafael Hernández Colón and Carlos Romero Barceló, the leadership of the PSP says that in 1980 they might vote for a liberal defender of capitalism and colonialism, Sánchez Vilella.

But for us, the socialists of the Internationalist Workers League, as well as for thousands of socialists both inside and outside the PSP, the alternative continues to be independence and socialism.

The "Political Commentary" published by *Claridad* March 16, 1978, said the position of [PSP Assistant General Secretary] Carlos Gallisá and [PSP General Secretary] Juan Mari Brás is that "the PSP could consider backing Roberto Sánchez Vilella for governor, should there crystallize a regroupment of political forces in the country that leads to an electoral front in 1980."

This declaration has caused consternation in the PSP membership, both among sympathizers of the present leadership and among the dissidents. But this position is a culmination of a process that began quite some time ago.

#### Roots of the turn

Before the 1972 and 1976 elections, Mari Brás and the PSP leadership raised the idea of an "electoral united front" based on a "common program" with the Puerto Rican Independence Party.<sup>1</sup>

We know that the PIP believes independence is possible without violent opposition from the United States. We know that the PIP is opposed to placing the means of production in this country in the hands of a workers government. We believe that as long as the PIP does not change these positions, socialist organizations cannot reach a "common program" with the PIP without thereby abandoning the defense of the interests of the working class.

If we want Puerto Rico to become a socialist republic, we should not give electoral or political support to the PIP.

Today, however, the leadership of the PSP isn't satisfied with considering voting for and giving political support to the PIP but has raised the possibility of doing this with political leaders "beyond the proindependence movement."

The August 12, 1977, *Claridad* presented an anticipation of this political position. *Claridad* reported on a PSP leadership meeting: "The need for the PSP to promote united action not only among supporters of independence, but with those who might agree on antian-

nexationist and anticolonial positions, was reiterated."<sup>2</sup>

#### Sánchez for governor?

But by March, the "united actions" had been transformed by the PSP leadership into a possible "Sánchez for governor electoral front," with a "unity program" that would be neither socialist nor proindependence.

The PSP leadership is considering going from "united action" to electoral and political support to Roberto Sánchez Vilella.

Right after the elections, the PSP went into a deep crisis. Some of the errors of the leadership that caused demoralization and crisis in that party were: ambiguity on whether to support isolated guerrillaist groups or organize the mass struggle; zig-zagging between supporting the PIP and liberal autonomists (look at the documents of the first congress of the PSP) or building an independent socialist party; making the decision to participate in the elections without sufficient discussion and support from the membership; false illusions about the vote the PSP would get in the elections; and the abandonment of work among workers, students, and communities for the sake of electoral work.

The demoralization was sharpened by the strengthening of the threat of annexation by the victory of the New Progressive Party and the subsequent steps taken by presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter.

#### Revise past positions

With the crisis, the PSP leadership wants to definitively revise its previous positions. And the PSP leadership tries to minimize the significance and importance of those revisions by calling them "tactical and organizational changes."

The biggest revision on a principled question, supposedly a "tactical" revision, is considering voting for Sánchez Vilella. Instead of evaluating its own errors, the PSP leadership lost confidence in itself, in the PSP membership, and in the Puerto Rican working class's potential for struggling for independence and socialism. That is why they are considering supporting a colonial and capitalist politician.

The arguments used by the PSP to justify supporting Roberto Sánchez Vilella can be summarized as follows:

- "The only way of stopping statehood is with an antiannexationist and anticolonial front.
- "The decomposition of the Popular Democratic Party will allow a regroupment of autonomist and proindependence forces.

2. The reference is to various currents in the so-called status debate in Puerto Rico, that is, the debate over what relation the island should have to the United States.

Historically, there have been three major currents in this debate. One is the prostatehood current, sometimes called "annexationist," because statehood would involve the formal incorporation of Puerto Rico as an integral part of the United States. The second is the "autonomist" current, those who back local self-government under continued U.S. rule. This current includes supporters of both the present "commonwealth" setup as well as those—such as Sánchez Vilella—who argue for transferring additional government powers from Washington to San Juan. The third current is the proindependence movement.

In addition, among supporters of both statehood and autonomy there are some who urge the United States to formally renounce control of Puerto Rico, followed by an immediate negotiation between Puerto Rico and the United States to reformalize colonial ties. Sánchez Vilella is prominent among these "sovereigntyists" and "anticolonialists."

1. The Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) originated before the 1948 elections as a split from the Popular Democratic Party, at that time the main capitalist party in Puerto Rico. It is the moderate, electoralist wing of the proindependence movement.



# Puerto Rico

• “Roberto Sánchez Vilella represents a new leadership, changed and regenerated, that can lead this political regroupment and stop the annexationist conspiracy.”

Let's look at these arguments:

## The essence of colonialism

First, colonialism means the domination of Puerto Rico by the United States. To abolish that domination, it is necessary for Puerto Rico to separate politically from the United States, to obtain independence. Those leaders who *do not* support independence want to maintain U.S. domination in one form or another. They want to maintain colonialism. That is why the so-called “sovereigntyists,” “culminated free stateists,”<sup>3</sup> etc., are nothing more than colonialists. They want to put a few patches on this system. They really aren't anticolonialists.

Second, autonomism only strengthens annexationism. Since the estab-



Claridad

**Former Gov. Roberto Sánchez Vilella. Should socialists back him in 1980 elections?**

lishment of the Free Associated State in 1952, the statehood votes have increased. Puerto Rico is increasingly integrated into the United States. Following Sánchez Vilella's term as governor, Luis Ferré and the PNP took power for the first time. It is the crisis of autonomism that is driving the people to look for solutions. The PSP claims statehood is that solution. But more autonomist patches and sovereigntyist reforms will not brake the advance of PNP annexationism among the masses.

## Creating illusions

Third, we cannot create illusions among the masses that Sánchez Vilella's variant of autonomism is a solution to the crisis. The only solution to the crisis is independence and socialism, which will abolish the oppression of imperialist capitalism.

Fourth, given the intense trade-union struggles, the inflation and unemployment, annexation can only be halted by a strong proindependence and socialist opposition, not by an ambiguous and confused autonomism, because the people are searching for a definitive solution to the problem of “status” of this country.

Fifth, what the decomposition of the

3. “Culminated Free-Stateists” are a current among the autonomists. They call for the “culmination” or “perfection” of the Free Associated State of Puerto Rico, the formal name in Spanish of Puerto Rico's government, by transferring more powers from Washington to San Juan.

PPD should lead to is a new proindependence and socialist regroupment. To support Sánchez is to build a new PPD with a liberal tinge.

Sixth, to support Sánchez only because he supported the wage increase for UTIER in 1978 would be the same as to have supported Romero because he backed a wage increase for TUAMA in 1976. To support Sánchez because he wants more governmental functions transferred from the United States to Puerto Rico would be the same as supporting him in 1968 when he was saying the same thing through the People's Party.

While Sánchez refuses to say that the means of production in this country should be in the hands of the workers (among them the electric company) he continues, as in the past, to defend the idea that those enterprises remain in the hands of the capitalists. Sánchez continues to be procapitalist and proemployer; his interests are opposed to those of the working class. While Sánchez does not defend independence (by, for example, demanding total withdrawal of Yankee troops from Puerto Rico), he continues to be a colonialist, as before.

## The alternative

The alternative continues to be the socialist alternative, even though the PSP leadership is considering abandoning it. We not only want to stop annexation, we want to advance independence. Independence and socialism will be achieved by defending them as principles, not by making concessions voting for Sánchez and supporting an alleged “unity program” that ambiguously proposes “sovereignty” as the alternative.

Independence and socialism can be achieved and annexation can be stopped by building a strong, democratic, solid, workers party, not by supporting capitalist and colonial politicians like Sánchez Vilella.

## Not negotiable

Neither independence nor socialism are negotiable. We don't believe in class collaboration, or in “minimum” or “unity” programs. We are not interested in strengthening a new disguise for colonialism, a new Free Associated State, another Muñoz Marín, as the Communist Party did in 1941. (Look up the report on the dissolution of the CP in the daily *El Mundo*, May 22, 1941).<sup>4</sup>

The minimum and immediate tasks continue to be those that strengthen the organizations of our class, among them the socialist organizations. To strengthen these organizations, it is necessary to keep them independent, not subordinate them to capitalist politicians, wasting our efforts trying to get them elected.

It is necessary to build a revolutionary party that can push forward the struggle of the workers and that won't make deals with the bosses. The Internationalist Workers League urges all socialist militants (inside and outside the PSP) to debate and work for the building of that party.

4. Luis Muñoz Marín founded the Popular Democratic Party before the 1940 elections and dominated Puerto Rican politics between those elections and 1964, when he hand-picked Sánchez Vilella as his successor.

During the PPD's early years the Puerto Rican Communist Party wholeheartedly supported Muñoz Marín, who employed much populist and even proindependence rhetoric. This support peaked during the wartime alliance between the Soviet Union and the United States, with the Stalinists urging that there be no strikes and that the independence struggle be put on the back burner until the United States overcame its Japanese and German imperialist rivals.

# World news notes

## Guzmán victor in Dominican elections

Dominican ruler Joaquín Balaguer conceded defeat May 28 in the recent presidential elections in the Dominican Republic. Antonio Guzmán, candidate of the Dominican Revolutionary Party was the victor by an initial vote count of 832,319 to 669,112.

The election results were put in question when troops seized the ballots May 17 while they were being counted, raising the threat of a military coup.

The United States, which installed the Balaguer government in 1965 following a Marine invasion of Santo Domingo, felt compelled to denounce this brazen move. The *New York Times* explained May 28 that “ever since Castroism jolted the Caribbean, Washington has been caught in the embarrassing position of openly expressing support for free elections in this hemisphere, while moving either through covert acts or simply by acquiescence to preserve right-wing governments.

## Montreal unions call for Québec independence

The Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions has declared “categorically in favor of Québec's national independence.”

The decision, taken at the council's twentieth convention, held April 19-23, explains that a “real national liberation struggle can only be a struggle for socialism.” The resolution also urged that Québec workers form an independent labor party.

These decisions mark the first time since the victory of the Parti Québécois in 1976 that a Québec labor organization has taken a position for an independent socialist Québec and for an independent working-class party in Québec.

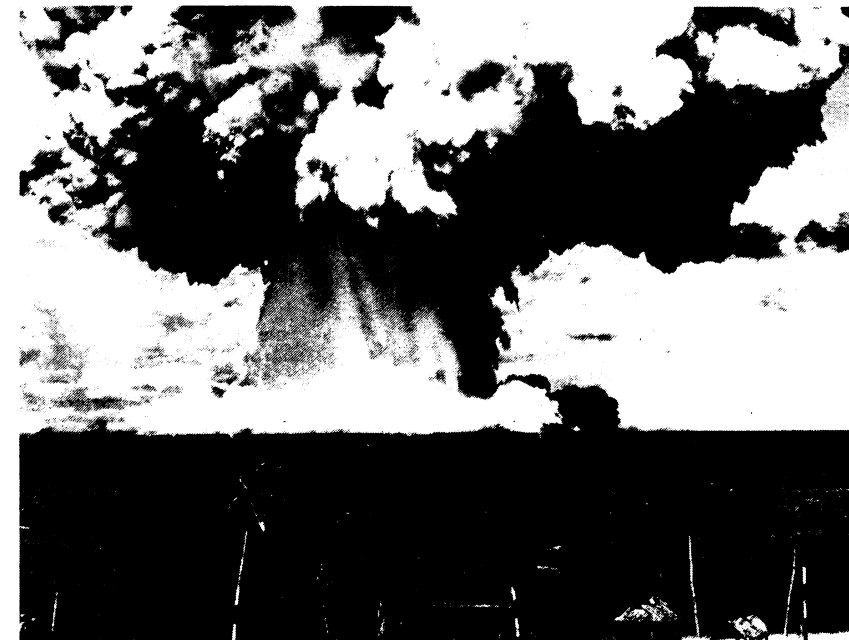
## Bikini islanders must move—again

In 1946 the United States government forcibly evacuated the people of Bikini Island in the South Pacific in order to use their home as a testing site for nuclear explosions.

The islanders were moved to Kili, nearly 450 miles away, where they were forced to live in overcrowded, poverty-stricken conditions.

In 1968 the island was declared safe for habitation, and in 1972 resettlement began. But the islanders quickly discovered that dangerously high levels of radiation remained. Finally, in March of this year, the U.S. Interior Department recommended “that for the foreseeable future, the island of Bikini in the atoll should not be used for agricultural purposes . . . and should not be considered a residential area.”

On May 22 the department reported its findings to Congress and said the islanders would be evacuated a second time from their homes. The evacuation will take place within ninety days.



1946: Mushroom cloud rising over Bikini Island after U.S. atomic bomb test.

## Strike wave in Brazil

Thousands of workers in Brazil went on strike May 12 in São Paulo, one of the country's most industrialized regions. The strike began at Saab-Scania, a Swedish-owned auto factory, where three-quarters of the workers earn an average of \$375 a month.

The strike, which has been declared illegal by the ruling military junta, is the first major work stoppage in Brazil in more than a decade.

Workers are demanding pay increases of 20 percent from auto companies such as Ford, Volkswagen, Chrysler and some twenty other companies.

## Gold miners rebel in S. Africa

A rebellion by Black gold miners at a mine south of Johannesburg was crushed by South African cops May 22. Fourteen workers were reported injured, and sixteen were arrested. The President Steyn Mine, where the rebellion occurred, is owned by the Anglo-American Corporation.

## Behind debate at congress

# Spanish Communist Party & Leninism

By Peter Archer

Two and a half years after the death of Spanish dictator Gen. Francisco Franco, the Spanish Communist Party held its first legal congress in Spain in forty years. The most publicized aspect of the congress, which ended April 21, was its decision to drop the definition of the party as "Leninist."

The theses presented by the leadership and adopted by the convention said on this point:

"The Spanish Communist Party defines itself as a Marxist, democratic, and revolutionary party, which incorporates Lenin's contribution. . . . On this basis, there is no room for any such restrictive conception as that defining Leninism as the Marxism of our day."

The theses added, "As a result of self-criticism, we Spanish Communists have overcome Stalinism, and we are regaining the democratic and anti-bureaucratic essence of Marxism."

The Spanish leadership's alleged concern for democracy was not reflected in the discussions at the congress, however. There was virtually no debate on the floor to clarify the political meaning of the change.

As well, there was no discussion of the disastrous results for Spanish workers of the party's policy of supporting the capitalist government.

The CP leadership evidently feared that such a discussion might reveal the essential point about its policies: that the Spanish Communist Party ceased to be a Leninist party not in 1978, but following its Stalinization at the end of the 1920s. The vote by the CP congress only formalized a long-standing reality.

### What is Leninism?

The Spanish Communist Party tries to equate Leninism with the policies of the Soviet state and the anti-democratic organizational methods of the pro-Moscow parties. But this is a slander.

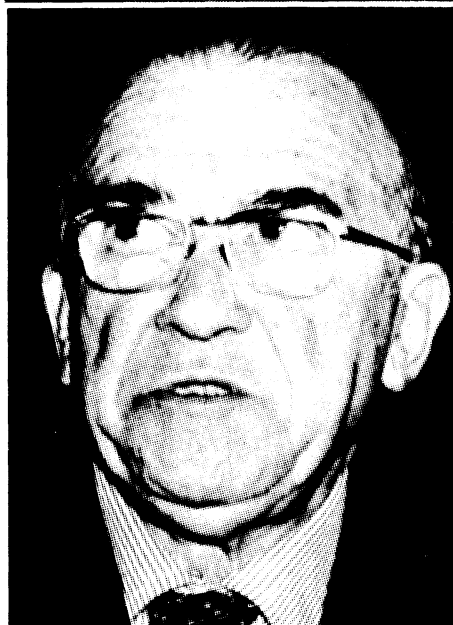
Leninism has always been based first and foremost on a *political strategy for socialist revolution*. Despite the Spanish CP's disclaimers, it remains "the Marxism of our time."

Lenin led a series of fights within the world socialist movement around the major issues facing the working class during the first quarter of the twentieth century. These included: support for the right of oppressed nations to self-determination; opposition to imperialist wars; opposition to "liberal" capitalists in whatever guise; and wholehearted support for socialist revolutions in every country around the globe.

Lenin insisted on the need for a revolutionary party, organized so that democratic discussion could lead to united action. But building such a party would only be successful if it was based on a revolutionary Marxist program. The Spanish CP's assertions notwithstanding, Stalinism is not an outgrowth of Leninism, but its exact opposite.

Stalinism is the product of the degeneration of the first workers state, the Soviet Union. Faced with defeats of revolutions abroad and poverty and backwardness at home, the young Soviet state fell victim to a privileged bureaucratic caste headed by Joseph Stalin.

Stalin's conservative policies, aimed at preserving the domination of this



Spanish CP members cheer legalization of their party. Despite pretensions of CP General Secretary Santiago Carrillo, CP remains a Stalinist party.

bureaucracy, came down to three main points:

- Socialism can be built in one country—the Soviet Union—without successful socialist revolutions elsewhere in the world.
- To ensure this, the Soviet workers state must "peacefully coexist" with capitalism for an indefinite time.
- The foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the policies followed by Communist parties abroad must be entirely subordinate to the aim of "peaceful coexistence." The aim of parties loyal to Moscow thus became all-out political support to those sections of their national capitalist classes that were seen as more favorably disposed toward "coexistence" with the Soviet Union.

In Spain, Stalinist politics led the Spanish Communist Party to offer support to the capitalist republican government in 1936 in the midst of a revolutionary upsurge. The Spanish Stalinists participated in the People's Front—an electoral alliance with liberal capitalists that was based on support for capitalist policies.

### Stalinism in Spain

The Popular Front proved completely incapable of solving the crisis facing Spain. While the liberals temporized with the far right, the fascists prepared their assault on the workers. When Franco launched the civil war in July 1936, the republican government tried to make a deal with the fascists. It was hostile to the attempts of independent workers organizations to fight the fascists.

The Communist Party systematically broke the workers' revolution—the only force that could have really stopped Franco. The result was fascist victory in 1939.

### Class collaboration continues

The Spanish Communist Party has learned absolutely nothing from this experience. Under the new name of "Eurocommunism," it is peddling the same old Stalinist policies. In fact, in his book "*Eurocommunism and the State*," Santiago Carrillo, the general secretary of the CP, says the policies of "Eurocommunism" originated in the popular-front policy—which led to disaster and defeat in the 1930s!

Today, there is a massive upsurge of the Spanish working class. The Communist Party is doing everything in its power to hold back this upsurge.

In mid-May 1977, for example, a general strike broke out in the Basque country in protest of police attacks on peaceful protesters and demanding amnesty for political prisoners.

Marcelino Camacho, a leader of the CP, called for an end to the protests and for "tranquility" in preparation for the coming elections.

On October 21 the CP, along with leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party, signed a social pact with the government, the predominant feature of which was a wage freeze. This was in a year when inflation cut the wages of Spanish workers by 30 percent.

The CP continues to support the concept of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. In "*Eurocommunism and the State*," Carrillo says, "The victory of the socialist forces in the countries of Western Europe will not augment Soviet State power in the slightest. . . ."

But the victory of socialist revolution *anywhere* strengthens the existing workers states and weakens world imperialism. Unfortunately, when Carrillo talks about "the victory of the socialist forces," however, he doesn't mean socialist revolution.

The CP has called for a government in Spain of a "center-left majority." What it means by this is a government in which the CP participates in administering the capitalist state.

### 'Eurocommunism'

To achieve this goal, the CP must prove to the capitalists that it will be a "responsible" partner in such a government. It tries to demonstrate this by holding back the struggles of women, of youth, and of the oppressed nationalities in Spain.

At the same time, it must take its

distance from the Soviet bureaucracy to convince the capitalists that it will faithfully represent *their* interests in the international arena as well as in domestic politics.

As well, the CP must so differentiate itself to win radicalizing workers to its ranks. These workers are repelled by the repressive character of the Kremlin regime.

By attacking the worst of these abuses, Carrillo hopes to put his party in a better competitive position vis-à-vis the Spanish Social Democrats to win these workers.

In their efforts to differentiate themselves from the Soviet regime, the "Eurocommunist" parties have made criticisms of the antidemocratic measures taken by the Kremlin against dissidents. For example, the French CP participated in several rallies demanding freedom for Soviet political prisoner Leonid Plyushch. Plyushch was later freed, largely because of such pressure on the Kremlin.

The growth of "Eurocommunist" tendencies within the international Stalinist movement has posed an awkward problem for Moscow.

On the one hand, it would like CPs in different countries to be in a position to exercise more influence on the capitalist governments.

On the other hand, it cannot tolerate the criticisms Carrillo and others have made of repression in the Soviet Union. Such criticism strikes a responsive chord among the Soviet masses.

The Kremlin attempted to bring the "Eurocommunists" to heel last year with a slashing attack on Carrillo in the magazine *Novoye Vremya* (New Times). The attack backfired when a number of Communist parties in Europe and elsewhere came to Carrillo's defense, though carefully differentiating themselves from some of his more extreme criticisms.

### Explosive situation

"Eurocommunism" thus presents an explosive situation to the international Stalinist movement. Moreover, it increases the opportunities for revolutionary Marxists to discuss politics with members of the mass Communist parties in France, Italy, Spain, and elsewhere.

Many members of these parties have only an imperfect understanding of their parties' histories and policies. They will be willing to discuss these questions, and many of them will come to see that Stalinism—whether in its Moscow or "Eurocommunist" clothing—has nothing to do with Leninist revolutionary socialism.

## The Spanish Revolution

By LEON TROTSKY

447 pp., \$20.00, paper \$5.45

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 for postage and handling, \$.50 if order of more than \$5.00.

## New Zealand abortion law

# 'Most inhuman & repressive in the world'

The following article appeared in the May 11 issue of 'Direct Action,' a revolutionary socialist newsweekly published in Sydney, Australia.

By Christine Beresford

Only 15 women in Auckland have been able to obtain legal abortions since the repressive anti-abortion legislation passed by the New Zealand Parliament came into effect on April 1, reports the April 19 issue of the New Zealand Herald. Dr. J.H. Taylor, a consulting gynaecologist at National Women's Hospital, is quoted as saying the women were "desperate and deserving cases."

They also, fortunately, qualified under the terms of the new law. Taylor pointed out that he was able to deal with "only the tip of the iceberg" in granting abortions to women.

In other parts of the country, the situation women face is even worse. No abortion "service" under the terms of the new law exists at all in Wanganui, Taraniki, Nelson, Marlborough, North Otago, or Timaru, as no doctors have sought appointment as consultants.

According to the Abortion Supervisory Committee, only in Wellington and Christchurch have an adequate number of consultants been appointed.

Sisters Overseas Service (SOS), which arranges abortions for women in Australia, is still sending between 30 and 40 every week to Australia.

For those women who cannot afford to go to Australia and who now have no hope of obtaining legal abortions there are few alternatives—back-street abortions at the risk of their lives, enforced pregnancy, or an attempt at self-abortion at the risk of up to 14 years imprisonment.

The new law is one of the most inhuman and repressive in the whole world. The grounds for legal abortion are extremely narrow. Abortion is now legal only if continuation of pregnancy would result in serious danger to the life or to the physical and mental health of the woman.

To make matters worse, an amendment was added that abortion is legal only when such danger "cannot be averted by other means." Such a provision presumably means that if a woman faced the prospect of mental illness as a result of childbirth, and if this could be "cured" by a stay in a mental institution, then abortion is illegal.

The only other grounds for abortion are incest, or pregnancy in a woman who is "severely subnormal" or "a girl under care and protection as defined by the Crimes Act."

Rape, possible foetal deformity, social and economic factors (such as poverty) are not grounds for abortion and, with the exception of rape, are also excluded as matters to be taken into account when deciding if abortion is permissible.

The new law requires certifying consultants, but few doctors have applied. The reason for this is that under the law a majority of doctors are "pro-abortion extremists."

The General Practitioners Society conducted a survey of its members in December 1977 and found that 55 per cent thought abortion should be a decision between a woman and her doctor. However, doctors cannot become certifying consultants if they hold "extreme" views on abortion. Extreme views are defined as either (a) the belief that abortions must never be performed or (b) the belief that a woman and her doctor should have the right to make the decision.

Since nearly all anti-abortionists are prepared to see at least some abortions, the effect of this provision is to ensure that only anti-abortionists can become consultants. In fact, a large number of the consultants so far appointed are or have been members of the anti-abortion "Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child" (SPUC).

In addition to the lack of certifying consultants, women face an additional barrier in seeking abortion. The procedure they must follow is designed to make it as difficult as possible to obtain one.

A woman must first gain approval of a doctor, who refers her to two certifying consultants, one of whom must be an obstetrician and gynaecologist. After these two have "certified" the woman, the operating doctor must also agree to do the procedure. A total of four doctors are to make the decision for each woman.

The severity of the abortion law is out of step with what most New Zealanders think about abortion. For the past four or five years, public opinion polls have shown 65 per cent of the



Socialist Action

WELLINGTON, New Zealand: Women march against new abortion law

population favoring a liberalisation of the abortion laws.

In the last year New Zealand has seen the largest pro-abortion marches ever. Opposition to the law is widespread, and women angered by this attack on their rights have been increasingly taking part in actions opposing the law and demanding the right to choose.

An abortion conference organised by the Women's National Abortion Action Campaign (WONAAC) held in March drew 180 women. The women there decided to make 1978 "Abortion Action Year" and will continue to campaign for the repeal of restrictive abortion laws and for legislation which will safeguard a woman's right to choose. The conference has planned nationwide marches for September 15 (the anniversary of the day NZ women won the vote).

The weak position of the NZ Labour Party on the abortion question is being challenged at this year's conference, with delegates being called on to vote for the repeal of the existing abortion laws and to throw the issue open to a referendum. The Labour leadership has consistently ducked taking a pro-

abortion stand, leaving the issue as a "conscience" matter.

Another indication of the growth of opposition to the law is that some unions are beginning to take pro-abortion positions. The National Abortion Conference was endorsed by the Wellington Insurance Union and the Auckland Public Service Association.

The attack on abortion rights in NZ should be seen in the context of attempts to cut back the gains made by women internationally. In countries where abortion laws were liberalised in the late '60s and early '70s (USA, Britain, France) attempts are being made to interfere with women's access to safe, legal abortion. Such attacks are made through both legal restrictions and cutbacks in funding and abortion facilities. It is possible here, in Australia, that attempts will be made to limit the availability of abortion by taking it off Medibank.

Any attack on the right of women to abortion anywhere in the world is an attack on all women. The fight of NZ women to repeal the repressive abortion legislation and win the right to choose must be supported here in any way possible.

## Italian women win victory

Italian women won the right to free and legal abortion on May 18, when a bill legalizing the medical procedure passed the Senate by a vote of 160 to 148. The previous law, on the books since the fascist period, banned all abortions as a "crime against the race."

The new law permits abortion in the first ninety days of pregnancy to women eighteen years of age or older who believe that childbirth would endanger their physical or mental health.

After the first three months, abortion would be permitted only to save a woman's life or if the fetus has serious birth defects.

Abortions performed in state-run hospitals are covered by national health insurance.

Both the ruling Christian Democratic Party and the Catholic Church hierarchy had strongly opposed the bill. In a statement issued after the vote, the Vatican termed abortion an "abominable crime," and a Roman Catholic group petitioned the president to veto the bill.

The new law contains some major drawbacks, which will undoubtedly be the focus of future struggles. Chief among these is the stipulation that women under eighteen years of age must have the consent of both parents, the result of a last-minute "compromise" the Communist and Socialist parties helped to arrange.

In addition, doctors and medical staff may refuse to perform abortions by registering as "conscientious objectors." While other medical personnel must be brought in to replace them, this could cause delays.

In addition, the law states that women seeking abortions must consult a doctor and wait seven days before they can have the operation. In many cities, the state-run clinics for the first consultation do not exist, and where they do exist they are overcrowded and inefficient.

## For the very best coverage of world politics

Frankly, 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' carries far more articles, documents, and special features about world politics than the 'Militant' has room for.

'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' is published to help people struggling for a better world learn from each other's successes and setbacks. You can't afford to be without it. Fill in the coupon below and subscribe today.

Intercontinental Press/Inprecor  
Post office Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, New York 10014

- ☐ Send me six months of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' Enclosed is twelve dollars.  
☐ Send me a sample copy. Enclosed is seventy-five cents.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Intercontinental Press  
Inprecor

Imperialist Troops

Out of Zaire!

Peru  
Hugo Blanco, Hundreds of Others, Arrested

Spain  
Uproar Over Jailing of Forty-Eight Trotskyists

Books  
'Breakaway—The Scottish Labour Party'



# In Review

## A new film from Cuba: 'The Last Supper'

The Last Supper. Directed by Tomas Gutiérrez Alea. In Spanish with English subtitles. A Tricontinental Films Release.

A Spanish count picks twelve slaves at random from his Cuban sugar plantation to take the places of Christ's disciples at a grotesque reenactment of the Last Supper. This ritual, the heart of the Christian mass, is also the heart of Tomas Gutiérrez Alea's stunning film, *The Last Supper*.

Alea is best known in the United States for his 1968 film *Memories of Underdevelopment*, which has been more widely seen and highly praised here than any other Cuban movie.

The subject and treatment of *The Last Supper* are more conventional than in that earlier work. Nevertheless, *The Last Supper* is a richly creative and imaginative film.

And technically, *The Last Supper* is the best of a

### Film

recent drop of color films from Cuba. It marks a qualitative advance for the Cuban film industry.

Introductory titles explain that the film is based on actual events. The time is the last years of the eighteenth century, after a successful slave revolt in Haiti gives Cuba a chance to become the world's foremost sugar producer.

These developments are introduced as unobtrusively as possible, thereby avoiding the school-teachery lectures by Marlon Brando that made *Burn* (a film with similar historical background) tedious at times.

The acting, including a performance by Chilean exile Nelson Villagra as the count, is uniformly fine. This is especially true in the Last Supper scene, where the diverse and contradictory characters of the slaves create the film's greatest moments of humor and emotion.

Among the men whose feet the count fussily washes and kisses before the meal is Sebastian, who winces with pain as the towel is applied to his bruised and bloody feet.

The day before, Sebastian's ear became a meal of a less uplifting sort. Manuel, the overseer, cut it off and threw it to the dogs to punish the slave for trying to escape. But tonight, Sebastian can even get away with spitting in the face of his master.

The count explains how Christ offered his body and blood to his disciples. The guests laugh and point to the former cannibal among them.

In a sentimental sermon, the count quotes St. Francis: "Our sorrow is the only thing we can give with complete joy." It is not through lack of sophistication that the slaves fail to appreciate the wonder of this Christian paradox.



The Count (Nelson Villagra) with a slave (Samuel Claxton) in a scene from 'The Last Supper'

The next day is Good Friday. After hearing the count's expressions of brotherly love at dinner the night before, some of the slaves expect him to keep his promise that there will be no work. They defy Manuel's orders to the contrary—and then take him hostage.

To the slave's surprise, the count answers with brutal repression. Sebastian kills the overseer. Others set fire to the sugar mill before fleeing.

Prodded by the count, the plantation's lackey priest observes that Manuel died at exactly the same hour on Good Friday as Christ did.

And on the third day, Easter Sunday, Manuel rises again—as the count. The count is seen shorn of his fine manners, his piety, and his genteel wig. He fills his own description of Manuel: "A violent man who commits necessary sins."

The heads of all but one of the twelve dinner guests look down on the count and the overseer's grave from atop tall stakes. Sebastian has escaped.

Films on the slave era have by now become a distinct category of Cuban cinema. These films portray the slave system as savagely oppressive and utterly ruthless in suppressing rebellion. They

expose the hypocrisy of the ruling slavocracy—which sought, when possible, to put a "civilizing" distance between itself and those of its hirelings who actually wielded the whips and chains.

In all of these films, the slaves seek to escape, to rebel, to avenge themselves on their oppressors. In other words, if they do nothing else, these films present a pretty accurate picture of the way things were.

What sets *The Last Supper* apart is that it does not stop at that. The questions posed are more complex, the relationships less cut and dried.

The actions of the antagonists are not always what we would expect them to be. The count meekly wipes from his face the spittle of Sebastian, his most incorrigible slave. One day later, the same slaveowner's unpredictable moods have fused into a single-minded vengeful bloodlust.

True to Sebastian's dialectical parable, things are not always what they seem.

This capacity for revealing contradiction, which has nothing in common with the "arty" ambiguity of someone who has nothing definite to say, is what makes Alea's films so provocative.

—Rich Robohm

## Michael Meeropol on 'Rosenbergs Revisited'

On June 19, the Public Broadcasting System will mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg with a ninety-minute program, "The Rosenberg-Sobell Case Revisited." The program is an updated version of "The Unquiet Death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," an

### Television

award-winning documentary made in 1974.

The Rosenbergs were executed on June 19, 1953, on charges that they gave the "secret of the atom bomb" to the Soviet Union.

Actually the U.S. government murdered the Rosenbergs because of their political beliefs. The sensationalized frame-up trial of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell was a keystone to the anticommunist witch-hunt.

Recently I talked with Michael Meeropol, one of the Rosenberg's sons, about the film.

Michael and Robert Meeropol have

been trying to expose the government's frame-up of their parents. On June 19 they, along with others in the United 25th Anniversary Movement, will commemorate the execution with a rally in New York's Union Square.

What made "The Unquiet Death" worth seeing? I asked Meeropol.

"The average citizen does not know how incredibly weak the prosecution's case was," he answered, "and how many proven perjuries and hoaxes our side has uncovered since 1951."

"In 1974 when this film was shown, it was the first time anybody saw in the major media the specifics of what we said. Despite the fact that they didn't include anywhere near all the things that we had, and despite the fact that it has been superseded by evidence we have found since 1974, from our point of view it was gratifying to see a fair treatment."

How does the film compare to other books written about the case? I asked.

"It is nowhere as complete as John Wexley's *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg* and Walter and Miriam Schneir's *Invitation to an In-*

*quest*, because it is compressed into ninety minutes.

"But I think it's good, and it has some new things that even the Schneir book doesn't have."

About a year after the film was made, the Meeropols sued the government to get the complete files and records of the Rosenberg frame-up. What did those files contain that was not part of the 1974 film?

First, Meeropol said, was information about Judge Julius Kaufmann, who tried the Rosenbergs. FBI files show that he had secret conversations with the FBI and prosecutors during the trial.

Other files debunk testimony by Harry Gold and David Greenglass, who were key prosecution witnesses against the Rosenbergs.

"And we have the whole vicious description of how my mother was used in the case," Meeropol said. "From the minute my father was arrested, the files admit they have very little on my mother but that it's important to use her as a lever against my father."

"Now we know the case against my mother was manufactured only a month before the trial."

Meeropol noted that the PBS decision to update and televise the film is a tribute, "that it was an important enough film and an important enough issue."

He also urged people to participate in the June 19 meeting at Union Square.

"Twenty-five years ago Americans gathered in Union Square for what turned out to be a rather grim final protest against the execution of my parents."

"Twenty-five years later we are returning to Union Square in an entirely different spirit, to celebrate the resistance of my parents and of the people who struggled to save their lives then. To celebrate the continuing resistance on the part of the movement against repression."

"And to say to the government, you may have killed two people, but you didn't crush us. We're still here; we're strong; and we're united."

—Diane Wang

Arnold Weissberg



## A typical government crackdown

"Workers Warned of Asbestos Peril," said the headline in the April 27 *New York Times*. The first paragraph presented the information that federal health officials had warned "millions of American workers who have handled asbestos over the last 40 years that they were at grave risk of developing serious diseases, including cancer."

The article went on to quote Joseph Califano, secretary of health, education and welfare, who called asbestos "one of the most dangerous and insidious substances in the work place."

Well, you might say, better late than never. After all, asbestos has been known to cause serious lung diseases for seventy years. But at least the federal government is cracking down at last.

Wrong. Dead wrong.

Dr. Julius Richmond, surgeon general of the United States, announced he was sending a three-page "physician advisory" letter to every doctor in the country. The letter will advise doctors about the possible health effects of asbestos. That's it.

The federal government's "regulation" of worker exposure to asbestos is one of the worst scandals in the scandal-ridden field of workplace health and safety.

After years of simply ignoring the problem, in December 1971 the government finally issued an emergency exposure limit. Although the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) recommended a maximum exposure of 100,000 asbestos fibers per cubic meter of air, the Labor Department set a maximum of 2 million fibers.

Even this standard was not to go into effect permanently until 1976.

Meanwhile, 40 percent of asbestos workers die from cancer, half of them from lung cancer. That's a lung cancer death rate six times higher than the rate for smokers.

The government estimates between 8 million and 11 million workers have been exposed to asbestos since the start of World War II.

Shipyard workers are greatly affected by asbestos. Workers in three yards were examined, and doctors found 50 percent with lung abnormalities in one, 59 percent in a second, and 30 percent in a third.

It's not only workplace exposure to asbestos the government has treated lightly:

- April 27, 1977: "The Consumer Product Safety Commission rejected yesterday an immediate ban on three household items containing . . . asbestos and began instead a months-long proceeding that could lead to an eventual ban" (*Washington Post*).

- April 28, 1977: "A full year after the Consumer Product Safety Commission's own scientists recommended 'immediate' action, the commission will consider a proposal today to ban certain consumer products containing . . . asbestos fibers" (*Los Angeles Times*).

And when the commission finally acted, it banned the use of spackling compounds and simulated fireplace log embers that contain asbestos!

## Women in Revolt

### The anti-ERA minority

Why don't we have the Equal Rights Amendment?

Almost everybody is for the ERA. Not only women's groups and Black civil rights groups and the unions. Many Protestant, Jewish, and some Catholic groups are for it. The Girl Scouts are pro-ERA.

Even the Democratic and Republican parties are on record for the amendment, as are the past six U.S. presidents.

So who is against it? The Roman Catholic and Mormon church hierarchies have opposed the ERA. And there are the notorious "pink ladies" who wear big, red STOP ERA buttons.

But last year, even when these opponents mobilized for the state and national International Women's Year conferences, they were loudly answered, outnumbered, and defeated.

These reactionary grouplets, however, are not the real power fighting the ERA. Less public than the "pink ladies" or bishops, but much more powerful, is the small handful of bankers and corporation heads—the capitalist class—who own and rule this country.

For this minority it only makes sense—big cents—to oppose ERA. Just think what ERA could

eventually cost them.

ERA would be a big weapon in the fight for equal pay for equal work. The Labor Department estimates that during the fiscal year ending last September, 19,141 workers alone were underpaid \$15.5 million because of unequal pay.

And women could use the ERA in the struggle for equal job opportunity and to break out of our confinement to low-paying jobs.

Steps toward equal pay and equal opportunity would narrow the wage gap between men and women, costing the capitalists billions of dollars. The latest figures show that median weekly income for men was \$253; for women, \$156.

The case of just one company gives a glimpse of the huge stakes involved. Uniroyal Inc. has been sued on behalf of about 500 women. The case centers on the 1968-70 layoffs at the Mishawaka plant where women, typically, were among the first fired. The suit estimates the damages to those women at around \$18 million.

ERA could cost bosses even more in the long run. If there are not millions of women being underpaid and segregated into low-paying jobs, the employers lose a weapon against working men. They won't be able to threaten to replace male workers with

cheaper, female employees.

And if "uppity women" successfully demand equal rights, won't others get the idea that they deserve their rights too? A women's victory would fuel Black and other civil rights struggles and union battles for decent working conditions.

The ruling rich have a lot at stake in stopping the drive for equal rights. That's why their political representatives—the Democrats and Republicans—have blocked the ERA's ratification.

The ERA is one more example showing that even though we have a ballot box, we do not have democratic decisions made by the majority.

After all, working people, who are the majority, never agreed to close down schools and hospitals so that the military could build weapons to destroy the world five times over.

The majority of people never chose to spend billions of dollars and thousands of lives in the attempt to destroy Vietnam. It took years of work, a massive movement, to force that minority, the ruling rich, to get the United States out of Vietnam.

That is what it takes to enforce the will of the majority. The huge majority that supports women's rights has to be stirred to action for the ERA. It will take a loud, strong, and massive movement to win.



Diane Wang

## Union Talk

### AFSCME-CSEA merger

This week's column is by John Singleterry, a delegate from New York City in Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA) Local 1000, and Mike Kozak, a floor representative from CSEA Local 687 in Albany.

On April 21 the Civil Service Employees Association of New York merged with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Representing some 375,000 state and county workers, CSEA was the largest independent public workers union in New York. The merger brings the membership of AFSCME in New York State to more than 500,000.

The Democrats and Republicans in both Albany and New York City are cracking down hard on government workers. One of the most effective ways they've done this in the past has been by pitting state employees against municipal workers—keeping us fighting among ourselves for the scraps they throw us.

Hence the merger could represent an opportunity for government workers to stand up—united—

against the bosses' attacks.

But the truth is that the merger wasn't conceived for this purpose. The ranks had no opportunity to democratically discuss how the merger could advance the struggles of government workers or bring the millions of still-unorganized public employees into union membership.

The leaderships of both AFSCME and CSEA refuse to take such a militant approach, because it would mean an end to their policies of tying the unions' fate to the Democratic and Republican parties.

Without such a policy change, public employee unions will remain trapped in the same no-win situation where they help put into public office the very bosses who slash our wages and threaten our jobs.

What really prompted the merger was a successful representation challenge by the Public Employees Federation that stripped CSEA of a unit representing 45,000 workers. The PEF was put together by the Service Employees International Union and Albert Shanker's New York State United Teachers—both AFL-CIO unions—for the purpose

of raiding CSEA.

CSEA President William McGowan—fearful that the entire membership might soon be lost—negotiated to be taken under the protective wing of AFSCME President Jerry Wurf. By merging with AFSCME, CSEA leaders hope to be protected by an AFL-CIO ban on raids by affiliated unions against each other.

Now AFSCME and CSEA are challenging the PEF raid in the AFL-CIO and in the courts. Questions of who represents whom are throwing CSEA's grievance procedures into a tizzy.

Albany has been quick to take advantage of these divisions. The state is stalling on grievance procedures and appealing more of the decisions that go against it.

Rather than devoting their energies to fighting against these new attacks, union officials like Albert Shanker and Jerry Wurf are engaging in self-serving power plays within the AFL-CIO over how our dues are going to be divided up and which of them will emerge dominant.

Rather than infighting at the top, we need a fighting unity of the ranks against the bosses.

## Quote unquote

"We don't make military vehicles as such but they [the South African government] adapt them for whatever purposes they want."

—General Motors spokesperson explaining why a company that claims it doesn't produce war matériel sold trucks to South Africa for "Defense Force purposes."

## CONSISTENCY

Arlington House, a right-wing publisher, has announced the following two titles as part of its 1978 list: *Thou Shalt Not Kill: The Christian Case Against Abortion*, and *Neither Cruel Nor Unusual: The Case for Capital Punishment*.



## JOANNE LITTLE CASE

On May 30 U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall postponed for at least two days Joanne Little's extradition from New York to North Carolina. She is wanted in North Carolina to complete a prison sentence.

Little contends her life would be in danger in North Carolina prisons. In 1975, she became internationally known when she was found not guilty of murder after defending herself from an attempted rape by a white prison guard.

She fled North Carolina last fall.

Justice Marshall postponed the extradition so that the full court could consider Little's

request that it order a full hearing where she can present her case—something lower courts have denied her.

## PUERTO RICANS' PLIGHT

The United States Commission on Civil Rights charged May 19 that recommendations it made in October 1976 to combat the oppression of Puerto Ricans "remain largely ignored."

In a memorandum to the White House, the commission reported that "in 1975, Puerto Rican households had a lower per capita income than any other racial-ethnic group studied."

The commission also reported that Puerto Rican male and female unemployment rates were 2.7 and 3.7 times higher respectively than those of white men.

Ten days after the memorandum was sent, the White House still hadn't bothered to respond.

## INDIANS FIGHT GAS TERMINAL

Some twenty-five to thirty Chumash Indians staged a three-day occupation of Little Cohu Bay at Point Conception, California, where the government is trying to put a billion-dollar Liquefied Natural Gas terminal.

Indians consider the proposal "desecration of burial ground. The occupation ended with an agreement to let members of the tribe monitor studies of the area. State officials also guaranteed protection of Indian ruins and artifacts. The Indians remain opposed to the construction of the facility.

Environmentalists also oppose building the facility. The site is on an earthquake fault. An LNG spill can produce a powerful explosion and tremendous fireball as the super-cooled liquid vaporizes, mixing with oxygen in the air.

## ABORTION MD FACES NEW MURDER TRIAL

The Orange County, California, district attorney announced May 15 that he will retry Dr. William Waddill for "murdering" a fetus that lived for a short time after a late-

pregnancy abortion.

A previous sixteen-week trial ended with a hung jury. A majority of the jurors favored acquittal.

The prosecution charged variously that Dr. Waddill had strangled the fetus or failed to take steps to assure its survival.

Waddill categorically denied the strangulation charge and insisted that nothing could be done to save the fetus.

A particularly ominous aspect of the case is the unprecedented added charge that Waddill violated a state child-abuse law.

## CON ED CON JOB

For more than forty years Con Edison and two maintenance companies have fleeced New York City taxpayers to the tune of up to \$500,000 a year for streetlight electricity and maintenance that were never delivered.

The rates charged for the services are based on the number of streetlights. For decades, the city officials simply took Con Ed's word for the count, not bothering to double check it.

Now the city's Investigation Department has determined Con Ed's claims were "grossly inaccurate."

For its part, Con Ed put out its standard reply to customer complaints: "We never over-billed. It might be the other way around, that the city owes us money."

## U.S. GOVERNMENT VS. ESKIMOS

Already restricted in their right to hunt whales, Alaskan Eskimos now face elimination of their waterfowl hunting privileges.

Although it's being done in the name of ecology and conservation, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service plan to stop out-of-season hunting is an outright attack on the culture and standard of living of Native People, who obtain much of their food through hunting. The plan would eliminate birds as a food source since they're not in Alaska during the months when it is "legal" to hunt them.

Meanwhile, the slaughter of



Militant/Laurel Kelly

## Law students' strike ends

At a May 25 meeting, striking law students at the University of California at Los Angeles ended their eight-day class boycott after winning some concessions.

Strike leaders reported that as a result of the protest, the law school has made "a strong commitment" to accept thirty-two entering Chicano law students next year, the same number as this year. The strike began after the faculty had effectively slashed that number in half.

However, one major issue remains unresolved. The proposed procedure for selecting additional students excludes participation by the Chicano Law Students Association. In the past the association has had a say in such decisions.

Nevertheless, faced with the pressure of final exams, strike leaders decided to end the protest rather than jeopardize the careers of many minority students at the law school.

ducks perpetrated by millions of California "sportsmen," who are "limited" to six kills a day during the ninety-day legal hunting season, would continue unabated.

ducted the test reveals that the prosecutor lied. The test showed Bello's trial testimony was false.

## DEFEND ABORTION RIGHTS

The California Assembly has rejected a proposal to continue Medi-Cal funding for poor women's abortions. The state senate will vote soon on the issue.

Some 70,000 California women each year need the funds for their abortions.

In San Diego the National Organization for Women has called a demonstration to defend abortion rights for June 11 at noon in Balboa Park, Sixth and Laurel.

Several Black and Chicano groups have endorsed the action, as have the California Abortion Rights Action League, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Campaign for Economic Democracy.

## 'HURRICANE' CARTER APPEALS

Lawyers for Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis have asked a New Jersey appeals court to set aside their 1976 conviction on charges of killing three whites.

The district attorney in the trial told the judge and defense lawyers that a lie-detector test of Alfred Bello, the only witness who identified Carter and Artis as the gunmen, showed he was telling the truth. Bello had twice changed his story. The judge ruled this could be introduced as evidence if the defense explored why he had changed his story.

But a sworn statement from the polygraph expert who con-

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA

**LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION IN ZAIRE.** A panel discussion. Fri., June 9, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

## COLORADO

### DENVER

**MY FIGHT FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM.** Speaker: Héctor Marroquín, who is fighting deportation to Mexico; Ray Kinoshita, anti-deportation activist; Silvia Zapata, Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. Fri., June 9, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

**RALLY/PICNIC FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN.** Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Phil Herata, president Independent Municipal Employees Federation; Silvia Zapata; others. Sun., June 11, 3 p.m. Sunken Garden Park. 951 Elati. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

## FLORIDA

### MIAMI

**THE FIGHT FOR GAY & LESBIAN RIGHTS TODAY.** Speakers: Joe Kear, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., June 9, 8 p.m. 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

## MINNESOTA

### ST. PAUL

**BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY: A HISTORY.** 8-part class series. Every Tues. evening beginning June 6, 7:30 p.m. 373 University Ave. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

## MISSOURI

### KANSAS CITY

**'UNION MAIDS' AND LABOR UNION WOMEN.** Film: 'Union Maids.' Speaker: Marty Pettit, feminist activist, member of American Postal Workers Union and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 10, 7:30 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

## NEW YORK

### NYC: BROOKLYN

**THE ALMOST REVOLUTION: FRANCE 1968.** Speaker: David Frankel, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., June 9, 8 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

## OHIO

### CINCINNATI

**'J.P. STEVENS WORKERS.'** A film. Speaker: Ron Hooks, area boycott coordinator. Fri., June 9, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan, Peebles Corner. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 751-2636.

## OREGON

### PORTLAND

**AMERICAN INDIAN STRUGGLES TODAY.** Speaker: Susana Santos, student at Colegio César Chávez and longtime activist in Native American struggle. Film showing. Fri., June 9, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.



## Special Offer

TO CELEBRATE THE COMPLETION OF THE 12-VOLUME SET OF WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY

• 20% off for three or more volumes (regular price, \$5.45 per volume).

• 25% reduction for entire twelve-volume set of **Writings of Leon Trotsky** (1929-40).

For all twelve volumes, send \$49 plus \$1 for postage and handling to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. For other orders, please include \$.50 for postage and handling.



# The Great Society

Harry Ring



## GM & APARTHEID

On May 19, the American Committee on Africa released to the press secret documents outlining General Motors's "contingency plans" for cooperating with the racist South African government to crush protests for Black majority rule.

The memos were written a year ago by white managers of GM's South African subsidiary and secretly hand-delivered to GM headquarters in Detroit. They state that "in the event of civil unrest" GM's plants would be taken over by the South African military. The racist regime "would completely regulate output" under protection of a "G.M. commando" made up of white employees "who have had military training."

The documents also reveal GM sold trucks to the South African government specifically for "Defense Force purposes." Nevertheless, GM still claims that it doesn't produce war matériel in South Africa.

## CIA DOUBLETALK

"PITTSBURGH, May 28 (AP)—The Central Intelligence Agency must continue its employee secrecy oaths 'to keep our open society open,' George Bush, former Director of Central Intelligence, said yesterday."

## DALLAS BUSING CASE

The five-member white majority of the Dallas Independent School District has voted to appeal a lower-court busing decision to the Supreme Court.

A federal appeals court recently overturned the two-year-old Dallas desegregation plan, which left schools in some neighborhoods all white or all Black. The appeals court ordered the school officials to come up with a new plan to achieve genuine school desegregation.

The two minority school board members voted against appealing to the Supreme Court, saying it was just a stalling tactic to put off desegregation.

**Rounded program**—To balance off the neutron bomb, which kills people without destroying property, the Livermore Laboratory at the University of California has developed a nuclear weapon that destroys property with only a modest number of ensuing radiation deaths. Now all we need is a bomb that just kills poor people.

**Fine grain**—"100% natural fiber," says ITT about its Fresh Horizons bread. Which natural fiber? Powdered wood pulp.

**Pickled in brine**—Some of the bigger brains in Washington are considering the idea of burying nuclear waste in ocean floor sediment undisturbed for 50 million years. The only disadvantages, they say, are that it would be hard to monitor and other nations might object.

**It's only your teeth**—Speaking of dentists, a Pennsylvania Insurance Department booklet advises: "Based on available evidence, it can be conservatively estimated that at least fifteen percent are incompetent, dishonest or both."

**Hard times**—Rosalyn Carter put in twenty-five minutes painting a room in D.C.'s rundown General Hospital. Such volunteer efforts are necessary, she explained, because "the government can't do everything. We don't have the money." For sure. Like this year the war budget was a scant \$126 billion.

**The tube and the spirit**—"Lord, we know what You want. You want us to put people before profits, the quality of our programming before the size of our ratings, the service of our communities before the selling of our products. Lord, do you know how tough that is?"  
—Invocation by Rev. Elwood Kieser at convention of TV programming execs.

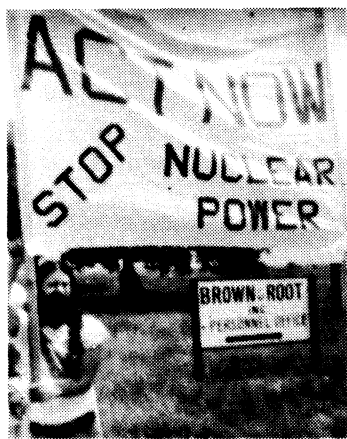
**Nobody's perfect**—California pollution officials charged that six Los Angeles oil refineries are belching an added 53,000 pounds of hydrocarbons into the air every day as a result of "sloppy" maintenance. Leaky valves, flanges, and seals were found at all six. One of them, ARCO, responded that no one ever promised zero emissions.

## Texans demand 'No nukes!'

Some 150 people gathered in Glen Rose May 20 at the first statewide anti-nuclear power rally ever held in Texas, reports *Militant* correspondent Diane Jacobs. Glen Rose is the site of the Comanche Peak nuclear facility, where two reactors are under construction by the Brown and Root Company.

The rally crowd released scores of helium-filled balloons, each with a message attached: "If this balloon reaches you, you are in the path of nuclear fallout."

The Armadillo Coalition of Texas, a network of anti-nuke groups, organized the day's activities. These included a car caravan to nearby Ft. Worth and workshops such as "Energy and Employment," "The Role of Utility Companies," and "The Politics of Solar Energy."



The coalition's next activity will be a picket line directed at President Carter, who will be in Houston in June. The president will be campaigning for John Krueger, Democratic hopeful for U.S. Senate and longtime friend of Texas oil and utility companies.

## Academic freedom under attack in Maryland

Despite overwhelming university support, the president of the University of Maryland is stalling on approving the appointment of Prof. Bertell Ollman to head the university's political science department at its College Park campus.

Ollman now teaches at New York University. He is the author of articles and books on Marxist theory and has received much publicity in recent weeks as creator of the board game "Class Struggle."

Maryland's acting governor, Blair Lee, declared in the middle of a hot primary fight April 20 that hiring Ollman would not be a "wise idea." Several of Lee's opponents attacked his remark as interference with academic freedom.

Ollman's right to teach has also come under fire from right-wing newspaper columnists, including nationally syndicated colum-

nists Evans and Novack.

Ollman was offered the appointment this spring after approval by a faculty search committee, the university provost, and the university chancellor. But the president's approval—supposedly a mere technicality—has not been forthcoming.

"Nonaction seems to have become their way of acting," Ollman told the *Militant*.

Meanwhile, several demonstrations, including one of more than 300 faculty and students, have been organized at the University of Maryland Baltimore County campus by the Spring Massacre Committee to protest the firing of four radical professors by the administration.

In one week more than 1,000 of the 5,000 students on campus signed petitions expressing "no confidence" in the administrator responsible for the purge.

# Their Government

## Detroit Edison's ripoff

Detroit City Council member Kenneth Cockrel has proposed that the city spend \$100,000 to study the question of whether or not the Detroit Edison Company's power plants should be taken over and run as a nonprofit municipal corporation. The money for the study has been approved in the new Detroit budget.

Cockrel is a well-known radical attorney. He states that he is a Marxist. Since being elected last November he has "kept a low profile"—until this recent proposal, that is.

Cockrel's proposal made front-page news here, where being ripped off by the utilities is a way of life for the average worker. There is a great deal of support for the idea of taking over the electric company and running it in the interests of the people of Detroit.

I agree it would be profitable for working people to take over Detroit Edison. My study has not been as expensive as the one Cockrel proposes, but I think it is more likely that it goes to the heart of the matter.

My study cost two phone calls (at twenty cents a call) and half an hour of my time with pencil and paper, which I am donating to the city. This is a savings of \$99,999.60 of the taxpayers' money.

The conclusion of my study is that the Detroit Edison Company should be taken over and that there should be no cost whatsoever, unlike Cockrel's proposal, which calls for Detroit buying the property.

Here is how my figuring works.

Detroit Edison claims that the value of its property in Detroit is \$558 million. They claim they would charge the city of Detroit the "actual" market price for their equipment (including all buildings, fixtures, labs, computers, swivel chairs, and Christmas lights I presume) of a cool \$1 billion.

They claim a total capitalization of \$3 billion for the whole system, including the plant and fixtures inside the city and a few little trinkets like an atomic generating plant down the river.

All right. Let us take their word for it. Now let's look at the tax records of the company.

Last year Detroit Edison paid a total of \$16.2 million in property taxes to Detroit. The tax rate for the city is \$63.353 per thousand dollars of assessed valuation. By my figuring this means taxes were on an assessed valuation which even when doubled gives an actual market value of only \$511.42 million.

This comes up 10 percent short of the \$558 million the company claims its property is worth. And it is a long way away from \$1 billion. How did Detroit Edison get the fantastic figure of \$1 billion as their selling price?

First of all the company, if it has told us the truth about the real value of its property, has cheated the city of Detroit out of almost half of the tax revenue it owes. That amount, about \$15 million, is about 1.5 percent of the total worth of the Detroit Edison property—by their figures.

My guess is that Detroit Edison has been stealing this money, over and above the profits it gouges out of consumers every year. The fact that Detroit Edison hasn't opened its books to the inspection of anyone makes this speculation, of course.

Now, Detroit Edison has been in business since 1886. By stealing tax revenues equal to 1.5 percent of the company's capitalization for that long, they would be able to steal about 138 percent of the value of the company.

The result of my study, then, indicates that the City of Detroit should simply take over Detroit Edison's \$1 billion worth of property and submit a bill to Edison for \$380 million dollars in back taxes.

I am sure that Detroit Edison will quibble with my figures. The reason the company claims it wouldn't sell out for less than \$1 billion is that it is dealing with the city council, not me. After all, who else would spend \$100,000 to conduct a study that I have just completed at a cost of 40 cents.

I will submit my bill to the city council in the morning. I won't hold my breath waiting for the city's check. And my advice is not to wait for Cockrel to take over Detroit Edison either.

—Robin Maisel

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

## Lucy Parsons & the IWW

Seventy-three years ago this month the founding convention of the Industrial Workers of the World was held in Chicago. Among the radical and labor leaders who took the floor in debates—including Eugene Debs, Daniel De Leon, and Big Bill Haywood—was Lucy Parsons. (An account of the IWW convention appears in 'The First Ten Years of American Communism.' See ad below.)

Lucy Parsons and her husband Albert joined the anarcho-syndicalist movement in 1881 during the labor upsurge for the eight-hour workday. For the "crime" of being a revolutionary, Albert Parsons was framed up and hanged in the aftermath of the Chicago Haymarket cop riot of 1886.

For more than seventy years Lucy Parsons was an unflinching fighter for women's rights, free speech, and socialist revolution.

Below are excerpts from her speech made June 29, 1905, before the IWW convention.

I have taken the floor because no other woman has responded, and I feel that it would not be out of place for me to say in my poor way a few words about this movement.

We, the women of this country, have no ballot even if we wished to use it, and the only way that we can be represented is to take a man to represent us. You men have made such a mess of it in representing us that we have not much confidence in asking you; and I for one feel very backward in asking the men to represent me. We have no ballot, but we have our labor. I think it is August Bebel, in his "Woman in the Past, Present and Future" . . . that says that men have been slaves throughout all the ages, but that woman's condition has been worse, for she has been the slave of a slave. I think there was never a greater truth uttered.

We are the slaves of the slaves. We are exploited more ruthlessly than men. Wherever wages are to be reduced the capitalist class use women to reduce them, and if there is anything that you men should do in the future it is to organize the women. And I tell [you] that if the women had inaugurated a boycott of the State street stores since the teamsters' strike they would have surrendered long ago.

Now what do we mean when we say revolutionary Socialist? We mean that the land shall belong to the landless, the tools to the toiler, and the products to the producers.

First, the land belongs to the landless. Is there a single land owner in this country who owns his land by the constitutional rights given by the constitution of the United States who will allow you to vote it away from him? I am not such a fool as to believe it.



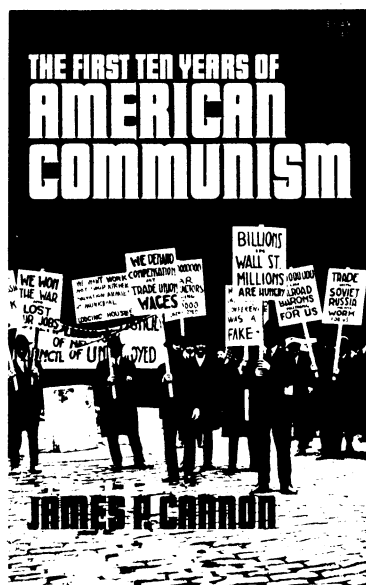
We say, "The tools belong to the toiler." They are owned by the capitalist class. Do you believe they will allow you to go into the halls of the legislature and simply say, "Be it enacted that on and after a certain day the capitalist shall no longer own the tools and the factories and the places of industry, the ships that plow the ocean and our lakes?" Do you believe that they will submit? I do not.

We say, "The products belong to the producers." It belongs to the capitalist class as their legal property. Do you think that they will allow you to vote them away from them by passing a law and saying, "Be it enacted that on and after a certain day Mr. Capitalist shall be dispossessed?" You may, but I do not believe it.

Hence, when you roll under your tongue the expression that you are revolutionists, remember what that word means. It means a revolution that shall turn all these things over where they belong to the wealth producers.

Now, how shall the wealth producers come into possession of them? I believe that if every man and every woman who works, or who toils in the mines, the mills, the workshops, the fields, the factories, and the farms in our broad America should decide in their minds that they shall have that which of right belongs to them, and that no idler shall live upon their toil, and when your new organization, your economic organization, shall declare as man to man and woman to woman, as brothers and sisters, that you are determined that you will possess these things, then there is no army that is large enough to overcome you, for you yourselves constitute the army.

## FURTHER READING



**The First Ten Years of American Communism**  
by James P. Cannon. 464 pp., cloth \$11, paper \$5.45.

**Lucy Parsons American Revolutionary**  
by Carolyn Ashbaugh. 288 pp., paper \$3.95.

**The Founding Convention of the I.W.W.**  
616 pp., cloth only, regularly \$15, on sale to individuals for \$3.95.

**The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs**  
Philip Foner, editor. 198 pp., paper \$3.95.

**Eugene V. Debs Speaks**  
Jean Tussey, editor. 320 pp., paper \$4.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 for postage and handling; \$.50 if order of more than \$5.

## Letters

### Asbestos hazards

Hazardous materials, especially asbestos, have been a plague at the Brooklyn Navy Yard for decades. New York TV news recently had a story about a worker who got asbestos cancer, not from working there but just from parking his car too near the yard ten years ago.

In spite of this publicity, though, Seatrain Shipbuilding Corporation still makes little or no effort to limit exposure to asbestos. Furthermore, when it means saving a few dollars, Seatrain will deliberately increase the amount of asbestos around us.

For example, instead of issuing protective leather aprons to the welders, Seatrain hands out sheets of asbestos cloth, which are much cheaper. Roughly cut from large bolts, the sheets have ragged edges that fray with every movement, sending asbestos particles right into the faces of the welders who use them.

When it comes to using asbestos with automatic welders, Seatrain's indifference to its workers' safety becomes almost criminal.

An asbestos putty is used in automatic welding to help contain the flow of red-hot metal. This putty is made from asbestos powder, which comes in large paper sacks. There are

particles from the air in the yard, but Seatrain could care less. The company will only protect our health when we workers, using our unions and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, force it to.

C.H. and S.W.  
New York, New York

### Prison profits

An announcement in the Lewisburg Penitentiary *Friendly Flyer* proudly notes that in the month of March the prison industry registered its first million-dollar month in sales.

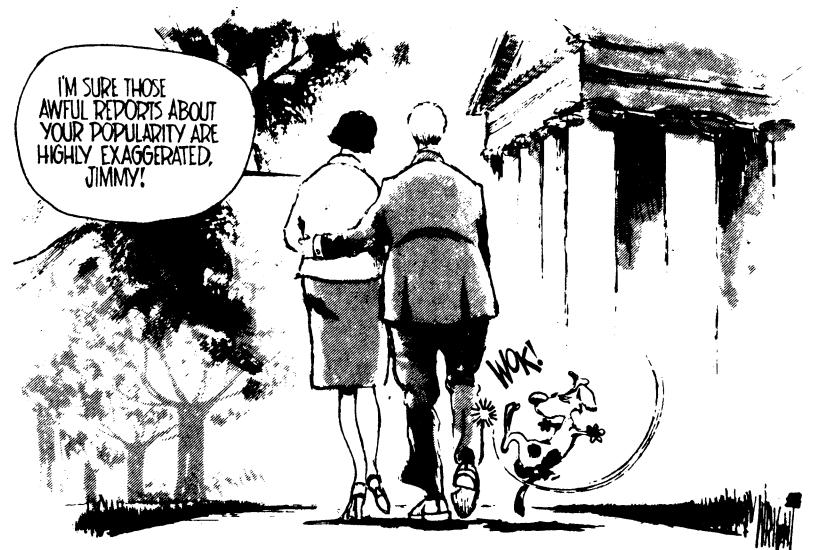
When you consider that, also consider the fact that the inmates here receive on the average forty dollars a month if they work in the Federal Prison Industry.

The commissary charges the same prices for items as they do in free society, except for tobacco and cigarettes, which are discounted.

We have no toilet seats. On the average, there is one commode and urinal for twenty men.

The food is garbage, and when prison administrators and the like visit here, the menu changes. It's a joke.

In the dormitory, there are



few materials more deadly than asbestos powder. But Seatrain treats the stuff as casually as you would bags of flour.

The bags are ripped open and the powder is dumped into a bucket. This sends clouds of dust into the face of the worker mixing it, who adds water to the dust and stirs it until it forms a putty. The half-empty bag is just tossed into a corner somewhere to leak more dust into the air until it is time to make up more putty.

As the automatic welder passes, the water is drawn out of the putty, forming a hard crust that flakes off. As a result of this, more asbestos dust collects on every surface of the ship, waiting for the wind to blow it into workers' faces.

These are only a couple of examples of Seatrain's complete indifference to workers' safety. Even the most minimal precautions could remove pounds of asbestos

fifty-five men—on top of one another.

There is much more I can say, but I think this should suffice.

A prisoner  
Pennsylvania

### Socialized medicine

Socialized medicine was needed here decades ago. If labor fought the corrupt interests of the American Medical Association and other reactionary interests of organized medicine, the American people might have been able to win socialized medicine.

The hospitals in New York and in all major cities have been charging most unbelievable rates. Even Blue Cross and Blue Shield insurance is a terrific gimmick. Executives have been making

## What is a union bureaucrat?

fabulous salaries on the backs of working people.  
*Edward Bellows*  
*New York, New York*

### Abortion victory in Italy

The Catholic church has met its match! I just read that abortion is now free and legal for women over eighteen in Italy, seat of the Catholic hierarchy. Abortions have been illegal there since Mussolini banned it as a crime against the state. What a victory this is for women everywhere, and what a lesson for American women to learn from our Italian sisters. [See story on page 25 of this issue.]

It took a three-year battle against anti-abortion "right to lifers," no doubt funded largely under the direction of the pope himself. The Catholic hierarchy is well-known internationally as a pocket liner for anti-abortion groups. After the new abortion law was passed, the pope complained about abortion being a "crime against an innocent and defenseless creature," while saying nothing of the thousands of women who die at the hands of back-alley abortionists. Apparently he cares more for the rights of the butchers themselves, who have been reaping \$100 million a year tax-free from their back-alley jobs.

The Catholic church hierarchy has been doing its best here in the United States as well to eliminate the basic right of women to control our own bodies. According to a study by the National Abortion Rights Action League, in 1977 more than 120 Catholic dioceses contributed a sum exceeding \$450,000 to the anti-abortion movement. Among them were the Archdiocese of New York giving \$20,000; the Diocese of West Virginia, with \$20,000; and the Archdiocese of Boston kicking in \$15,000.

Women in Italy have not let the government, the Catholic church, or the pope himself stop their campaign to win abortion rights. And they have pledged that they will not stop here—they want to see abortion free for *all* women "with no questions asked." They point out that the greatest number of women who die at the hands of back-alley abortionists are young women—many under eighteen.

Like our Italian sisters, we know we have to mobilize our power in the streets to meet head-on the Catholic church, which stands hand-in-hand with the government, to win abortion "with no questions asked."

*M.R.*  
*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.

"What do socialists mean when they refer to AFL-CIO President George Meany, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser, or even lower-level union officers as 'bureaucrats'?" asks L.B., a reader from Norristown, Pennsylvania. "Does this term have any real meaning, or is it just an epithet applied to union leaders you oppose?"

For socialists, the term union bureaucracy refers to the whole apparatus that carries out the policy of collaboration with the bosses, the capitalist political parties, and the government. It includes top union heads like Meany and Fraser, their appointed staffs, and many business agents and local officers.

This bureaucratic apparatus has a different outlook and different interests than the rank-and-file workers it claims to lead. Salaries of top bureaucrats are many times higher than the wages earned by the workers.

Daniel De Leon, a revolutionary socialist leader of the early 1900s, described union bureaucrats as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." The bureaucrats help the employers discipline the work force on the job, negotiate settlements acceptable to the employers at contract time, and deliver the votes of the workers to capitalist politicians on election day.

In the afterword to his book, *Teamster Bureaucracy*, Farrell Dobbs describes how this layer consolidated its control of the mass industrial unions that arose in the 1930s:

"They managed to tie the new industrial union movement to the Democratic Party, beginning with the 1936 national elections. . . . By mid-1937, class-collaborationist norms were reestablished to a large extent in setting trade union policy. Reliance on help from the Roosevelt administration was substituted for use of the union's full power. . . .

"Because of those leadership defaults the combat momentum of the insurgent masses was crippled and eventually broken. . . .

"In that changed situation the bureaucrats took one step after another toward restriction of the democratic and fighting spirit in which the CIO was born. . . . Bit by bit, such rank-and-file democracy as had been established during the upsurge was undermined. The unions were gradually brought under the domination of an officialdom ready to act in 'partnership' with the employing class."

As a result the ranks have little or no say over basic union policy. In many unions, workers have no right to even vote on contracts or to elect top officials. Appointed staff members often run daily affairs in the localities.

Instead of defending the workers against the encroachments of the employers and the government, the bureaucracy tailors union demands to meet the needs of the ruling class. Wage demands are trimmed to "fight inflation" or "save our city," and cost-of-living escalators are gutted. No-strike clauses give away workers' most effective means of defense against contract violations and dangerous or unhealthy working conditions.

On other basic issues the bureaucrats also work in accord with the interests of the ruling class. Instead of uniting Black and white workers against the employing class, they foster discriminatory policies against oppressed nationalities and women, and join in the reactionary crusade against affirmative action. The bureaucrats also support imperialist foreign policy. For example, many tried—unsuccessfully—to whip up support in the ranks of labor for the war in Vietnam.

Many local union officials start out as militant workers who figure they can use their post to help the union members. Often they think the union's problems can be solved simply by putting better people at the helm.

But such militants soon discover that more than a few dishonest or incompetent individuals are involved. The bureaucracy has enveloped the unions in a complicated web of class-collaborationist relations with the employers and the government that can't be torn apart by well-meaning individuals acting on their own.

Yet the need to break the bureaucratic stranglehold is becoming increasingly urgent. The employers are not content anymore to keep wage increases and fringe benefits to a minimum. They are out to sharply reduce the living standards of the workers and to break the power of the unions. The bureaucrats' methods and their outlook, which resembles that of the bosses more than that of the workers, are leading to important setbacks.

Rank-and-file control of the unions, which is indispensable for effective resistance to the employers' offensive, can only be won by a mass movement of the union ranks around a class-struggle program. Such a program cannot be limited to opposing the day-to-day expressions of class collaboration in the workplace. Union militants need an alternative to the labor bureaucrats' policy of supporting the employers' parties and government as well. The formation of a labor party based on the unions will be a key part of the battle to transform the unions into instruments of class struggle.

—By Fred Feldman

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 973 Page St. Zip: 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342. 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.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave. Zip: 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160. Detroit, West Side: SWP, 18415 Wyoming. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEBRASKA:** Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 220-222 Utica Ave. Zip: 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200½ W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731. New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

**OHIO:** Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati:

SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 3928 N. Williams. Zip: 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Mickey van Summern, 402 S. Burrows #1A. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-9917.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

**TENNESSEE:** Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station. Zip: 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. North Houston: SWP, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9842. Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW, Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99201. Tel: (509) 326-2468. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



## Thousands say no to nuclear weapons

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—The largest peace demonstration in the United States since the end of the Vietnam War took place here May 27. A crowd estimated at 15,000 to 20,000 marched to the United Nations, where a session on disarmament was being held, to demand a halt to the arms race, nuclear weapons, and nuclear power plants.

The march and rally, sponsored by the Mobilization for Survival, featured colorful banners, many hand-made, and peace songs. Signs, some in the shape of bombs, demanded "Stop the Arms Race, Fund Human Needs," "No Neutron Bomb," and "No Nukes."

The majority of marchers were young. Groups participating ranged from antinuke organizations, to religious groups such as Catholics for Peace and the Quakers, to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the National Organization for Women.

Delegations of marchers came from Rocky Flats, Colorado, where 6,000 recently demonstrated against nuclear weapons, and from Bangor, Washington, site of a May 21 protest of 5,000 against the Trident submarine base there. Members of the Clamshell Alliance, the New England antinuke coalition, and the Palmetto Alliance in the Southeast also participated.

A delegation from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930 marched along with members of District 65 and the National Association of Social Workers.

The largest international contingent in the march came from Japan. Other participants from West Germany, the Netherlands, Australia, and Sweden

were members of various peace groups and anti-nuclear power groups.

Demonstrations in West Germany, France, Spain, the Netherlands, and Great Britain have brought hundreds of thousands into the streets in the past two years. On March 19, 50,000 demonstrated in Amsterdam against U.S. plans to produce the neutron bomb.

The rally here opened with Dave McReynolds, a leader of the Mobilization for Survival, blasting the U.S. government for escalating the arms race and promoting nuclear power.

"The United States has spent \$1.7 trillion on weapons since World War II and is infamous for being the only country to use atomic weapons against another country," said McReynolds. "While the U.S. is first in military strength, it is only fifteenth in literacy and eighteenth in life expectancy."

Abe Feinglass of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union attacked the myth that the war industry is necessary for full employment.

"It is always said that it took World War II to end the depression and that we need the war industry or we face higher unemployment. The truth is that if we used the money to build things this country really needs there would be plenty of work for everyone."

Other speakers at the rally included actor Ossie Davis; Connie Hogarth, a member of the national board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.); and Dr. Helen Caldicott, an expert from Australia on the effects of radioactivity on children.

Reminiscent of an anti-Vietnam War rally, the protesters heard songs by Pete Seeger and speeches by Dave Dellinger and Ron Kovic. Dellinger, a pacifist and now editor of *Seven Days* magazine, was a leader of the antiwar movement. Kovic is a paraplegic and Vietnam War veteran.

Joining hands with Masuto Higaski, an eighty-three-year-old victim of the Hiroshima atomic attack, Kovic told the crowd, "My friend and I are symbols of living death, we are here to hold the leaders of this country accountable."

As he began chanting "peace, peace" the crowd joined in, linking hands and raising them above their heads.

The rally ended in a street theater event. As a siren sounded, many demonstrators, each wearing a tag stamped "Nuclear Victim," dropped to the ground and lay motionless.

The rally was part of a week-long schedule of events organized by the Mobilization for Survival.

On May 26, 2,000 demonstrators held a pray-in at the UN.



Future activities announced by the Mobilization for Survival include a sit-in at the UN on June 12; a June 24 protest at the construction site of the nuclear power plant in Seabrook, New Hampshire called by the Clamshell Alliance; and local antinuclear demonstrations around the country August 6-9, the anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings.

Many who marched here on May 27 were on their first demonstration. They eagerly bought "No Nuke" tee-shirts and peace buttons. Sales of the *Militant* were brisk.

The size and character of the rally here shows a resurgence of sentiment against war and the arms race, similar in some respects to the ban-the-bomb movement that began in the late 1950s and was later followed by the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Today this sentiment is more and more combined with outrage at the tremendous dangers posed by nuclear power. The success of the action here shows the potential for building even larger protests both in this country and abroad.

### New poll on neutron bomb

There is a dramatic increase in public opposition to the neutron bomb, according to a Harris poll released on May 25.

Last July the American people favored producing the deadly weapon by 44 to 38 percent. Now, the new poll shows, people oppose the bomb by 47 to 35 percent. Among women and young people the margin of opposition is even higher.

By 49 to 34 percent, those polled agreed that "it is morally wrong for the United States to produce any more weapons in addition to those we already have which kill people by radiation, even if they are enemy soldiers."

## Antinuke conference calls for nat'l protest days

By Arnold Weissberg

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—A Southeast Regional Anti-Nuclear Power conference here May 27-28 called on antinuke groups around the country to join in "nationally coordinated local actions" against nuclear power during the week of November 11-19.

Introducing the resolution, Pierre Nagel from the Tallahassee Catfish Alliance cited recent antinuke demonstrations in Barnwell, South Carolina; Rocky Flats, Colorado; and Bangor, Washington, as evidence of growing opposition to both nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

The unanimously adopted resolution declared that the November actions

would put the federal government and utility industry on notice that there is a growing protest movement against nuclear power.

The action dates were chosen to coincide with Karen Silkwood Day. Silkwood was a worker in an Oklahoma plutonium plant who died on November 13, 1974, in a mysterious auto accident. She was on her way to talk to a reporter about safety violations in the plant.

Several speakers here hailed the action resolution as a step forward for the antinuke movement, pointing out that nuclear power is a national problem and that protests must focus on a national level.

Nationally coordinated protests would also give antinuke groups an opportunity to seek support from trade unions, women's groups, and Black organizations, one activist explained.

One hundred people attended the conference, including representatives from antinuke groups in Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, and Louisiana.

The fall action resolution had been endorsed before the conference by several antinuke groups, including the Boston chapter of the Clamshell Alliance.

The Tallahassee conference voted to send "greetings and solidarity" to a

June 24 Clamshell-sponsored protest in Seabrook, New Hampshire.

Featured speakers during the two day meeting were Kitty Tucker, president of Supporters of Silkwood and board member of the Eastern Federation of Nuclear Opponents and Safe Energy Proponents, and Richard Pollock of the Critical Mass Energy Project.

Critical Mass Energy Project is planning an October gathering aimed at educating activists and bringing the dangers of nuclear power to public attention. Pollock told the conference that 1,000 people came to the last such gathering in 1975. He expects 1,500 this year.