

THE MILITANT

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



FREE HUGO BLANCO!

Worldwide
protests hit
Argentine junta

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Rail workers under attack

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new assault on
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Carter threatens Cuba, Africa

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Support growing for July 9 ERA march in D.C.

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Answer Carter's war propaganda

There has been no let-up in President Carter's ominous threats against the Cuban revolution.

Administration officials and commentators in the capitalist media make no secret of Carter's aim. He wants to be able to intervene in Africa at will.

But the threats coming from the White House are out of tune with the antiwar sentiments of the American people. Not only did this sentiment contribute greatly to ending the bloody U.S. war against Vietnam, it also foiled Washington's more recent attempt to sabotage the liberation struggle in Angola.

Widespread popular opposition is mounting against the huge U.S. nuclear arsenal and \$126 billion war budget, too. This was reflected in the antinuclear protest of 15,000 to 20,000 people at the United Nations May 27.

At the same time, Carter must contend with massive support in this country for the freedom struggle in southern Africa, especially among Blacks. Reflecting this pressure, the Congressional Black Caucus issued a statement June 6 warning that the imperialist intervention in Zaïre "could set a dangerous precedent."

"The crisis in Zaire," the statement said, "should not permit the Administration to divert its attention from two issues of paramount importance to Africa—first, the search for a rapid and just solution to the problem of white minority rule in Zimbabwe, and Namibia and South Africa, and second, the quest for economic development and national integration."

Another sign of this was the launching of a new organization, TransAfrica, headed by Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana. A spokesperson for the new group told the press:

"Unfortunately, the only thing the administration sees when it looks at the [African] continent is Cuban and Soviet involvement."

"Right now, this country's biggest involvement in Africa is its investments in South Africa."

Carter's aim is precisely to assert Washington's right to do whatever it deems necessary to protect those investments and to protect the profits reaped from exploiting low-paid labor

and abundant resources throughout Africa. Washington relies on the racist regimes in southern Africa to help hold back a revolutionary tide it fears will wash away those profits.

So in Carter's June 7 speech at Annapolis, he reiterated his complaints about "the increasing and persistent military involvement of the Soviet Union and Cuba in Africa," and vowed to "support efforts to contain such intrusion, as we did recently in Zaïre."

At the same time, Carter felt the need to portray himself as a man of peace and a foe of apartheid. He talked about the need for "cooperation" with the Soviet Union, and claimed that "we are particularly dedicated to genuine self-determination and majority rule in those parts of the world where these have not been achieved."

But Carter is far from confident that the American people will be taken in by such pious double-talk. He must hide the truth from the American people, as shown by his refusal to turn over alleged CIA "proof" of Cuban involvement in Zaïre to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

If Carter is telling the truth, then what does he have to hide? The American people learned from bitter experience during Vietnam about "honesty in government." The Pentagon Papers proved that Washington has systematically lied to us every step of the way.

Carter is vulnerable to the truth. So the task facing supporters of the African liberation struggle and opponents of the arms race is to get out the truth to as many people as possible.

When Carter says the problem in Africa is Cuban troops, we must answer: "No. The problem is U.S. support to the racist regimes in southern Africa, not Cuban aid to the struggle against those regimes."

When Carter says U.S. military power is needed to prevent Cuban domination of Africa, we must respond: "No. It is the United States that has billions in profits at stake in Africa, not Cuba, which has no investments there."

When Carter says that billions more for weapons will contribute to world peace, we must answer: "No. U.S. imperialism is the major threat to world peace, and every penny it spends for arms brings the world another step closer to nuclear war."

These are the answers that the American people need to hear. Black community organizations, trade unions, and student groups must mount a campaign of education and action to counter Carter's lies and stop his threats against the Cuban and African revolutions.

High court attacks press

The Supreme Court has done another number on the U.S. Constitution. On May 31, it tossed aside the First Amendment right to freedom of press.

The justices declared that cops can make unannounced raids on newspaper offices. All they have to do to get a warrant is *suspect* they may find evidence of a crime.

We've heard that one before.

Newspaper editors across the nation denounced the court ruling, charging that under such a dictum the Pentagon Papers and Watergate revelations could never have occurred.

The particular case the court ruled on brings to mind other possibilities. In 1971, following a demonstration at Stanford University in which cops claimed they were injured, Palo Alto police raided the student newspaper office.

According to the high court opinion, the cops searched the paper's "photographic laboratories, filing cabinets, desks, and wastepaper-baskets. . . . The officers apparently had opportunity to read notes and correspondence during the search."

They turned up nothing that hadn't already been printed in the student paper.

That's a familiar story too. It's called political harassment, and it has a chilling effect on democratic rights—whether it's a raid on a student paper, union publication, Black community paper, or a socialist newspaper such as the *Militant*.

"This raid . . . was not an isolated incident but represents a new and increasingly popular police tactic against the press," said Jack Landau, head of the Reporters Committee for the Freedom of the Press.

It's also part of a broader offensive against democratic rights—dramatized most recently in the trial of David Truong and Ronald Humphrey, in which Carter asserted his presidential right to spy at will.

Several weeks ago the Supreme Court declared its loyalty to big business when it ruled employers have a constitutional right to be warned of impending federal safety inspections.

Now it has reaffirmed that loyalty, with its decision that newspapers have no such protection from cops.

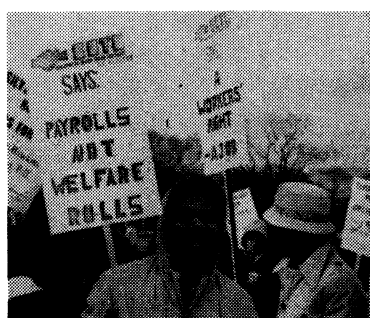
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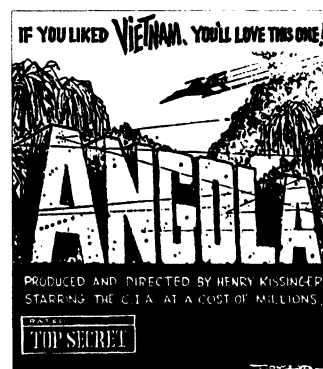
Black trade unionists meet

Memphis meeting of CBTU took up ERA, affirmative action, and other issues of concern to Black workers. **Page 9.**



CIA in Angola

New book by former agent provides firsthand account of CIA's secret war. **Page 18.**



Hollywood looks at the unions

Two new films, 'Blue Collar' and 'F.I.S.T.', both fail—one interestingly; the other wretchedly. **Page 22.**

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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.

Koch's wage-slashing contract: a blow to NY city workers

By Peter Seidman

The campaign by federal, state, and city officials to slash the real wages and union rights of more than 200,000 New York municipal workers reached a new peak June 5 when negotiations were completed on a proposed new two-year contract.

"There is no question that I had hoped to do better," complained Mayor Edward Koch about the new pact.

But the city's labor-hating media could barely suppress its delight with the agreement. "The fact is," a *New York Times* editorial gloated, the city "has negotiated its workers into a gradual reduction of their real income while persuading them to invest significant portions of it in bonds that banks and private citizens would not buy."

And Sen. William Proxmire, at June 6 hearings on federal loan guarantees agreed that the increases in the pact were "modest." Proxmire added, "It's cruel that it has to come out of the hides of the workers, but that's the way it is."

With inflation soaring at the rate of 10 percent this year alone, the new agreement offers city workers a miserly wage increase of 5.5 percent over the next two years!

This is far below the national average increases now being negotiated. It is way under even the tight-fisted 5.5 percent ceiling on annual wage increases President Carter is demanding from federal employees.

Details of the pact are still secret. Even members of the municipal unions have only the contradictory figures in the news media for information. Whatever the specifics, it seems certain that the new agreement offers city workers no cost of living protection at all.

Commenting on the proposed contract, *New York Times* reporter Lee Dembart noted June 6 that "if city workers had dreams of the coal miners' 38 percent contract, those dreams will be shattered by the comparatively meager increase they are accepting."

City workers have not yet accepted the "meager" contract. But a propaganda barrage by the big-business media, Democratic and Republican politicians, and union officials is underway to convince them that they should.

"We got the best contract that we could under the circumstances," claimed Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, American Federation



Pep rally for ruling rich: 1,000 wealthy New Yorkers plunked down \$300 each to attend 'Salute to Mayor Koch' the evening the city's new labor contract was signed.

of State, County and Municipal Employees—the largest city workers union.

And United Federation of Teachers official Albert Shanker went even further in praise of the new agreement. "This represents a turnaround," he said. "It's the first contract [since the fiscal crisis] in which instead of things getting worse they are getting better."

Ray Markey, a member of AFSCME Local 1930 and the Socialist Workers Party, challenges Gotbaum's claim that the new agreement is "the best . . . under the circumstances."

"The truth is," Markey explains, "that misleaders like Gotbaum and Shanker never even began to mobilize the potential power of the labor movement."

"Since when are unions doing the 'best' they can when all they do is negotiate how much worse off workers will be two years after they sign a contract?" he asks.

"Coal miners made gains because they were willing to stand up and fight for their demands."

"When the coal operators claimed there was 'no money' to meet the miners' demands," Markey recalls, "the miners answered their poormouthing lies by demanding that the operators open their books."

Like the coal operators, Koch and the bankers he serves are using the excuse that there is "no money" to justify their offensive against city employees.

"Like the miners," Markey says, "city workers should answer the bosses' lies."

"The Democrats and Republicans waste \$126 billion on the war budget. They give away \$2 billion in tax-free interest payments every year to wealthy holders of municipal bonds."

"We should demand they use this money to pay city workers a decent wage and provide city residents with decent services instead," Markey insists.

"The coal operators claimed the first contract they negotiated with the United Mine Workers offered the maximum they could afford. UMW President Arnold Miller—like Gotbaum and Shanker today—said that contract was the best the union could get."

"But the miners called it a 'ball and chain' contract," Markey recalls. "And because they had won the right to receive the full contract in writing, to have time to consider it, and to vote on it after a democratic discussion—they were able to turn it down and get a better one."

"New York City workers need to demand that we also have the right to read the proposed new contract in full, discuss it, and vote it down if we so choose," Markey continues.

"We don't really have that right at this time," Markey says. "In District Council 37, the voting is carried out on a local-by-local basis or by unit classification, rather than council-wide. And the city says it will refuse to pay \$672 in deferred COLA to members of any local that turns down the proposed contract! This is a virtual no-strike formula that makes it almost impossible for us to use our union's united power against the city."

"Labor's ranks have not yet voted on this latest agreement," Markey says. "So it remains to be seen whether Koch and Proxmire have really succeeded in convincing a majority of city workers that we have no choice but to give up our 'dreams' of the coal miners' 38 percent contract."

"But until New York's unions step forward to follow the example of struggle set by the miners," Markey concludes, "Washington, Albany, and city hall will be emboldened to slash deeper and deeper at our wages, benefits, jobs, and union rights."

NYC protest to target U.S. war machine

By Arnold Weissberg

A "Sit-in for Survival" aimed at dramatizing the dangers of nuclear weapons is scheduled at the United States Mission to the United Nations on June 12 at noon. The action is sponsored by the Mobilization for Survival (MfS), which held the rally of 15,000-20,000 people in New York City May 27. That action was the largest peace demonstration in the United States since the end of the Vietnam War.

The nonviolent sit-in is expected to draw participants from around the country.

Dave McReynolds, a leader of the

War Resisters League and MfS, told the *Militant* the sit-in was planned to coincide with the end of government presentations at the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. "We decided that if the U.S. made no major new proposals toward disarmament, we would sit in," McReynolds said.

He estimated that hundreds of people would participate.

The U.S. mission has been chosen as the site of the sit-in, MfS explains, because "the U.S. began the arms race unilaterally by bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The U.S. continues to build three new H-bombs each day. The U.S. continues to cut back funds

from programs dealing with housing, jobs, education, health care, and alternative energy, while pouring \$126 billion into the military for 1979 and continuing government support for nuclear power."

Mobilization for Survival's May 27 rally was the largest of a series of actions across the country directed against both nuclear power and nuclear weapons. The turnout for this protest shows a new willingness emerging in this country to take action against U.S. military might and government support for nuclear power.

The size of the protest is particularly important in light of Carter's intensi-

fied threats against African liberation struggles and the presence of Cuban troops in Africa.

Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, told the *Militant* she supports the June 12 action.

"Such antiwar, anti-nuclear power actions send a message to the warmakers in the Pentagon and the White House—the American people want an end to their policies," Feeley declared.

Meanwhile, the Clamshell Alliance, a New England anti-nuclear power coalition, will hold a protest at the partially constructed Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant June 24.

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CP(ML) attacks U.S. 'appeasement'

Will Maoists back U.S. intervention in Africa?

By David Frankel

Imagine what a scandal it would have been if, during the Vietnam War, a group calling itself revolutionary had refused to oppose the presence of U.S. troops in Vietnam.

Yet recent developments in Africa and the reaction of the Maoist Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) have posed precisely such a question. Will the CP(ML) oppose Washington's moves toward military intervention in Africa?

So far, the answer is no.

The May 29 issue of the *Call*, the CP(ML) paper, did not have *one word* condemning—or even mentioning—President Carter's alert of U.S. paratroopers. It did not have *one word* about the joint U.S.-French-Belgian military expedition in Zaïre. And it did not have *one word* in opposition to Carter's anti-Cuba propaganda campaign—a campaign clearly designed to prepare public opinion for further military moves in Africa and possibly against Cuba.

Instead of sounding the alarm against Carter's interventionist course, the *Call* talked about U.S. "appeasement" in Africa!

"In the face of the rapid increase of Soviet power in Africa, the U.S. imperialists are carrying out a policy of appeasing the USSR," the *Call* article said. "In a recent speech, administration spokesman Andrew Young even



French Foreign Legionnaires in Zaïre. Their invasion was praised by Peking.

denied that the USSR or Cuba was involved in Zaïre."

According to the *Call*, "The thinking of the appeasers is that, by allowing the Soviet Union to ride roughshod over one country after another, the aggressive Soviet appetite will eventually be satiated and its war machine will not turn on the U.S."

"But nothing could be further from the truth."

If that is the case, does the CP(ML) think Washington should stop its policy of "appeasing the USSR"? Should U.S. troops be sent to Africa to stop the Soviet Union from supposedly riding "roughshod over one country after another"?

As the CP(ML) puts it, the Soviet regime is trying "to see how far it can go before the U.S. draws the line." The *Call* noted, with a tinge of regret, "So far, the U.S. has drawn the line nowhere."

Ritual phrases about how "the African people don't want to see their countries dominated by either superpower" cannot get the CP(ML) off the hook. There was a crisis in Zaïre. Washington took advantage of this crisis to mount an interventionist campaign against both the African liberation struggle and the Cuban revolution. In the midst of that campaign, the CP(ML)'s propaganda resembled Zbigniew Brzezinski's more than anything else.

Of course, the CP(ML) leaders are well aware of the embarrassing situation this puts them in. That is why they didn't even mention Zaïre in their headline. They buried their position on the actual crisis that had broken out in Africa at the end of a general article on African liberation.

Like other Maoist groups, the CP(ML) is caught between the demands of the class struggle and the reactionary policies of the Peking regime. Peking, in its blind, factional frenzy, has gone further than even the capitalist media in its attempts to blame "Soviet-Cuban mercenaries" for the rebellion in Zaïre's Shaba province.

Thus, Hsinhua, the Chinese news service, has charged that Cuban troops actually took part in the Shaba rebellion—a charge that was echoed by the *Call*, despite the U.S. State Department's admission that it is untrue.

An article in the May 23 issue of Hsinhua justifies the imperialist intervention in Zaïre, echoing the racist "white massacre" propaganda in the capitalist media. Hsinhua says:

"The Soviet-Cuban hired mercenaries carried on massive robbery and sabotage in Kolwezi. They killed local people and European residents and forcibly concentrated a large number of West European and American residents as hostages in an attempt to prevent some Western countries from supporting Zaïre. Under such circumstances, France and Belgium sent paratroopers to Kolwezi to safeguard or rescue the foreign residents there."

A May 24 Hsinhua article, titled "Soviet-Cuban hired mercenaries commit fascist atrocities in Zaïre," ends by quoting a French Foreign Legionnaire about the "massacre"!

Peking's position poses a dilemma for Maoist groups in the United States. Will they follow the lead of the Chinese bureaucracy and come out in favor of imperialist intervention in Africa?

The leaders of the CP(ML) obviously hope that they can duck this question. That is why they buried their coverage

on Zaïre. But as Carter's campaign continues, the CP(ML) will find it harder and harder to squirm out of its predicament.

It will also be instructive to see how the Revolutionary Communist Party and the recent split-off from the RCP, the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters, deal with this question.

Last year, during an earlier rebellion in Shaba province, the RCP followed Peking's lead in condemning "Soviet-Cuban mercenaries." But in January the RCP split over differences on the current Chinese regime and its policies. The Revolutionary Workers Headquarters has put itself forward as a loyal supporter of the Peking leadership. How far are they willing to go in proving their loyalty?

Of course, for genuine revolutionists, the needs of the world working class and of the African liberation struggle are clear. Here in the United States, we have to rouse the American people against Carter's plans for military intervention in Africa, and against his threats to Cuba.

We can only hope that the CP(ML) and other Maoist groups will reconsider their support to Peking's reactionary line in Africa and join in opposing Carter's war drive. If they continue on their current course, they may well end up supporting an imperialist war.

An echo?

As the imperialists tell it. . .

"Eventually, the diplomats say, the Soviet Union may be seeking to establish an arc of pro-Soviet nations cutting through the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Such a band, they say, would represent a tightening noose on the white-dominated and moderate black states of southern Africa with their vast mineral wealth."—*Michael Kaufman, in the June 2 New York Times.*

As the Maoists tell it. . .

"Having already brought Angola under Soviet-Cuban occupation more than two years ago, the Kremlin's master strategists now have their eyes on strategically located Zaïre, one of the world's most resource-rich countries. . . . They hope ultimately to bring about the downfall of Mobutu and establish a belt of control that extends from Angola through Zaïre towards Ethiopia."—*The Call, May 29.*

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By Bernie Senter

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Classes and panels will be held on current trends in the unions; the struggle for women's liberation; fascism and how to fight it; the Puerto Rican struggle; the antinuclear movement; Chicanos and political action; and many others.

One highlight of the week will be a celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth Interna-

tional, the world party of socialist revolution. The rally will also mark the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant*.

Attending the conference will be steelworkers, auto workers, rail workers, and people from many other industries and unions. YSA members will come from hundreds of college and high school campuses.

International guests from Europe, Latin America, Canada, and elsewhere will attend the conference. Some will lead workshops on the struggles of working people in their countries.

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Carter continues threats against Cuba

By David Frankel

President Carter's red-scare campaign against Cuban troops in Africa has become so strident that the editors of the *New York Times* felt it necessary to assure their readers May 31 that "headlines notwithstanding, the world did not move any nearer to war over the holiday weekend."

Nevertheless, in an item discreetly tucked away on the bottom of page nine, the *Times* reported June 6 that seventy-two U.S. military ground personnel have been deployed in Zaïre as part of Washington's effort to bolster the regime there by airlifting the Moroccan troops.

At the same time that it has been testing the water for further military intervention against the African liberation struggle, the Carter administration has made it clear that it is considering action against the Cuban revolution.

According to a report by Daniel Southerland in the May 30 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Richard M. Moose, assistant secretary of state for African Affairs, confirmed in an interview with the Voice of America on May 26 that a multinational trade embargo against Cuba was one of the possible measures being discussed within the administration."

Colonial mentality

The tone of the anti-Cuban campaign orchestrated by Carter was indicated by a column in the June 6 *Monitor*. Recalling President Kennedy's actions during the Cuban missile crisis, columnist Joseph Harsch said: "He called up reservists, put the airborne divisions in combat ready condition, moved combat troops and combat landing craft to the embarkation ports of Florida, and concentrated an enormous amount of naval power around Cuba. In other words, he prepared to invade Cuba by land, sea and air—but without saying so."

"Probably it would not be necessary in this case to go nearly so far. . . . But there would be no harm in beefing up the garrison in Guantanamo, and increasing the frequency of American sea and air patrols around and over Cuba, and moving some combat units towards the Florida embarkation ports, and calling off all further diplomatic and economic traffic with the Cubans."

This is a fine example of the colonial mentality of the U.S. ruling class. Neither Harsch, nor his superiors at the *Monitor*, find it strange that U.S. troops should be on Cuban soil, despite Cuba's repeated demands for the return of the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base. At the same time, they threaten Cuba when its troops are invited to help defend other countries against imperialism.

As Cuban Vice-president Carlos Rafael Rodríguez told the United Nations

General Assembly May 30, the Cubans have good reason to take U.S. threats seriously. Rodríguez pointed out that in the past "the Cuban people were prevented [by Washington] from bringing about peacefully the social and political changes they had deemed necessary and were forced to organize an army. First came the attempt to strangle the economy with a blockade that denied us fuel and cut off our trade. When our people resisted, the military siege began."

"The Cuban Army, which some people now refer to with feigned fear, was really a people in arms, united to defend their independence."

Rodríguez added that the Cuban armed forces "now not only serve Cuba's independence but also contribute modestly and to the extent possible for a small country to safeguarding the independence of other peoples faced with imperialist aggression. They did not leave Cuba to foment conflicts; rather, they were called by the representatives of those peoples to fight beside them to ensure their sovereignty and independence."

Cuban role

Nobody has to take Rodríguez's word for the role Cuban troops are playing in Africa today. It is a simple fact that in 1975-76, while the CIA was working hand-in-glove to back the South African invasion of Angola, the Cubans defeated the imperialist assault on Angolan self-determination.

Now, Joshua Nkomo, head of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, has announced that Cuban troops are training Zimbabwean liberation fighters.

It is no wonder that South African Prime Minister John Vorster has hailed the "change of opinion in the West about the Marxist onslaught against Africa," and that Rhodesian Foreign Minister P. K. Van Der Byl has welcomed Carter's emphasis on "what we in this country have been warning for years."

The "Marxist onslaught" that these racist regimes fear is the struggle of the Black majority for its basic political and human rights. In this struggle, the white rulers know that Carter is their ally and Cuba is their deadly enemy.

Given the deep identification of American Blacks with the African liberation struggle, Carter is in no position to admit his loyalty to these racist regimes. That is why he has seized on the rebellion in Zaïre's Shaba province to try to divert attention from the struggle in southern Africa and to whip up hysteria against the Cubans.

So weak is Carter's "evidence" of Cuban involvement in the Shaba rebellion that he has refused to let the American people—or even the Senate Foreign Relations Committee!—see it. Instead, we are supposed to take the word of select congressional leaders briefed by the CIA.

Not even all of Carter's own flunkies have been able to swallow the CIA's "evidence" about the Cuban role in Zaïre. According to *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman, some White House officials "have said privately, that the reliability of many of the informants was dubious, and that much of the data was circumstantial."

French troops remain

Although there is zero reason to believe Carter's charges against Cuba, there is every reason to accept his expressions of concern about stabilizing the pro-imperialist regime in mineral-rich Zaïre.

Time magazine noted June 12 that with or without the Shaba rebels, it was impossible to rule out "a general uprising by a population suffering



Cuban troops in Angola. Carter fears they will be used against racist regimes in southern Africa.

from severe poverty and the oppression of its country's own plundering army."

A missionary doctor, describing conditions in Zaïre's Kasai province, told *New York Times* correspondent Michael Kaufman: "There is real hunger. The bags of manioc [an edible root] are getting smaller and costing more. The people have been beaten into submission by soldiers who routinely extort watches, food, money. The quality of life is getting worse and worse. . . ."

This is the regime that Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter is helping to prop up.

Distrust among thieves

Senior officials from the U.S., French, Belgian, British, and West German governments ended a meeting in Paris June 6 with agreement on a short-term plan to shore up the Mobutu government in Zaïre. It was announced that units of the French Foreign Legion would remain in Shaba province indefinitely.

At the same time, 1,500 to 1,700 Moroccan troops and some troops from Senegal and Gabon have been airlifted into Zaïre by U.S. transport planes.

However, the imperialist powers have been unable to agree on longer-term plans due to their own economic rivalries. Morocco, Senegal, Gabon, and Togo, which may also send troops to Zaïre, are all former French colonies. French proposals for a permanent military force in Africa based in these countries have been greeted with suspicion by the other imperialist powers. They see such a force as a cover for increasing influence by French corporations.

Similarly, an economic plan proposed by the French, according to a June 5 report by *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Jim Browning, "has received a cool reception from French allies, and some diplomats have charged privately that it is simply a vehicle for pursuing France's goal of expanded economic and political influence in Africa."

As Jonathan Power put it in a column in the June 4 *New York Times*: "It is the French who seem intent on recreating a new scramble for Africa."

Washington, we are supposed to assume, would never consider such crass profit motives. The truth is that it is precisely the protection of U.S. investments, markets, and profits that causes Washington to oppose liberation struggles in Africa.

That's why the American ruling class wants to free itself from the restrictions imposed after Vietnam by the deep antiwar sentiment of the American people. It wants to be able to defend its interests directly, with U.S. troops.

A worried Tom Wicker, looking at the U.S. efforts to respond to the African liberation struggle, and to Cuban

support for that struggle, commented in the June 4 *New York Times*: "But the 'international response,' if any, will be undertaken in concert with France, Belgium, West Germany and Britain—all the old white colonial powers in Africa."

Noting the enthusiasm of the South African regime for Carter's course, Wicker continued: "Mr. Carter's frustration at Soviet-Cuban audacity may be understandable but he will repair it at a high price indeed if he appears in the name of anti-Communism to align the United States again with the forces of reaction, racism and exploitation."

Unfortunately for liberals such as Wicker, reaction, racism, and exploitation are precisely what the U.S. government stands for, in Africa as in the rest of the world.

Protest apartheid June 16-17

By Omari Musa

The Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa, an affiliate of the American Committee on Africa, is planning two days of actions commemorating the second anniversary of the Soweto rebellion in South Africa.

On June 16 the committee is organizing a noon picket line at Manufacturers Hanover Trust at Forty Wall Street in New York. The bank has refused to make public its policy on continuing loans to the South African government. "Black Americans in Solidarity with Southern African Liberation" is the theme of a forum the committee is hosting June 17. It will feature speakers from nationalist groups in southern Africa and the film "Last Grave at Dimbaza." The forum will begin at 6 p.m. at the St. Thomas Community School, 147 St. Nicholas Avenue in Harlem.

Opponents of U.S. intervention in Africa held an emergency picket line at the Denver Federal Building May 24 protesting the U.S., French, and Belgian intervention in Zaïre. The protest was sponsored by the Denver University Black Student Alliance, Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), and others.

The *Rocky Mountain News*, a Denver daily newspaper, quoted SCAR spokesperson Jim Altenberg's assessment of the protest. "I think we accomplished what we set out to do. We made some people aware of what's really going on."



Cuban Vice-president Rodríguez: Vowed opposition to imperialist aggression.

Letter to NOW board from Willie Mae Reid

The 'Militant' has received a copy of the following letter, which was sent by Willie Mae Reid to the National Board of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

The letter protests the board's action at its May 20-21 meeting. There a majority of board members voted to exclude Reid and Claire Moriarty, both NOW members, from the meeting on the basis of articles the two had written for the 'Militant.'

Dear Sisters:

My purpose in writing is to vigorously protest the action taken by the national board at its May 20-21 meeting to exclude Claire Moriarty and myself from the proceedings and all future board meetings.

Since national board meetings, like all NOW meetings, are open to all NOW members as provided by the national by-laws, the board clearly exceeded its authority in excluding us. Claire Moriarty is a member of New York NOW and I am a member-at-large.

The board's action sets a disturbing precedent that undermines the right of all NOW members to attend all meetings of our organization. I therefore urge a reversal of this divisive action.

Claire Moriarty and I, along with several other NOW members who were not present, are charged with having violated the board's practice of closing sections of some of its meetings to the "working press." We are said to have violated this practice through articles we wrote for the socialist newsweekly, the *Militant*. Through the articles, it is charged, right-wing opponents of the ERA have been tipped off about NOW's "secret strategy" for winning ratification and are thereby better armed to try to defeat us.

This charge is completely false.

We freely acknowledge having contributed any number of articles to the *Militant* on feminist issues in general, as well as on how to build NOW and how NOW can help lead a successful fight for the ERA.

But at no time have we written anything that would harm NOW or weaken our chances of winning the ERA or other women's rights. Nor will we ever do so.

We are active proponents of the ERA. Right now we are doing all we can to help turn out the largest possible number of ERA supporters in Washington, D.C., on July 9 to demand passage of the ERA and extension of the ratification deadline.

What does the board mean by NOW's "secret strategy"? While the term could be construed very broadly, it would appear that the board is referring to the strategy of targeting Democratic and Republican party politicians for support or defeat depending on their position on the ERA.

We don't think such a strategy has been, or can be, effective. But we haven't opposed it by "leaking" information from board meetings that could be picked up by the right wing! To accuse us of having done so is pure slander.

We have opposed it by arguing against its weaknesses in discussions and in the *Militant*. As you know, our view is that the feminist movement needs an alternative strategy—one of building a mass, visible, independent movement of women and our allies and relying on this power to force the politicians to ratify the ERA. We will continue to raise these ideas because it is our responsibility as feminists to do so, as well as our right as NOW members.

Furthermore, it is preposterous to claim that ERA opponents map out their tactics after careful readings of the *Militant* each week. The formidable and well-financed opposition forces we face have their own worked-out strat-

egy they hope will defeat us.

What we need is unity in the struggle against our enemies, not a self-destructive hunt for scapegoats.

What is really at issue here? Clearly there is no question of Claire Moriarty, myself, or anyone else, giving away NOW's "strategic secrets" to the right wing. What is at issue is the right of NOW members to question or to disagree with proposals made by board members and others on strategy.

We have put forward the view that the ERA would be lost if NOW continued the strategy of involvement in Democratic and Republican party political campaigns as a substitute for mobilizing women and our allies in mass actions. For this reason we welcomed the board's call for the July 9 national march on Washington, D.C.

But the charges against us raise the question of just what democratic rights NOW members do have in the eyes of the board. Do members of the board agree that NOW members do have the right to think for ourselves, even if some of our thoughts run counter to some decisions of the board?

If we have the right to think for ourselves, do we have the right to communicate our ideas to others—or do feminists forfeit freedom of speech when we join NOW?

If we have the right to communicate our ideas verbally, do NOW members have the right to write them—which is a fundamental expression of freedom of speech?

Or do some board members propose to try to suppress differing points of view, and to censor NOW members' statements, articles, letters to the editor, chapter newsletters, state NOW newspapers, etc?

These questions are vital for NOW and all members have a stake in them. While it is the expression of our ideas that is threatened today, this method, if unchallenged, will certainly set a precedent that can be applied to other NOW members. Why? Because the motion, as it stands, is in effect a gag order.

We think the democratic right to disagree and to debate different tactics and strategies is crucial to building the women's movement. Discussion and debate are vital to the life of the movement and key to using the contributions of all feminists to win our rights.

The *Militant* is a part of the discussion going on in the feminist movement. It is a movement newspaper that reports on all aspects of the movement from a position that is staunchly pro-feminist and pro-NOW.

The *Militant* supports and campaigns for the ERA, abortion rights for all women, lesbian and gay rights, an end to forced sterilization, for defending and extending affirmative action, child-care centers, and a host of other feminist issues.

It is just the opposite of the big-business press in this country, which is antifeminist, even though it may feign "objectivity." (Recent editorials in the *New York Times* flatly opposing extension of the ERA ratification deadline is a case in point.)

The *Militant* also has a point of view on what strategy is needed to win equal rights for women. While some members of the board may disagree with some of the *Militant's* views, they have no right to try to suppress them.

The *Militant* is also a socialist newspaper. It urges replacing this sexist, racist, class-divided society with one that places human needs before profit. It advocates building a mass socialist movement as well as a mass feminist movement, and sees these movements for liberation and equality as compatible, not competitive.

Women's rights are under massive attack and the ERA itself is in peril. Our opponents, though a minority, are

Continued on page 23

Marching toward July 9

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

Extension bill over one hurdle

H.J.R. 638, the bill to extend the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by seven years, passed the House Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee on June 5 with a vote of four to three. The bill now goes to the thirty-four-member Judiciary Committee.

'Brotherhood' votes support

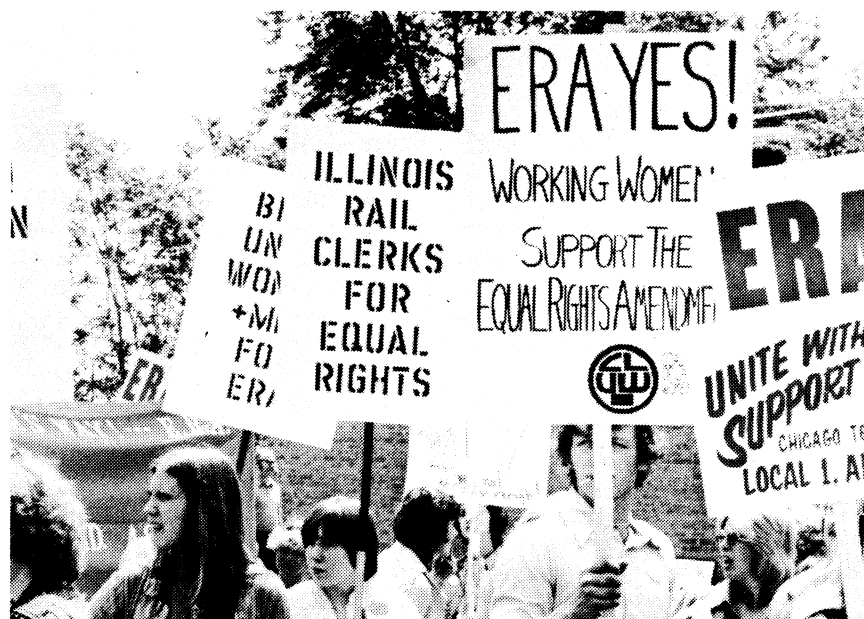
At its May 25 meeting, Lodge 1906 of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) in Washington, D.C., passed this resolution unanimously:

"Whereas, Resolution No. 334, passed by the twenty-fifth Regular and eleventh Quadrennial Convention of BRAC . . . has stated that BRAC: 'supports the Equal Rights Amendment and urges our local legislative representatives to work for its ratification';

"Whereas, Our legislative representative recognizes the urgency of this task, and calls upon the active support of the entire membership, officers, and all interested parties in this endeavor;

"Whereas, a national demonstration in support of ratification of the ERA has been called in the nation's capital, our local's home, by the National Organization for Women (NOW), for July 9, 1978;

"Resolved: That in addition to our legislative representative's efforts, that we hereby establish an ad-hoc committee to support the ERA, in general, and in specific, the ERA march July 9, through a direct call for the support and mobilization of our membership and all interested parties."



BRAC unionists at 1976 national ERA march

Militant/Pat Hayes

Seattle feminists plan action conference

The second annual Northwest Women's Conference scheduled for June 17-18 at the University of Washington will take up a wide range of issues, focusing on the demands raised at the National Women's Conference in Houston last November.

A major theme of the conference will be building a July 8 ERA action called by the Washington State ERA Coalition in solidarity with the national march in Washington, D.C.

For more information call (206) 543-1817 or write to the Northwest Women's Action Conference, c/o ASUW Women's Commission, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98105.

Can't be 'friend of labor' and anti-ERA

The Women's Committee and Concerned Steelworker Women of the United Steelworkers of America Local 65 wrote an open letter to Illinois Rep. Glenn Dawson, who opposes the ERA.

"Calling yourself a 'friend of labor,' you have solicited a \$1,000 political endorsement from our local," wrote the women. "Yet you consistently turn your back on 49 percent of the labor force and all steelworker women when you vote against the ERA.

"No one can truly be a 'friend of labor' and support the denial of democratic rights to 51 percent of the population and millions of working women. Your stand on the ERA is a slap in the face of all working people."

Phila. Teachers, Teamsters, & Textile Workers

The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers has donated 15,000 leaflets for the July 9 demonstration. A mailing of the leaflet with a cover letter went to more than 200 women's groups, trade unions, Black organizations, and civil rights and civil liberties groups in the area.

Teamsters Local 115 has reserved a bus to take its members to the demonstration. In addition, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and the Retail Clerks union in the area are taking leaflets to distribute to their memberships.

Student government funds bus

The All Campus Council at the University of Minnesota has voted to give \$1,000 toward a chartered bus to take students to the July 9 march.

—Diane Wang

California NOW discusses drive for ERA

By Robbie Scherr

FRESNO, Calif.—“There’s going to be a climate in this country created by the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment that will give us the right to be proud!”

With these enthusiastic words, Virginia Carter, vice-president of Tandem Productions, opened the California state convention of the National Organization for Women (NOW) held here on Memorial Day weekend. About 325 people attended.

Carter urged the delegates and guests to rededicate themselves to the historic task of winning the ERA.

In response, the convention unanimously voted as the first order of business to declare a state of emergency on the ERA.

In the plenary discussion, NOW members described local activities for the ERA. Sylvia Weinstein of San Francisco NOW, for example, reported that her chapter had organized more than sixty women to take ERA litera-

ture to shopping centers one Saturday and had collected 15,000 postcard signatures for the ERA. She urged similar community distributions to publicize NOW’s national ERA demonstration.

The highlight was a report by NOW National Board member Joyce Soggs about the July 9 March on Washington called by NOW. Copies of the *National NOW Times* bearing banner headlines on the march were distributed.

The demonstration was discussed at length in a workshop entitled “ERA: direct action.”

Following the convention, the California executive board voted to concur with several of the workshop’s proposals. California NOW will be issuing a press release about the July 9 action, contacting other state organizations who support the ERA, and sending out the workshop’s and other suggestions to the chapters.

Jeane Bendorf, former state coordinator and current board adviser, sug-

gested send-off rallies for those going to Washington and news conferences at the airport as well.

Against sterilization abuse

In other action, the convention voted to categorize sterilization abuse as “institutionalized racism, sexism and classism,” and to go on record opposing forced sterilization.

The minority women and human reproductive task forces presented a motion calling on California NOW to clearly support the California regulations that help curb forced sterilization. Local NOW chapters and the statewide organization have discussed the issue for six months, since California NOW’s previous position opposed the sterilization regulations.

The convention voted to take the issue of the regulations and sterilization abuse to the national NOW convention scheduled for October in Washington, D.C.

Abortion emergency

The convention also took up the increasing attacks on abortion rights and the California State Assembly’s recent vote against Medi-Cal payment for abortion.

Sandra Salazar of the State Health Department, a co-coordinator of NOW’s reproductive task force, told the *Militant* that the reproductive freedom workshop voted to declare a state of emergency in California on abortion rights, urging chapters to hold more visible actions on the issue.

The board meeting after the convention voted to adopt the workshop’s declaration.

The lesbian rights workshop voted to oppose the antigay Briggs initiative and to endorse the gay pride marches scheduled in various cities.

Unfortunately, the otherwise produc-

tive convention was marred by a dangerous red-baiting motion introduced by Barbara Kassnoff of the Contra Costa chapter.

The motion referred to a previous anti-Socialist Workers Party motion passed at the last national convention and urged further infringements on democratic discussion within NOW.

As passed, the motion banned distribution of any leaflets supporting SWP candidates for office and sales of the *Militant*. Socialists were told they could not distribute literature that included a coupon for contributions, could not hold a gathering for NOW women interested in meeting SWP candidates, and could not talk to NOW members about why feminists should join the SWP.

Val Libby, SWP candidate for lieutenant-governor and a member of the East Bay NOW chapter, took the floor of the plenary to explain that the “SWP leaflet is a good example of exactly the kind of leaflet every candidate should be distributing if they claim to support the ERA!”

Another NOW member pointed out that there had been no motion to prevent a Jerry Brown-for-Governor brochure (with a coupon for donations) from being distributed at the political action workshop. Brown’s brochure did not have one sentence about women’s rights.

While singling out the SWP, the real intent of the motion was to restrict a democratic discussion between NOW members with different points of view. The logic of the motion is to restrict the rights of any NOW member, depending on her political views or affiliation.

This was shown when a NOW leader policing the SWP table confiscated leaflets put out by the Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs Initiative, publicizing the July 25 march for gay rights in San Francisco.



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Briggs antigay initiative put on ballot

By Nancy Brown

LOS ANGELES—The antigay Briggs initiative, which would drive lesbian and gay teachers from the California public school system, has qualified for the November ballot.

According to the secretary of state’s office, State Sen. John Briggs filed 358,576 valid signatures, 110 percent of the required amount.

Briggs, who supported the antigay crusade led by Anita Bryant in Dade County, Florida, calls the measure the “California Defend Our Children” initiative.

The initiative would allow charges to be filed against teachers, teachers aides, school administrators, counselors, and other school employees “for advocating, soliciting, imposing, encouraging, or promoting private or public sexual acts defined in the penal code between persons of the same sex in a manner likely to come to the attention of other employees or students, or publicly and indiscreetly engaging in such actions.”

Since Briggs announced plans for the initiative last year, a broad range of gay rights, civil rights, and women’s organizations, and trade unions has voiced opposition to the measure. This includes the California Federation of Teachers, which passed a resolution at its Memorial Day weekend state convention opposing the Briggs initiative.

In San Francisco supporters of the annual Gay Freedom Day Parade scheduled for June 25 have voted to make the activity a demonstration of support for gay rights and against the Briggs initiative.

In Los Angeles gay rights supporters



Militant/Henry Snipper

Briggs initiative would attack gay and lesbian employees in California public schools.

are urging participation in the July 2 Christopher Street West Parade and March to protest the initiative.

Among those supporting these activities is Fred Halstead, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for California governor.

“The Briggs initiative is a witch-hunt designed to drive anyone who supports gay rights out of the California school system,” stated Halstead. “If the initiative passes, it will not only pave the way for more attacks on gay

rights across the country but will make it easier for the government to escalate their attack on the rights of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and all working people.

“The best way to begin building a movement that can stop the Briggs initiative is to get every individual and organization that supports civil rights to participate in the march in San Francisco on June 25 and Los Angeles on July 2 to demand: ‘Full civil rights for lesbians and gays.’”

Gay rights now!

Marches, rallies, and parades planned for this month will give human rights supporters an opportunity to demonstrate support for lesbian and gay rights. This is especially important with Intro 384, a gay rights ordinance, before the New York City Council; the Briggs antigay initiative on the California ballot; and recent repeal of gay rights ordinances in three cities.

Actions scheduled include:

Atlanta: June 11 protest when Anita Bryant appears at the World Congress Center. Assemble at 6 p.m. at Central City Park, and march to the World Congress Center for a picket line from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. The action is sponsored by the Atlanta Coalition for Human Rights.

Boston: June 17 parade. Assemble at 11:30 a.m. in Copley Square, and march to the Boston Common for a 1:30 p.m. rally.

Los Angeles: July 2 Christopher Street West Parade and March. Assemble at 3:00 p.m. at Hollywood and Vine. A rally will follow, organized by the Los Angeles Committee Against the Briggs Initiative and the NO on Briggs organization.

New York: June 25 Christopher Street Liberation Day demonstration. Assemble at Sheridan Square (Christopher Street and Seventh Avenue) at 11:00 a.m. to march up Fifth Avenue to Sheep Meadow in Central Park for a 3:00 p.m. rally.

San Francisco: June 25 Gay Freedom Day Parade. Assemble at 10:00 a.m. at Howard Street between Second and Third, and march to Civic Center for 1:00 p.m. rally.

USLA urges emergency protests

Blanco, others still in danger in Argentina

By José G. Pérez

As of June 7, the fate of Hugo Blanco and twelve other Peruvians deported to Argentina May 25 was still unknown, despite mounting international demands that the Argentine government respect the human rights of the thirteen and grant them safe conduct to the country of their choice.

On May 31, the Argentine government issued a communique in reaction to the protests. The communique acknowledged that the government had the thirteen, and claimed eleven of them had been granted asylum in Argentina. The statement said Blanco had asked to go to Sweden and another deportee to Mexico. The government also claimed the two would go as soon as Mexico and Sweden agreed to receive them.

"Once again, the Government of the Nation of Argentina shows with concrete actions its long-standing respect for human rights," the communique stated.

But so far, the Argentine junta's "concrete actions" have been limited to this press release. On June 5, members of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) spoke with Mikhael Westerlin of the Swedish embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina's capital.

Westerlin said his government had told the Argentine generals several days before that Blanco could go to Sweden immediately. But the Argentine dictatorship refused to let Blanco go, explaining he was still being "processed" at the federal police headquarters in Buenos Aires.

According to USLA, one of Blanco's relatives received word from the Swedish embassy that it had asked the Argentine foreign ministry to set a date when Blanco could leave Argentina. The Argentine government refused to respond. The embassy also reported that one of the officials met with Blanco at police headquarters June 2, and that Blanco was in relatively good condition.

There is absolutely no confirmation the eleven supposedly granted asylum in Argentina actually want to stay there. Most of them are very prominent leftists. Over the past few years, tens of thousands of trade-union and social-

ist militants in Argentina have been imprisoned, tortured, "disappeared" by the cops, murdered by government-sponsored death squads, or gunned down during alleged escape attempts or gun battles. Hundreds of thousands more have fled to other countries.

It doesn't seem likely Argentina would have been the Peruvians' first choice for a country of exile.

As of June 3, several relatives had received phone calls or letters from deportees. None, however, had heard anything since the May 31 communique. All were surprised by the deportees' alleged decision to stay in Argentina, according to participants in a relatives' meeting in Peru.

"We spoke to the Argentine embassy in Washington June 2," Mike Kelly, executive secretary of USLA told the *Militant*. "They said that the embassy had been flooded with messages, and asked us to stop the protests. They told us, in effect, to rely on the goodwill of the Argentine government."

"It's obvious they're feeling pressure," Kelly commented, "but we're

going to continue our emergency campaign of messages, protest meetings, and picket lines until we receive proof that Blanco and the others are safely in a country of their own choosing.

"The human-rights promises of the Argentine government haven't been worth much in the past," he said.

Kelly reported there has been an encouraging initial response to the appeal for protest messages.

"We hold your government responsible for the safety of Peruvian Hugo Blanco and others just deported from Peru. We demand safe passage to a country of their choice," read a telegram from the 1.4 million-member United Auto Workers, signed by international union President Douglas Fraser and UAW International Affairs Department Director Leo Saslow.

There has also been support from the labor movement in Canada. The Ontario Federation of Labor sent a telegram to the Argentine government May 27, the day after news of the deportations reached Canada.

The Provincial Executive of the Ontario New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, passed an emergency motion at its May 27-28 meeting calling on Argentine President Gen. Jorge Videla to "guarantee the safety" of the deported Peruvians.

Grace Hartman, national president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, and Kealy Cummings, CUPE national treasurer, were among fifty delegates to the CUPE Ontario Division convention May 27-28 who signed a petition for the exiled Peruvians.

Prominent among the others who have spoken out for Blanco and the other deported Peruvians are Amnesty International, winner of the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize for its human-rights work and the Swiss Socialist Party. In Britain, an "Appeal in Defense of Democracy in Peru" has been initiated by more than a dozen prominent intellectuals.

The June 4 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist daily, reports protests from some two dozen student and labor organizations, as well as from Claude Germain, a leader of the Socialist Party and mayor of Massy.

Other prominent groups and individ-



UAW President Douglas Fraser sent telegram urging safe passage for Blanco, other Peruvians deported to Argentina.

uals who have spoken out from the United States include:

U.S. Rep. Walter Fauntroy, (D-D.C.); U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.); Young Socialist Alliance; Socialist Workers Party; Robert Allen, former editor, *Black Scholar* magazine; Joel Geier, national secretary, International Socialists; and Section Denver, Socialist Labor Party.

Also, Tom Turner, president, Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO; *Michigan Daily*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Hortense Gabel, New York State Supreme Court; Phil Wheaton, Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication; Imani Kazana, coordinator, National Wilmington Ten Committee; and the José Medina Defense Committee.

USLA is urgently appealing to unions, Black, Chicano, and women's groups, and all concerned with human rights to send messages to: Embassy of Argentina, 1600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Copies to USLA: 853 Broadway Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone (212) 254-6062.



Chicago picket line held May 27

Skokie gives permits to Nazi, anti-Nazi marches

By Malik Miah

CHICAGO—Mayor Albert Smith of Skokie, a heavily Jewish suburb here, has announced that permits will be issued both for a planned Nazi march June 25 and an anti-Nazi counterdemonstration that same day.

The city's decision came seven days after the U.S. Court of Appeals overturned three city ordinances passed a year ago, which placed harsh restrictions on the right to demonstrate in Skokie. These laws, although aimed at the Nazis, have also been used to restrict the rights of opponents of nazism. Skokie is appealing the ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In a letter to Frank Collin, leader of the racist Nazi outfit, Smith said the permit will allow 50 to 100 Nazis to march in front of Skokie Village Hall at noon June 25—if the Supreme Court doesn't issue a stay.

The village board also granted a permit to the Jewish Federation of Greater Chicago, which has called for a counterdemonstration at the same time as the Nazi march. The Jewish Federation so far has said little about the character of the counteraction and has not actively begun to publicize it.

Leaders of the federation, like Skokie

city officials, continue to hope that Supreme Court and other government institutions will halt the Nazi march. For example, two bills recently passed by the Illinois State Senate that are now pending before the House will make it illegal for Skokie to issue the Nazis a march permit. Mayor Smith refers to this as the "second line of defense" if the federal courts fail to stop the Nazi demonstration.

Nevertheless, the decision by the

Skokie city government to issue the permits opens the door to begin organizing a mass public protest against the Nazi thugs and their genocidal goals. Cecil Lampkin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor and an activist in the Chicago Black community, has endorsed the planned counterdemonstration. He told the *Militant*:

"The most effective way to counter the violence and the antidemocratic aims of the Nazis is to build a united

public response. The Jewish Federation's call for a counterdemonstration provides an opportunity to do this. A broad coalition that brings together trade unionists, students, Blacks, Latinos, women, and other supporters of democratic rights is what's needed.

"Such unity in the streets of Skokie June 25 would tell the Nazis in no uncertain terms that their racist, anti-Semitic, and anti-working-class activities will not be tolerated."

Protests hit new Detroit Nazi H.Q.

By Nan Bailey

DETROIT—Nazis have reopened a headquarters from which to organize their racist and anti-Semitic activities here. Protests had forced the Nazis to close down their storefront office in Southwest Detroit earlier this spring. But on May 20 they moved into the Brightmoor community.

Ever since then there have been protests outside the building, many of them organized by the Brightmoor Community Organization. The

protests have attracted local residents, nearby shopowners, and others who oppose the Nazi's attempt to gain a foothold in Detroit.

The city administration of Mayor Coleman Young has provided police protection for the Nazis. So far the cops have arrested at least ten anti-Nazi protesters.

On June 4, sixty Detroit community leaders met to discuss how to respond to the new Nazi headquarters. Representatives attended from the Jewish Community Council,

Labor-Community-Interfaith Council Against the Nazis, and other groups.

No definite plans were set, but participants discussed building an indoor rally and a protest car caravan outside the Nazi offices later this summer. Organizers of the meeting also said they were looking into sending buses from Detroit to the planned anti-Nazi counterdemonstration in Skokie, Illinois, on June 25.

Discuss ERA, affirmative action

Black trade unionists meet in Memphis

By John Hawkins

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Close to 1,300 delegates and observers attended the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) convention here May 26-29.

Meeting under the theme, "The Black Worker—Where We Stand," convention participants discussed and debated proposed solutions to the problems confronting Blacks ten years after the assassination of Martin Luther King.

King was murdered here in 1968 while helping to organize support for this city's Black sanitation workers in their struggle for improved wages and working conditions and for union recognition.

Discussion during convention plenary sessions and workshops, as well as resolutions submitted by several CBTU chapters, reflected some of the growing concerns among Black workers.

How to attack the depression-level unemployment among Blacks—especially Black youth?

How to confront the Carter administration's attacks on wages?

What to do about mounting inflation?

How to stem the cost of rising medical care?

How to meet the attacks on such gains as affirmative-action job programs and the current roadblock in the fight for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment for women?

What strategy?

Underlying all these questions was the need for a discussion on what strategy Black trade unionists should employ in the fight around these issues.

One approach, endorsed by the bulk of the CBTU leadership, was presented by United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser in his keynote speech to the convention.

To the applause of the delegates, Fraser pointed out the need to continue the fight for full equality for Blacks on the job and in society as a whole. He also noted the important role that organized labor can play in that struggle.

In his speech Fraser touched on several issues of concern to the delegates—organizing the unorganized; the right to medical care; unemployment and the right to a job; passage of the Equal Rights Amendment; ending U.S. aid to the racist South African regime; and the fight to overturn the *Bakke* decision and to defend and extend affirmative-action programs in the schools and on the job.

However, the strategy Fraser outlined will not succeed in winning these demands.

On unemployment, for example, he proposed a stepped-up campaign for passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins jobs bill. This bill, however, does not commit the government to create a single job. In addition, it grants Carter the right to scuttle the program if he deems it necessary for the economy.

And on organizing the unorganized, Carter's proposal called only for a more vigorous lobbying effort for passage of the Labor Law Reform bill to amend the 1935 National Labor Relations Act. But this bill would do nothing to curb employers' union busting.

The same held true for Fraser's approach to winning a national health-care plan and passage of the ERA—lobbying Democratic and Republican legislatures for passage of the legislation.

A number of resolutions were adopted by the convention in support of legislation in Congress, calling on CBTU chapters to step up letter-writing and lobbying efforts.

Among them were resolutions in

support of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, the Conyers shorter-workweek bill, the Labor Law Reform bill, and the Youth Employment bill.

In addition, resolutions were adopted reaffirming the CBTU's support of the Wilmington Ten defendants and the Black freedom struggle in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Equal Rights Amendment

Discussion at the convention revealed a beginning recognition on the part of some within the CBTU that more than lobbying and letter writing is needed to win Black trade unionists' demands.

An example of this was the interest shown in the ERA.

Convention delegates submitted three resolutions on the ERA for discussion. The ERA was also the topic of discussion in the workshop on Black women and the labor movement.

In the plenary session a number of delegates who spoke on the resolutions stressed the need for action to win passage of the ERA.

Al Duncan, a delegate from the Detroit chapter, and member of the UAW Local 600, proposed an amendment calling on the CBTU to endorse the July 9 March on Washington for the ERA called by the National Organization for Women.

The July 9 national march was approved unanimously, along with a proposal to combine the three resolutions submitted on the ERA.

Affirmative action

The discussion on affirmative action at the convention also pointed to an increased awareness of the need to mount a defense of antidiscrimination programs.

The convention adopted a resolution calling on the coalition to take a stand in support of all affirmative-action laws and programs "that seek to end racial discrimination."

In adopting the resolution the CBTU for the first time took a strong stand in support of quotas to ensure minority and Black representation in industry and education.

The resolution went on to state, "... we urge all unions to work for the ending of employment discrimination with the use of effective union civil rights committees" and to fight for more affirmative-action programs.

The convention also adopted an amendment to the resolution proposed by Dennis Serrette of the New York chapter. This amendment placed the CBTU on record in opposition to the racist *Bakke* decision currently before



CBTU President William Lucy (right) and First Vice-president Cleveland Robinson at news conference following convention.

the U.S. Supreme Court.

A separate resolution was also adopted on the *Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum* ruling, which overturned a job-training program on the basis of the false reverse-discrimination argument.

The CBTU went on record in support of the United Steelworkers of America's fight to reverse the *Weber* decision (the USWA had negotiated the plan as part of its 1974 contract with Kaiser at its Gramercy, Louisiana, works). And the resolution instructed the CBTU to file a friend-of-the-court brief in the case.

Oliver Montgomery of the USWA, and member of the CBTU Executive Council, pointed out that the *Weber* ruling could have a far-reaching impact on all affirmative-action hiring and training programs. He urged CBTU chapters to make reversing this decision a top priority.

Independent political action

The discussions on the ERA and affirmative action that took place at the convention indicate the need for the CBTU to undertake a serious discussion of what strategy is necessary to advance the struggle of Black workers and the Black and labor movements as a whole.

As outlined in the report of the CBTU Executive Council, a number of chapters have taken important steps in mobilizing their memberships and other Black workers in effective action.

The Baltimore chapter, for example, during the historic 110-day coal miners' strike, was instrumental in organizing support and funds for the strikers.

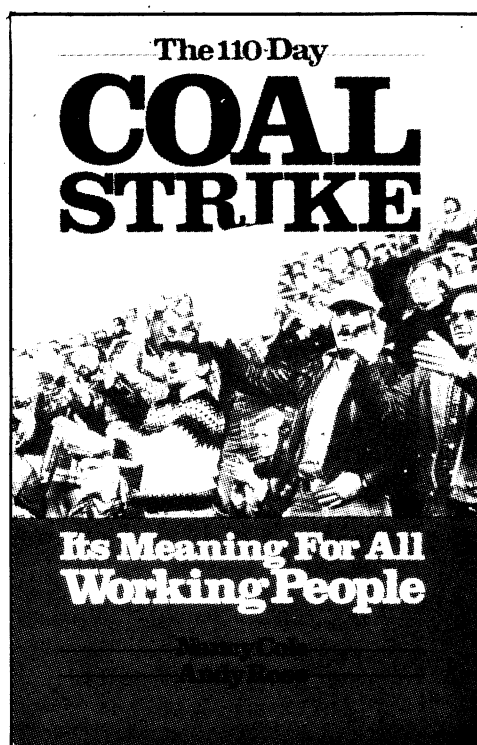
Several chapters, most notably the Washington, D.C., chapter, participated in the fall demonstrations against the *Bakke* ruling, and the April 15 March on Washington to overturn it.

In addition, the CBTU participated in the January 22 ERA march in Richmond, Virginia.

Such actions point the way to an effective strategy for winning the demands of Black workers—mobilizing the power of Black trade unionists and their allies in the Black communities and labor movement in direct action, in opposition to the policies of the Democrats and Republicans.

It was through such action—demonstrations, pickets, strikes, boycotts—that the Black movement and labor movement won many of the gains that the Democratic and Republican party government is currently trying to take away. Through this kind of action new concessions can also be won.

Such action would also help lay the basis for mobilizing the political power of the Black movement and trade-union movement at the polls, behind independent Black and trade-union candidates in opposition to both big-business parties.



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Are railroads really broke?

Carriers demand wage, health, safety cuts

By John Isenhower
and Mark Ugolini

CHICAGO—Last month railroad shop craft workers and clerks got their first look at contract demands that the nation's rail bosses have served on our unions.

The negotiations, which formally began in January, have proceeded at a snail's pace.

The railroad carriers are demanding what with inflation would amount to sharp wage cuts, drastic reductions in health benefits, and sweeping work-rule changes that would eliminate thousands of jobs.

Like the demands made earlier on rail workers in the operating crafts, these represent a serious attack on the standard of living and working conditions of all rail workers.

The railroad companies flatly reject the rail unions' demands for wage increases averaging around 60 percent over a three-year period. The most they offer is 10 percent.

Modestly assuming an inflation rate of 8 percent over the life of the proposed contract, this would mean a wage cut of 16 percent.

This is combined with a proposal that new employees not be paid full union scale until after nearly four years of continuous employment. New workers would be paid only 80 percent of the prevailing union wage rate.

As in the recent confrontation between the coal industry and miners, health care is a major focus of the carriers' antiunion drive. The rail bosses want total control of the health and medical programs, while forcing the workers to pay substantially more out of their own pockets.

At the same time, an employee would not be covered at all until he or she had worked a full *six months*, compared with thirty days under the present contract.

The carriers are also proposing that certain union work rules won decades ago be eliminated by combining work done by different crafts. Thousands of jobs would be cut, and the result would be speedup and more hazardous working conditions.

Train disasters are now regular news items. On February 26, for example, a train carrying deadly chlorine gas derailed in Florida, killing eight peo-

ple. Accidents such as this can be expected to escalate if these drastic work-rule changes occur.

No money?

The carriers say these sweeping changes are necessary because of the increasing financial instability of many of the railroads.

They point to the bankruptcy of Penn Central in 1968, the recent bankruptcy of Milwaukee Road, and general financial difficulties of others as proof of the industry's plight.

In reality, the profits of many railroads such as the Sante Fe, Burlington Northern, Chicago and Northwestern, are on the rise. In many cases, however, only a small portion of these profits are reinvested in the railroads. Billions of dollars are instead siphoned off into more lucrative businesses that the rail bosses have interests in.

Labor, the official publication of fourteen rail unions, recently reported on a Senate study that is relevant to the issue of railroad bankruptcy. The study covered 122 giant corporations, including 13 railroads, and "showed that voting rights in the stock of these corporations are exercised by a handful of banks and other financial institutions."

Rail workers should demand that these corporations and their financial backers open their books to the public. Let's see how the "handful of 21 banks and other financial institutions" have actually run the railroads.

Many railroads receive large government subsidies, which help to maintain profit margins. Recently the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad published its 1976 profit report. More than half of its admitted \$5 million fourth-quarter profits came directly from government giveaways.

Over the past decade and a half, rail jobs have decreased by 40 percent—nearly 320,000 lost jobs. Freight tonnage, on the other hand, has dramatically increased. Fewer workers are doing more work.

Craft unions

Effective union resistance to these attacks is greatly weakened by the craft-union structure of railroad labor. Workers in the industry are organized into more than a dozen labor organizations.

A few larger unions set the pattern in bargaining. But the rail union officials are making no effort to unify all the rail workers in action to stop



Militant/Howard Petrick

Railroads plead bankruptcy while government subsidies maintain their profits

giveaways to the carriers.

There even seems to be disunity at the bargaining table. One example is that the wage-increase demands of the various crafts are not uniform. This plays directly into the hands of the rail owners and further reduces our chances for a decent contract.

Recently union negotiators for all the rail crafts ended direct negotiation with the carriers. They called for and got federal mediation. This is one of a number of stages mandated by the strike-delaying National Railway Labor Act when an impasse is reached in collective bargaining.

In response to the hard-line stand of the carriers, Fred Kroll, president of the 105,000-member Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, said, "If the only way to get what we need is through a strike, I'll call a strike."

Other rail union officials are threatening strike votes sometime this summer if the carriers don't pull back from some of their most outrageous demands.

Based on past record, however, these rail union officials talk tough but are short on action. No news on what is

really happening in these closed-door negotiations has been reported to the union membership. Nothing is being done to mobilize the power of the union ranks to defend our rights.

The membership has a *right to know* what is going on and to discuss and decide what needs to be done to deal with the situation.

We can learn a lesson from the coal miners. We need the right to vote on any agreements reached in negotiations, national and local. Only the rank and file are capable of determining whether a contract meets their needs.

Our unions need to challenge the provisions of the National Railway Labor Act, which severely limit our right to strike. We need the right to strike in order to force the carriers to honor our contracts and improve existing agreements.

The "no contract, no work" tradition of the United Mine Workers has won many gains for miners. It is an example for rail unions and the entire labor movement.

We need to unite our forces to defend the rights of all rail workers.

John Isenhower and Mark Ugolini are machinists on the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad and members of Lodge 478 of the International Association of Machinists.

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

Carter tries to hold down wages

Inflation: 'less meat, more rice and gravy'

By Dick Roberts

As prices explode across the country, particularly at grocery counters, the Carter administration is stepping up its efforts to hold down wages.

This follows Carter's promise earlier this spring to keep federal pay raises at only 5.5 percent this year.

In April the government's official consumer price index shot up 0.9 percent—a 10.8 percent annual rate.

The main factor was sharply increasing beef prices. Food and beverage prices leaped 1.8 percent in April, a whopping 21.6 percent annual rate.

Eldon Ball of the U.S. Department of Agriculture predicted that these high food prices would last throughout 1978. Ball sees an overall 20 percent increase in beef prices and 15 percent hike in pork prices over the whole year.

Food prices are rising most sharply for urban workers. The April rise in their grocery bill shot up 2.4 percent—a startling 28.8 percent annual rate.

"It's going to hurt me," Mrs. Valentine Johns, the mother of two sons, told the *New York Times*. "Where I've been getting hamburger I'll have to get them hot dogs, and there'll be less meat and more rice and gravy. How can we make it?"

A recent Gallup Poll reports that 54 percent of those surveyed think that inflation is the worst domestic political problem.

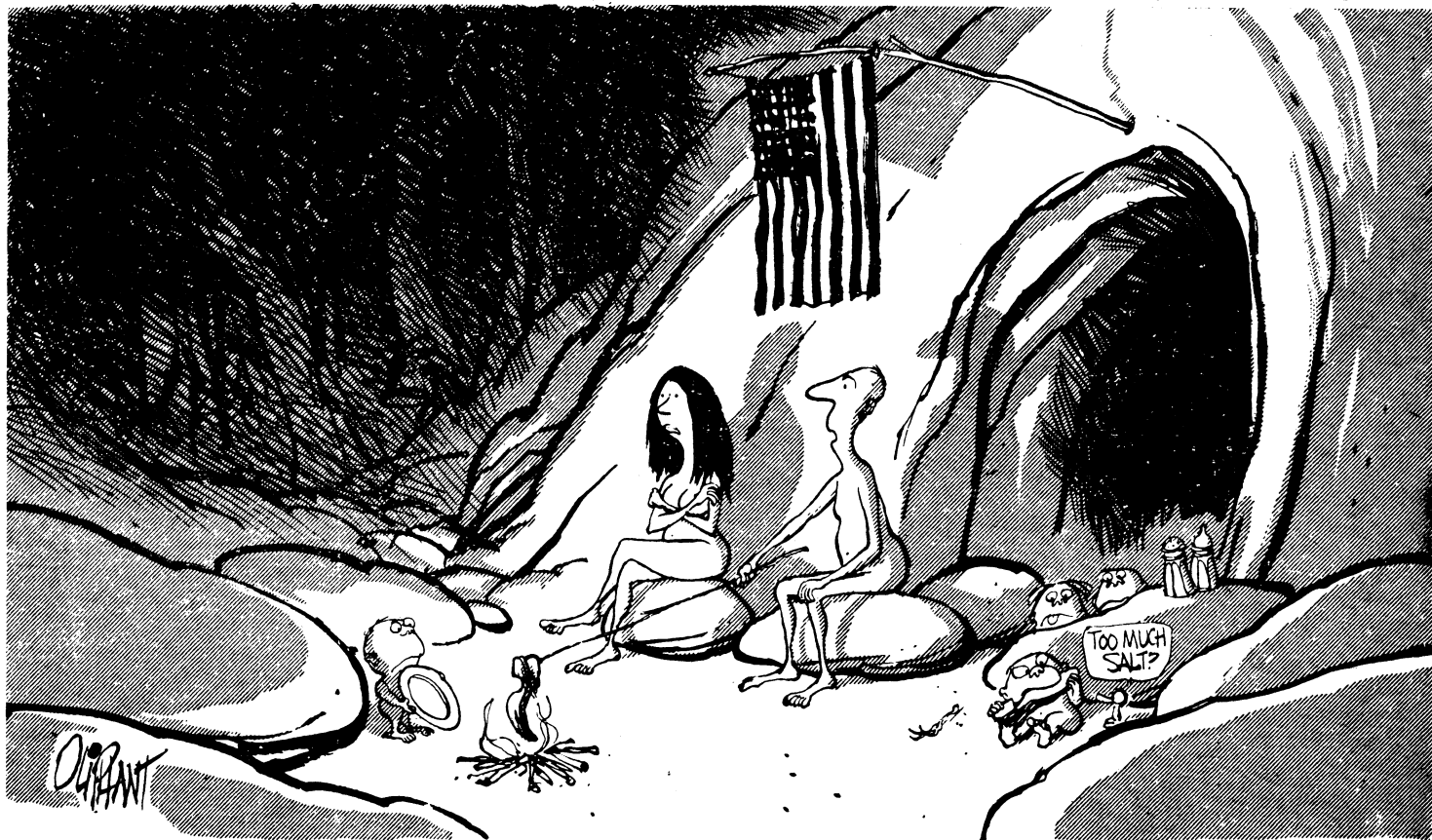
With inflation biting deep into workers' take-home pay, the stepped-up drive by the Democrats in the White House and on Capitol Hill to keep wages down should make it clear whose interests these supposed "friends of labor" really represent.

On May 22 the White House publicly demanded that two key labor unions—the postal workers and railroad employees—hold down their contract settlements. Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability cautioned them not to spur inflation.

This was the first time the administration had taken such an open stand on a major union contract before the bargaining.

The next day wage-price council Chairman Barry Bosworth intervened in contract negotiations with Western Pulp and Paper Workers, charging that their wage demands were "out-sized and alarming."

On June 1 the council called wage agreements involving West Coast elec-



"... So I said to him, 'Certainly, I'd love to join your war on inflation—how much does it pay?'"

trical workers "highly inflationary."

Meanwhile, Carter's economic advisers have told the Environmental Protection Agency that new proposals to control air pollution are inflationary. On the same grounds, the White House is also trying to delay enforcement by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration of dust standards aimed at lowering the incidence of brown lung among textile workers.

In not even one of the cases cited by the administration are workers seeking wage increases that are higher than 10 percent a year, including all benefits. This rate is below the present rate of inflation—and far behind the rates at which food prices are rising right now.

Carter's spokespeople pit one union against the next. Railroad workers, postal workers, electrical workers—all are blamed for seeking wage raises higher than other workers get.

And the chief culprits, according to Carter, are the coal miners, whose long strike struggle won them a 30 percent raise over three years. But 30 percent over three years is barely enough to keep pace with the present inflation

rate, leaving aside the dangerous conditions coal miners work under and the health-care expenses they face now that their free medical plan has been gutted.

Do higher wages cause inflation as the Carter administration claims?

Not even according to the government's own figures.

The Labor Department reported May 30 that wages and salaries in the United States rose an average of 1.9 percent in the first quarter of 1978—a yearly rate of 7.6 percent.

This is below the rate of inflation, contrary to all the talk about a "wage-price spiral."

There is a spiral—but it's a *price-wage* spiral. And workers are always behind, trying to catch up.

The real sources of inflation in a capitalist economy are the monopoly price gouging of the huge corporations, the enormous expansion of credit by the banks, and the huge deficit expenditures of the government, mainly to build up its deadly nuclear-weapons stockpile.

If the monopolists can keep prices up and wages down, their profits will soar. Their success in doing this accounts for the biggest Wall Street stock-buying rally in history.

To protect our living standards from this cancer of rising prices, there is only one remedy that's not mainly snake oil. Workers must demand *full* cost-of-living escalators in every contract, so that each jump in prices is met immediately by a matching rise in wages.

And workers have no cause to trust the government's consumer price index. Escalators should be pegged to price estimates set by independent committees of unionists and consumers.

Similar cost-of-living protection should cover all Social Security, welfare, unemployment, scholarship, and other benefits.

Then working people would not have to pay for capitalism's inflation by putting more rice and gravy, and less meat and vegetables, on their dinner tables.

Socialist summer schools

Studying the revolutionary party & its strategy

By Betsy Farley and Paul Montauk

Each year, branches and chapters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance organize summer schools to study the basic ideas and history of socialism.

Discussing plans for the summer schools at a meeting of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee earlier this year, Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the *Militant*, pointed to one of the main themes of the classes: the character of the revolutionary party.

"What kind of party are we trying to build? What is a proletarian party? Where did our ideas come from? What are the origins of our party, its history in the United States and internationally?"

Waters also pointed to a second theme: the revolutionary strategy of the working class.

"We want to zero in on what lies at the heart of our strategy—the political independence of the working class," said Waters. "We want to show how this is also at the heart of the fight to

democratize the unions and set them on a new course.

"We want to explain how the fight for class independence is the thread that ties together all the work we do, whatever the arena."

To help in these studies, today's new generation of revolutionists has a rich body of theory and experience provided by their predecessors. One of the central books to be used this summer will be *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* by Leon Trotsky. (Available from Pathfinder Press—third edition, \$3.95). Along with the *History of the Russian Revolution* and other writings by Trotsky, socialists will study the rich contributions by James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, and other outstanding working-class leaders.

The importance of Marxist education was also discussed at the recent meeting of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee. "We have to decide that the time we take for organized education is time well spent," said National Secretary Chuck Petrin,

"that education is not something we only do when there's nothing else to do—which is never.

"Everybody's hungry for more basic knowledge about what our movement stands for, the lessons of past struggles, all sorts of questions," Petrin said. "It's part of becoming confident enough to explain basic socialist ideas to other people in a popular way."

"The summer schools will be at the center of YSA educational work over the next couple of months," he said.

Many classes will be given by national leaders of the SWP and YSA.

Los Angeles socialists plan to begin their summer school on June 16-17 with a weekend program featuring veteran socialist and unionist Tom Kerry, as well as Mary-Alice Waters. Kerry will speak on "Socialist Strategy for Labor." Waters will present two talks on the interrelationship between feminism, Marxism, the class struggle, and the revolutionary party.

Readers are urged to follow the *Militant's* "What's Going On" column for dates and times of socialist summer schools in their areas.

Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions

By Leon Trotsky
80 pages, \$1.95

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Interview with Marroquín

Tour wins support for political exile

By Roger Rudenstein

NEW YORK—While he was visiting this city earlier this month, the *Militant* interviewed Héctor Marroquín, who has been touring the United States for several months speaking about his case.

"The tour is going extremely well," Marroquín told me. "I've already been to fifty cities, with nine left before the tour winds up in July. Everywhere I go, defense supporters are able to mobilize broad support for my right to political asylum in the United States."

A former student activist in Mexico, Marroquín was forced to flee his homeland in 1974 to escape persecution for his political ideas.

After coming to the United States, Marroquín participated in the movement against the deportations of immigrants without visas and in a Teamster organizing drive. He also joined the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

He was arrested by *la migra*, the U.S. immigration cops, last September. A campaign is now being waged to stop the American government from deporting him to certain imprisonment

and torture, and possible death, in Mexico.

"One result of the tour," Marroquín told me, "is that the U.S. news media are beginning to pay attention to my case."

Articles on the case have appeared in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the *Milwaukee Journal*, the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, New York's *El Diario-La Prensa*, and other newspapers and magazines including the June issue of the *Progressive*. The national office of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee has received many letters from people who read the *Progressive* article and subsequently sent protest telegrams to Leonel Castillo, head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

"Another thing that is very encouraging," said Marroquín, "is that when we pass around a sign-up sheet at my meetings, five, ten, fifteen or more activists sign up to help."

I asked Marroquín what some of the recent highlights of his tour were.

"Many of the rallies have had broad sponsorship, speakers from a whole range of concerns, and a lot of money



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/Susan Ellis

CBTU leaders back asylum

At the recent Coalition of Black Trade Unionists convention in Memphis, supporters of Héctor Marroquín's appeal for political asylum distributed several hundred pieces of literature on his case and explained its significance to dozens of convention participants.

Close to thirty unionists at the gathering endorsed the asylum appeal, including William Lucy, CBTU

president and international secretary-treasurer, AFSCME; and Charles Hayes, district director and vice-president of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, and CBTU executive vice-president; Horace Sheffield, assistant to the president of United Auto Workers, and CBTU secretary; and Lionel Salinas, Latinos United for Progressive Involvement.

Hear Héctor Marroquín

Héctor Marroquín is on a national speaking tour to bring his case for political asylum to the American people. Meetings are being organized in the following cities:

June 9-12	Denver
June 13-15	Salt Lake City
June 16-17	Phoenix-Tucson
June 19-21	Albuquerque
June 22-23	New Orleans
June 27-30	Atlanta
July 5-7	Raleigh

raised," he replied. "Some of the best meetings have involved trade unionists."

"In Cincinnati I had a meeting with the human rights committee of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers. Before my visit, defense supporters in the CFT passed around a petition at a union meeting. After I spoke to members of the human rights committee they decided to pass a resolution of support, bring it to the next local meeting and pass it there too. Then they plan to bring it to the American Federation of Teachers national convention and to propose it be adopted by the entire union."

Marroquín's appeal for asylum has been endorsed by a number of trade union officials, including Patrick Gorman, chairperson of the board, Amalgamated Meat Cutters union; Leamon Hood, international union area director, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Atlanta; Walter Johnson, president, Retail Clerks, San Francisco; and John Perko, president, United Steelworkers Local 6115, Inland Steel, Virginia, Minnesota.

Marroquín said that throughout his tour, he was able to see a growing interest in socialist ideas. "Most people, of course, support my right to be a socialist."

"In addition, I find many who are interested in my ideas, who want to know what the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance stand for."

In Washington, D.C., a young Black activist told Marroquín that after reading about his case, he had looked up the Young Socialist Alliance. He knew the YSA was very active in defending Marroquín on campus. Later, he joined the YSA.

"I think that's why one of the most frequent questions people ask me is, 'Why did you join the socialists?' And the reason they ask is because they have an inclination to do the same thing."

Rosenberg memorials set for June 19

By Diane Wang

Twenty-five years ago, on June 19, 1953, thousands of people gathered in New York's Union Square to protest as Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed. Four hundred gathered before the White House. Two hundred in London.

In cities around the world people watched in horror as the U.S. government killed two people framed up as "spies" because of their political dissent.

This year, on June 19, people will again gather at Union Square from 5:00 to 9:00 p.m. in a tribute to the Rosenbergs. Speakers at the tribute will include American Indian Movement leader Russell Means and anti-Vietnam War veteran Ron Kovic. Morton Sobell, a Rosenberg codefendant

who served nineteen years in prison; Helen Sobell, who chaired the defense efforts for the frame-up victims; and the Rosenberg's sons, Robert and Michael Meeropol, will also speak.

A resolution submitted to the New York City Council urges Congress to reopen the Rosenberg case and calls on Mayor Edward Koch to proclaim June 19 "a day of concern against repression and injustice."

Michael Meeropol explained to the *Militant* the importance of shattering the myth of the Rosenbergs' guilt. "Politically it would be a tremendous thing," he said. "It would give us the opening to make our cases to the American people" about other social issues and would "make it very difficult for the government to frame people today."

This year's tribute at Union Square, Meeropol explained, is "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 in an effort to protect today's 'Rosenbergs'."

According to a spokesperson for the United Twenty-fifth Anniversary Movement, which is organizing the June 19 tribute in New York, there will also be activities in other cities. Programs in Atlanta, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Seattle are being organized by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, anti-death penalty groups, and others.

St. Louis Blacks defend hospital

By Louise Halverson

ST. LOUIS—A new Black coalition has formed on St. Louis's north side to save Homer G. Phillips Hospital. Homer G. has become a rallying point for Blacks in recent years because of continued efforts by the city administration to close the facility.

The hospital was originally built to serve the Black community as the result of protests against segregated medical facilities. The only medical care available to Blacks had been low-quality care, often in hospital basements.

The other public hospital, City No. 1, or Starkloff, is on the near south side, miles away from the center of the Black community. It has traditionally served whites. Homer G. is almost the only remaining medical facility available to Blacks; all the other north-side hospitals have moved outside city limits.

Alderman Eugene Bradley gave the May 21 coalition meeting a firsthand account of racist hospital policies in St. Louis. His mother died from ptomaine poisoning a number of years ago. An ambulance dispatched from City Hospital No. 1 (the closest hospital) refused to transport her because she was Black.

Mayor Conway's most recent ploy is to "consolidate" departments duplicated at both hospitals. But, as was noted at the meeting, the mergers are all in one direction: south.

The mayor is also talking about building a new \$70 million hospital—but this solution to the problem of poor medical care in St. Louis is just talk. The city has been cutting back on its budget for health care, while the police department's budget has been growing so that it now receives more funds than any other department.

In a statement distributed to a May 21 meeting to save Homer G., Socialist Workers Party candidates Mary Pritchard, Renita Alexander, and Glenn White condemned Mayor Conway's attempts to close down or restrict services at Homer G.

"The Black community does not have to bear the burden of balancing the city budget," they said. "We have a right to adequate health care in our community. The city government has tried to close Phillips every year for the past forty years. Only the continued struggle of the Black community has kept the hospital open."

"The Socialist Workers Party candidates will use our campaigns to mobilize the Black community in rallies, picket lines, speak-outs, and protests so that the city government cannot ignore our demands: No cutbacks in services—keep the doors at Phillips open!"

As one woman commented at the meeting, "Outside of the Old Courthouse, where we were sold as slaves, Homer G. Phillips is the only building we can count on as our own."



GLENN WHITE

Mich. SWP files 23,000 signatures

'A political alternative for working people'

By John Benson

DETROIT—The Michigan Socialist Workers Party has filed more than 23,000 signatures to place its candidates on the 1978 ballot. Heading the SWP ticket is Robin Mace, who is running for governor.

The signatures collected by campaign supporters across the state substantially exceed the minimum requirement of 17,700.

"The people we talked to responded enthusiastically to the idea of a campaign representing the interests of working people," Don Bechler, SWP candidate for lieutenant-governor, told the *Militant*. "They were particularly pleased to see an auto worker, Robin Mace, running for governor. We'd frequently get reactions like, 'Let me sign that. I work for a living too.'"

"The petitioning began before the coal strike had ended," Bechler added. "Virtually everyone we talked to favored candidates who supported the miners."

Bechler was part of a *Militant* sales team that traveled throughout West Virginia during the coal strike. Mace, a member of United Auto Workers Local 900, was active in building strike solidarity activities in the Detroit area.

The 1979 auto contract is already on people's minds, petitioners found. "A number of people asked us whether our candidates will support the UAW if there is a national strike," Mace said. "The fact that virtually none of the Democratic or Republican politicians



Robin Mace, Socialist Workers gubernatorial candidate in Michigan, petitioning in Detroit.

supported the miners—or any strikers—is pretty obvious to everyone."

Unemployment is also a major concern here. More than 60,000 are officially unemployed in the Detroit metropolitan area. Thousands more aren't included in the government's statistics. At the same time the auto barons force those with jobs to work six and seven

days a week. And because the auto industry sets the pace here, forced overtime is the norm in all industry.

"Ending compulsory overtime is a popular demand," Mace reported. "Establishing a shorter workweek—thirty hours work for forty hours pay—appeals to the employed and unemployed alike as a way to create jobs." The April All Unions' Conference to

Shorten the Work Week in Dearborn, Michigan, increased interest in the socialist petitioning drive. Mace attended the conference as an observer from her UAW local and distributed a campaign statement to participants pledging her support to the fight for a shorter workweek.

The socialists face another obstacle to their right to run for office and appear on the November general election ballot. Michigan has instituted a new restrictive election law that requires parties to receive 4,000 votes in an August 8 primary in order to appear on the November ballot.

"This makes it virtually impossible for parties other than Democrats or Republicans to be on the November ballot," Bechler explained. "Voters are not allowed to split their tickets in the primaries, and most will ask for the ballot of parties they are familiar with and have voted for before."

"In fact, when the law passed, the legislature admitted the purpose was to keep the smaller parties off the ballot."

"But they can't prevent us from running an aggressive campaign," he added. "They passed the law because they know that growing numbers of working people are disenchanted with the Republicans and Democrats. The ruling parties want no challenge to their domination. We are running to present just the challenge and alternative they rightfully fear—independent political action for working people."

Dallas steelworker runs for Congress

By Becky Ellis

DALLAS—"Are you Jim White? On my shift? Can we get together sometime to talk about your campaign?"

This is the kind of response Jim White got at work the night after he announced that he was the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress here in the Fifth Congressional District.

White is a machinist at Dresser Industries in Dallas, where he makes oil-tool equipment. He is a member of the United Steelworkers of America, Local 6312.

Each week White and his supporters campaign at a different plant in the Dallas area. They distribute his "Open Letter to Working People of Dallas."

"There's lots of talk about Dallas being a place where working people can get ahead," White says in his letter. "But working people know that's all talk."

"Dallas is a prosperous city for some people—the very rich who own and control big business. These people are receiving record profits on their investments. And we are paying for it."

"You can see this just by driving

through the 5th Congressional District I am running in. It includes mile after mile of the slums of East Dallas and South Dallas. It also includes the beautiful towering buildings of the downtown banks and insurance companies which control the city. Banks like the Republic National Bank which openly proclaim they are Dallas."

The day White announced his candidacy, he was interviewed by an NBC affiliate in Dallas. While the TV screen flashed the front of the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters, a reporter introduced White: "A new candidate has announced for Congress today. He's not a Democrat, not a Republican—he's a socialist."

During the interview White explained that today working people are more open to socialist alternatives.

"When Dallas Power and Light asks for a 23.8 percent rate increase, that's their radical program to promote profits. We're running to propose our solution to working people's problems today."

White's Democratic Party opponent is Jim Mattox—a typical "pro-labor, pro-Black, pro-Chicano, pro-women" politician, whose real loyalties lie with Dallas's ruling rich. They funnel thousand-dollar contributions into his campaign and pay \$100 a plate to attend his benefit dinners. Mattox's own staff has admitted to reporters that he shows his gratitude by consulting with the banks on each bill he considers.

Unfortunately, Mattox also gets lots of money from labor unions—\$59,931 in 1976. In his campaign, White calls for working people to stop funding their enemies and to start fighting for their own interests by building a labor party opposed to the Democrats and Republicans.

Recently White addressed the Dallas County National Organization for Women and expressed his support for the Equal Rights Amendment and the

Continued on page 23

Wilmington Ten supporters picket Griffin Bell in NY

By Diane Wang

NEW YORK—"We're here to tell Griffin Bell: free the Wilmington Ten!" chanted almost 200 people picketing outside graduation ceremonies for the New York Law School on June 4.

Attorney General Griffin Bell was the guest speaker at the ceremonies. Bell has been asked repeatedly to look into the case of the Wilmington Ten, civil rights activists framed up in North Carolina seven years ago.

On May 31 some 200 students and several faculty members at the New York Law School sent Bell a petition urging the Justice Department to investigate the frame-up and file a friend-of-the-court brief supporting the Wilmington Ten.

A press conference organized by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) took place before the picket line. Lennox Hinds, national director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers and vice-chairperson of NAARPR, charged North Carolina and federal politicians with "clear official lawlessness and abuse of justice."

Although the prosecution witnesses against the Wilmington Ten have recanted, and new evidence of the ten's innocence has been uncovered, a North Carolina judge has refused to order a new trial.

New York City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger explained that the Wilmington Ten are "not only victims of Jim Crow justice in the South, but of Jim Carter justice in the United States."

Claudia Loftis of the New York NAARPR said that the picket line

would warn "Bell that he and Carter might as well act right now, because pretty soon they won't be able to go anywhere in our country without similar demonstrations."

A statement by Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the Nineteenth District, was distributed at the picket line, pointing out that with every day that the civil rights fighters remain in jail, "Carter's 'human rights' statements ring more and more hollow."

Miliner urged "all supporters of the 10 to unite together in common actions demanding their immediate release from prison."



Militant/Diane Wang

Texas ballot drive

HOUSTON—As of June 4, supporters of the Texas Socialist Workers campaign have collected 23,760 signatures to place the party's candidates on the November ballot. The petitioners' goal is to collect 33,000 signatures—more than twice the 16,600 required by law.

Petitioning efforts have centered in Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio.

The Texas slate is headed by Sara Jean Johnston for governor and Miguel Pendás for U.S. Senate.

The Socialist Workers Party launched its state election campaign in western Pennsylvania with a Pittsburgh rally May 6.

The following are major excerpts from the rally speech by Mark Zola, SWP candidate for governor of Pennsylvania. Zola is a machinist apprentice at Pittsburgh Des Moines Steel and an activist in United Steelworkers Local 2789.

When I announced my candidacy for governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania more than a month ago, I told the news media that we were running on a program of ideas whose time had come.

I explained that we were part of a fine tradition in this country, such as the revolutionists of 1776, the antislavery abolitionists of the decade leading up to the Civil War, the women suffragists of the 1800s and the first part of this century, and the CIO union organizers of the 1930s.

All of these movements began with only a few people, but attracted more and more supporters to their banners, and finally helped set into motion powerful social struggles that advanced the cause of the whole working class.

Like today, there were many who said it couldn't be done. But they were ideas whose time had come.

Well, the experiences of those few weeks since announcing my candidacy have convinced me even more of the timeliness of our ideas:

When I talk to my fellow steelworkers about the need to nationalize the utilities and place them under the democratic control of the working class;

When I knock at doors in the steel communities outside of Pittsburgh and say, let's open the books of U.S. Steel and the other corporate giants and see their real profits, their monopoly price fixing, and their political pay-offs;

When I campaign at the mine portals and say, it's time the labor movement stops pouring our dues money down the rat hole of the Democratic Party and launches a labor party;

And when I raise issues like the need to shorten the workweek at no loss in pay to provide jobs for all.

When I have done all this, people have welcomed our campaign with interest. No one has said to me, "Well, yes, that's a good idea for a few years from now." Not at all.

Our program is being seriously considered and discussed as a possible way out of the bind the great majority of Pennsylvanians feel caught in today.

Changes in working class

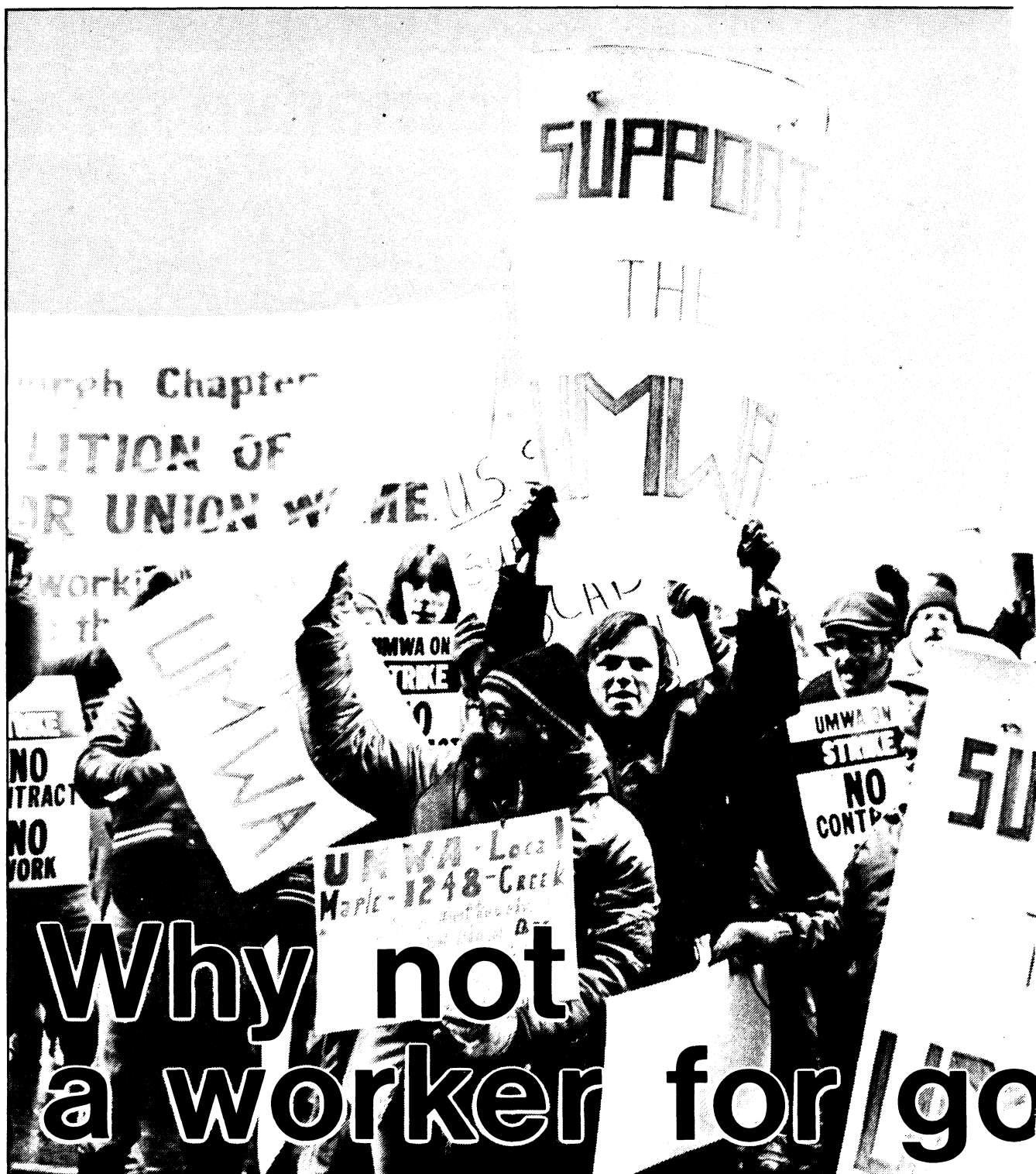
The working class has been going through some very important changes over the past year or two. Up until recently, people had a wait-and-see attitude about the erosion of their living standards.

But that patience is wearing thin. The more people have waited the more they've seen only a further worsening of their situation.

The *standstill* in their ability to make gains for themselves and their families has turned into a *takeaway* of things they've come to expect over the years.

But what is most different is that we've seen over the past year or two a growing number of working people saying, "We're not going to take it anymore!"

Looking back, I'd say that the long strike of steelworkers on the iron range in Minnesota was



one of the first indications of this.

The best example, though, of the unwillingness of people to take it anymore is the recently concluded coal miners' strike.

I had the opportunity to work with other Pittsburgh-area unionists in supporting the strike. I got to know a number of striking miners and attended some of their mass meetings.

Far from being the outlaws portrayed by the media and the politicians, the coal miners deserve a special place in the history of the labor movement as heroes of the working class.

Against the most powerful corporate forces in the world they stood up for what they knew was right. And while they may not have defeated the U.S. Steels and the Consolidation Coals, they refused to be broken.

That strike jarred the consciousness of millions of workers. Some of the things that provoked this shake-up in thinking were:

The strikebreaking role of the so-called friends-of-labor Democrats in the White House, the state capitols, and the public utilities commissions.

The demands by the miners that the books of the coal operators be opened to get at the truth.

The powerful expression of united labor action to defend those sections of the working class under attack.

Miners came to see the need to build a new leadership in the unions, a militant and democratic leadership willing to mobilize the power of the working class in battle against both the employers and their political agents in the boss-controlled government.

'We make this commonwealth run—we can r

The following are greetings delivered—or in the case of prisoner Stanton Story—sent to the May 6 Socialist Workers Party campaign rally in Pittsburgh.

Len Barker President, United Steelworkers Local 2584

I've been in the labor movement for eleven years. During that time I've seen quite a few things go on in the labor movement that aren't beneficial to the people who make this commonwealth run.

I've seen the corporations put profits before working people's needs. On television I listen to the advertisements of the other candidates and wonder where the \$35,000 or \$40,000 for a minute on the air comes from to tell me that a candidate went to church at 6:30 a.m. as a little boy.

Mark Zola is different. I've worked with Mark Zola. All the other candidates only echo the concerns of the conglomerates. What it takes is involvement.

We are all workers. We don't have thousands to put the working people's point of view on TV. We have to do it by word of mouth. The problems of

today's labor movement are *terrible*. We need an alternative. I wholeheartedly believe we have one.

We make this commonwealth run. We are the people who get dirty, get killed, get maimed. We can make a change.

Phil Carter Western Pennsylvania Black Political Assembly

The Black Political Assembly supports you in your efforts to get on the ballot.

We want to thank you again for your support to the Zimbabwe Eight [eight Zimbabwean students expelled from Carnegie-Mellon University for protesting university complicity with the Ian Smith regime].

Stanton Story Victim of racist frame-up, facing execution

Give Mark my total support, he deserves it and he got it. When and if I get out of "hell" I will help in the future to campaign for whatever political post he may seek, not because he is my friend but because he is a serious-minded, hard-

working, competent human being.

His qualities are needed in the leadership posts of this sick, corrupt, decadent society.

* * *

After the rally, the *Militant* spoke with several supporters who were attending their first Socialist Workers campaign event. Excerpts from their remarks follow.

Student from Tanzania

I was enlightened and glad to see that American working people are taking the initiative to control their own destiny, to insure that their sweat and labor will insure *them* dividends.

Black steelworker

Our lifestyle is deteriorating. USWA hasn't taken a firm position on racists and *Bakke*. Mark Zola has.

The union movement should be with us twenty-four hours a day to address our needs. They talked about this in '37, but today the union leadership doesn't defend our rights and we have no democracy in the USWA.



Militant/Nancy Cole

We are now entering the first election campaign since the mine strike and we can expect to see that shake-up in thinking expressed in the electoral arena as well.

I think it can be said that many of the things the miners won on the picket line were lost in Harrisburg and Washington. And by that I mean that the state and federal governments intervened repeatedly during the strike on the side of the coal operators.

Many of these antilabor actions were spearheaded by Democratic Party politicians put into office due in great part to the support of the labor movement.

The sad fact of life for the laboring people in this land is that our international union leaderships are so comfortable within the Democratic Party, so cozy

Make a change'

Man coal miner

The Democrats and the Republicans work together against workers.

COMPAC [United Mine Workers' political action committee] took seven dollars out of our pockets. Yet we have no say so in who COMPAC goes to support.

Little by little working-class people are finding the need for their own labor party.

With the miners' strike and what's happened since, people are finding out that the politicians work for the corporations and the bosses.

The miners I work with are receptive to the idea of socialism—a real change is needed involving the entire working class.

Black woman student

My mind wasn't made up because I hadn't argued for myself. Now I feel that the Socialist Workers Party believes in a lot of the things I believe in on the needs of minorities and working people.

You can call me to help out with petitioning or anything else.

in their relationships with our employers, so used to their privileges, that they will avoid doing or saying anything, if at all possible, that might jeopardize their positions.

One of the most gratifying responses to my candidacy among industrial workers in the Pittsburgh area is the positive reaction they have to a worker running for governor.

We're taught all our lives to leave the job of governing society to a special breed of lawyers and other professionals. They, unlike the working man or woman, supposedly have the understanding, the expertise, the intelligence to make policy for the rest of us.

But in the eyes of a growing number of people, that understanding, expertise, and intelligence has proven to be in reality greed, incompetence, and corruption.

Why not a worker?

Why not a worker running for governor on a working-class program?

Why not steelworkers, secretaries, miners, and public service workers running for office?

Why not a labor party that will put the rights of working people, women, and minorities first, instead of the interests of the utilities, the steel companies, and the coal operators?

Just imagine the difference a labor party would have made in the outcome of two very important recent strikes in western Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh Gear and Latrobe Steel.

The workers at both these plants were blackmailed by management ultimatums into returning to work after bitter strikes of six and nine months respectively.

Accept a "takeaway" contract or we'll close the plant, they were told.

With the memory of the permanent job losses in Johnstown and Youngstown still fresh in people's memories, it was a threat not to be taken lightly.

The United Steelworkers of America was silent when these ultimatums came down.

The Labor Solidarity March in Latrobe on March 19 gives us a glimpse of what a labor party could have done in these strikes.

A labor party could have mobilized the entire labor movement if necessary to defend these workers under attack.

The parent firm, the Timken Company, could have been scandalized from one end of the country to the other through a massive campaign of education, boycotts, and demonstrations.

A war chest of financial contributions for the striking workers could have accumulated through a nationally coordinated drive.

A labor party could also have dealt effectively with one of the most serious problems raised by both strikes—the runaway shop. Such a party of working people could have taken on the national political question of organizing the South, of corporate taxation, energy policy, labor law, and nationalizations under workers' control—all of which relate to the question of the runaway shop.

But such a strategy means abandoning the idea that workers and bosses share common interests, and the belief that politicians who are beholden to the bosses can serve the workers' interests at the same time.

Replacing "bad" Democrats and Republicans with self-proclaimed "good" ones is no solution at all. As someone once put it, you can't expect a chicken to lay a duck egg. You can't expect a capitalist government run in the interests of business and industry to produce for us.

That government must be replaced by one that we, the working class, control.

Only then can we wipe out corruption and have the government serve the majority.

Working people keep the country running; working people should run the country.

Unite with allies

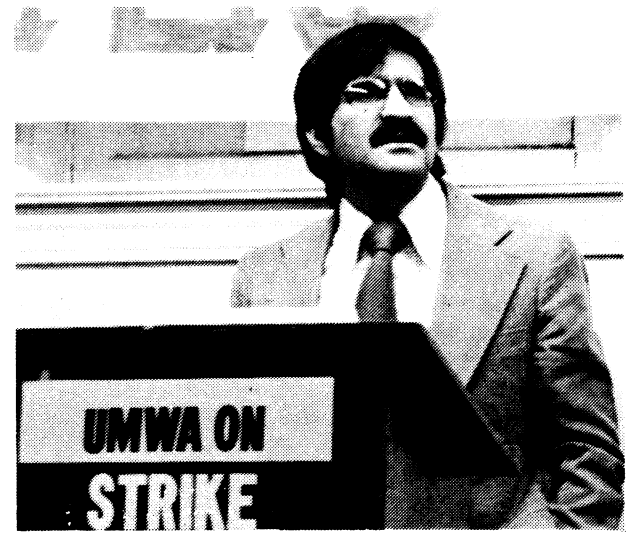
We need a new strategy in the labor movement and one essential part of that strategy is that we must be united.

We must recognize who our allies are. And we must be willing to put ourselves on the line to defend our own when any of us is under attack.

That is why my campaign takes head-on the need to support women's rights, Black and Puerto Rican rights, and the rights of homosexuals.

When one person's democratic rights are infringed on, the democratic rights of everyone become vulnerable. Today the right to equal education for some, equal pay and job advancement for some, equal access to housing for some are under attack. But tomorrow we may find these rights under attack for all working people.

These are rights that were fought for and won by the working class in this country over the opposition of the wealthy. A step backward on any of



MARK ZOLA

Militant/Martha Harris

these rights will be a defeat for working people

So when the Socialist Workers candidates campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment, for affirmative-action programs, and for full civil rights for homosexuals, we are campaigning in defense of our democratic rights and against attempts to weaken our class.

I urge everyone here to participate in the National Organization for Women's national march in Washington for the ERA on July 9.

Vision of future

Today socialists in the elections are getting a second look because the socialist program for Pennsylvania is indeed the only sensible one.

We are also the only party offering a vision of a future worth fighting for.

All the other politicians, who are loyal to the private-profit system, can hold out only the prospect of increasing international competition among rival gangs of capitalists with the accompanying suffering of the working class and the threat of a new great depression and war.

The socialist candidates are working toward a world based on an economic system that makes sense, democratically controlled by the working class, where production is to meet human needs and not private profit, and where there is cooperation—not life and death competition—among the peoples of the world.

Japanese workers, the Arab masses, and Pennsylvania's working class are all victims of the international crisis in steel and oil created by an outdated, chaotic economic system.

We all have a common goal, and that is to end the domination over our lives by a tiny wealthy elite.

The socialist candidates are committed to a future where that domination will be ended and all people can live and work together in dignity, freedom, and abundance.

That's another good reason to give us your support. And it's a good reason to join the Socialist Workers Party and fight with us to ensure that future.

JOIN THE SWP

If you agree with what socialist candidate Mark Zola has to say in the above speech, why not find out more about the Socialist Workers Party?

Subscribe to the *Militant*. Contact the SWP branch nearest you listed on page 27. Read *Prospects for Socialism in America*, a book by leaders of the SWP who explain why socialism is a realistic perspective in the United States.

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Auto workers win at Harvester

Ky. machinists vote to stay on strike at GE

By Jim Burfeind

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—One group of strikers returned to work here with a victory under their belts last month as two other unions vowed to stay out.

Fourteen hundred members of the United Auto Workers ended their strike at International Harvester May 17 after more than a month off the job.

UAW Local 1336 President Larry Wells described the settlement as "a total, absolute victory for the union." The workers had walked out over production speedup and several health and safety grievances.

After four months on strike, 385 members of Teamsters Local 89 at Belknap Inc. say they will continue to walk the picket line until the hardware company signs a new contract with them.

Belknap has hired an entire work force of scabs and refuses to bargain with the Teamsters.

And General Electric still refuses to negotiate with 300 members of Lodge 2409 of the International Association of Machinists. The tool and die makers walked off the job April 26 over GE's failure to conduct an adequate area wage survey and then adjust GE tool-makers' wages.

The district National Labor Relations Board refused to order GE to begin talks with IAM strikers and instead sent the case to Washington for a ruling.

Jim Burfeind is a striking member of Lodge 2409 of the International Association of Machinists. He is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Third Congressional District in Kentucky.



Jim Burfeind, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Louisville, distributes support statement to GE workers.

GE employs nearly 20,000 workers. Most production workers, members of the International Union of Electrical Workers, honored IAM picket lines until GE got a judge to order them back to work. The court also prohibited IAM picketers from talking to production workers on their way into work.

In one of its largest meetings ever, more than 200 members of IAM Lodge 2409 met May 25 to decide whether to

continue the strike. One of the major points of discussion was GE's threat to eliminate health insurance for the strikers on May 28.

GE has also threatened disciplinary action for strike activity against 53 of the 300 strikers. If the union voted to return to work, it was announced, GE agreed that no one would be fired. But long suspensions without pay were not excluded.

Also at issue is GE's refusal to settle eighteen grievances. GE did agree to drop three pending lawsuits against the union, totaling more than \$1 million in damages.

The meeting here reflected the outrage of IAM strikers. But there was also a painful realization of the power of the nation's fourth-largest corporation, aided by the courts, out to smash a union of 300.

Mentioned, but not discussed in the detail needed, were suggestions to enlist the aid of other unions and distribute leaflets appealing to the public for support.

In the end, the membership voted to stay on strike. One striker summed up a prevalent sentiment. He declared there might be little chance for victory because GE was using the IAM strike as an example to other GE unions not to expect much from the national contract talks next year. In spite of this, he went on, he wanted to make GE spend a few more million dollars fighting the IAM strikers.

GE's attempt to make us an example could backfire if we were to stand united and win the support of other Louisville unionists.

In response to a petition signed by 900 IUE members in the GE Appliance Parts Building No. 5, a special informational meeting was called for 7:30 a.m. Saturday, June 3. Despite the early hour, seventy IUE members attended to protest the inaction of IUE officials during the IAM strike.

One complaint was that IUE Local 761 did not immediately fight the injunction ordering production workers to cross the IAM picket line.

Go Greyhound: leave wages & comfort behind

By Ruth Querio

PITTSBURGH—Public transportation under profit-making transit companies is getting worse for both the riders and the transit workers. The riders have no organization to represent them, and the workers have only their unions, which don't represent them very well.

If the unions would mobilize their members and use their potential political power, they could easily expose the graft of the bus companies and other transportation systems. And they could force the nationalization of these federally subsidized operations.

The workers could then have shorter hours of work and better pay. The public could have lower fares and better service.

What is happening on the Greyhound Bus Lines is an example of the problem and the failure of the unions to tackle it. Greyhound drivers and mechanics are represented by the Amalgamated Transit Union (AFL-CIO), as are the workers of most other intercity bus companies and some city transit systems.

The ATU is a typical old-line AFL union that hasn't changed much since the days of William Mahon who became international president in 1893 and stayed on for fifty-two years until his retirement in 1946.

Mahon came to be known as "Old Bill" by both friends and critics, and he operated according to a few simple rules: "a fair compromise is always better than a long strike"; "your employers will respect you if you respect them"; "reaching a satisfactory settlement is a two-way street"; etc.

The employers liked "Old Bill" and praised his sagacity. The workers didn't.

There are younger men at the head of the ATU today, guided by about the same lights as "Old Bill," but those glimmerings have grown dimmer over the years.

This present crop of officials seem to think the best way to get living wages for transit workers is to join with the bus companies in appeals for higher government subsidies, hoping some of the money will trickle through to the workers.

The bus companies are seeking more federal aid, but only for the stockholders and highly paid officials. Nothing for the workers.

At contract time last year Greyhound submitted a "final offer" on October 27, which union officials told ATU members at the time "would guarantee erosion of your wages and fringe benefits during the next three years."

But a contract, with few changes, was soon submitted to the Greyhound workers for approval. The mailed ballots were counted on December 28 and the new contract was narrowly approved, 5,295 to 5,211.

The bus companies are now moving in for the big subsidies, supported in their lobbying efforts by the union. They hope to get a \$500 million package from the U.S. Congress.

The Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) reported in April that operating revenues for the ten largest bus companies (headed by Greyhound and Trailways) increased last year by 5.3 percent. Profits rose 14.6 percent. Because of high fares and poor service the number of riders declined by 4.2 percent.

A driver's lament distributed in the

form of an open letter tells the story on where the money goes and why fares go up and service down.

"In 1976, Mr. Troutman, Chairman of the Board, was paid \$356,048.00 . . . a raise in one year of \$28,597.00. His estimated annual benefits upon retirement are \$134,399.00. . . .

"In 1976, Mr. Kerrigan, Chairman of Greyhound Lines, Inc., was paid \$185,456.00 . . . a raise \$16,031.00 in one year. [His] estimated annual benefits upon retirement are \$68,000.00."

This Greyhound driver says, "It would be safe to assume that when these people travel they do not have to purchase motel rooms at \$7.00 a night, such as our fellow drivers in Albuquerque." It is also safe to assume they don't travel Greyhound.

What about traveling Greyhound? "Greyhound says it is losing passengers. . . .

"Let's check a few facts regarding this. How many of you remember the

brilliant idea to put 47 seats on the buses? That alone drives away millions of passengers who swore never to ride a bus again. . . .

"Along this same line, was the idea to remove the foot rests encouraging people to ride in comfort? Again they lost millions of passengers. The seats of today's buses are very uncomfortable."

Union-management relations remain comfortable, however.

"Mr. Kerrigan recently mailed each employee a copy of a speech he made to the Union Leaders at the recent Convention. In it he stated that most Company Officials are former union members who have worked their way up."

This Greyhound driver says, "They apparently forgot a lot along the way."

One thing is clear. Union-management collaboration is no good for riders or workers. There is a better way.

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World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Sadat 'referendum' targets rising discontent

By Jon Britton

Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat held a referendum May 21 in a move to silence critics who could become poles of attraction for the unrest that is simmering throughout the country.

But despite a claimed 98.29 percent vote in favor of his proposed curbs on dissent, Sadat's drive to restore "national unity" is not likely to succeed. Mounting frustration over inflation and shortages and at the lack of results from Sadat's "peace initiative" could produce new social explosions at any time.

The referendum ballot asked: "Do you agree to the six principles included in the referendum presented by the President of the Republic on May 14, 1978, for protecting the home front and social peace?" The six points were published in the semiofficial press and were posted in some but not all polling stations.

Included in Sadat's "six principles" were proposals to ban from politics and journalism anyone with an ideology "incompatible with religion" and anyone who had "corrupted" Egypt's political life or who had taken action to "jeopardize national unity and social peace." Such persons are also banned from "boards of trade unions and professional associations."

Another "principle" is that the press shall be committed to democratic socialism, social peace, and national unity—as interpreted by Sadat, of course.

The immediate targets of Sadat's crackdown were said to be leaders of the right and left wings of his loyal opposition, who Sadat claims have been waging a "campaign of doubt" against his policies.

Bans 'doubting'

But the drive quickly widened. On May 26, the government disclosed that it had ordered thirty journalists and writers who work abroad to return home. They are to undergo investigation for writing or broadcasting reports that "cast doubts about the achievements and victories of the Egyptian people" (*New York Times*, May 27).

The fact that Sadat cannot allow even "doubt" to be publicly expressed concerning his policies underscores the fragility of his regime.

Whether Sadat has strengthened his position significantly as a result of the referendum is open to question. The antidemocratic aims and rigged char-



Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat is under pressure from the International Monetary Fund to stop government food-price subsidies. When Sadat tried this the last time, in January 1977, protests such as this one in Cairo swept the country.

acter of the plebiscite will undercut any such effect.

The day before the voting, the Egyptian Bar Association denounced the referendum as "unconstitutional, illegal and a setback to democracy."

A few days earlier, the weekly paper of the Progressive Union Party, *Al Ahaly*, was suppressed when it called for a "no" vote in the referendum. The subsequent issue, which had articles questioning the referendum, was also confiscated.

And while the government claimed that 85 percent of the nearly eleven million eligible voters participated in the referendum, *New York Times* correspondent Christopher S. Wren reported May 22 that "Western reporters who visited at least a dozen electoral precincts in populous areas of Cairo today observed a relatively light turnout."

One person who planned not to vote was a twenty-four-year-old engineering student interviewed by Wren on May 20. "I will not go to vote," he said. "I agree that we should protect our national unity, but I am against shutting the people's mouth when they want to criticize."

A similar referendum held in February 1977 allegedly found that an even

higher percentage of the voters, 99.4 percent to be exact, favored increased repression. Sadat called for that vote in the aftermath of protests against a sharp jump in prices brought on by the slashing of government food subsidies at the behest of the International Monetary Fund.

So angry and massive was the response that Sadat was forced to restore the subsidies, covering his retreat with a phony show of public support for a crackdown.

IMF squeeze

In the following year, the Sadat government was able to pay eight months' arrears and then keep current on its huge foreign debt (\$12.8 billion in late 1976) only thanks to emergency wheat shipments and other aid from the United States and \$2 billion in loans from Saudi Arabia and other Arab oil-producing countries.

Now, however, the squeeze is on again. The economy continues to deteriorate, with food prices soaring despite continued subsidies, and shortages of many essential goods. Sadat's "open door" policy to foreign investment has not resulted in new industry and creation of jobs for the unemployed, but instead has filled shop windows with expensive imports that only a tiny wealthy minority can afford to buy.

The country continues to be plagued by an acute housing shortage, a transportation system on the verge of breakdown, and corruption that pervades the government.

Once again, the IMF, along with the Saudi-led aid group, is pressuring Sadat to slash or eliminate government food subsidies and take other measures to move Egypt towards greater "free enterprise."

As in the case of Peru, the imperialist bankers, led by the United States, insist on their "pound of flesh" regardless of the widespread misery, malnutrition, starvation, and death that will inevitably result.

But also as in Peru, the likely outcome is mass revolt. Fearing such a response, Sadat is dragging his feet on adopting the IMF's prescriptions. This recently led to a clash between Sadat and Abdel Moneim el-Kaissouny, deputy prime minister in charge of financial and economic affairs, who had been pushing hard for the IMF "reforms." On May 7 a cabinet shake-up

was announced in which Kaissouny and two other ministers were dropped.

Sadat's problems are compounded by the rising disillusionment of the Egyptian people with his "peace initiative" of November 1977, which itself was partially a response to the economic impasse.

As long as the Sadat initiative seemed to be making progress, "the pain was balanced by the hope of peace," a member of the Egyptian parliament told a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*. "But now people are feeling peace is not in reach and we feel the economic pain again" (May 25).

The frustration is likely to mount further as a result of Jimmy Carter's stance in the aftermath of the package plane deal involving sales of jets to Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt.

Bernard Gwertzman, writing in the May 17 *New York Times*, reports that administration officials are now saying that it is "vital in coming days and weeks for the United States to avoid creating an impression that it was going to use the vote [approving the plane sales] as an excuse to exert new pressure on Israel in the negotiations."

'National unity'

In face of these intractable problems, Sadat is desperately trying to restore "national unity" as a crisis of leadership, accompanied by bitter factional infighting, overtakes the Egyptian ruling class.

On the left is the Progressive Union Party, which advocates closer relations with Moscow as against Sadat's reliance on U.S. imperialism. It was declared "independent" of the Arab Socialist Union (previously the sole legal party) in November 1976 as part of a scheme by Sadat to provide a democratic facade for his regime.

And on the right is the New Wafd Party, which was reborn only three months ago. The original Wafd was a right-wing nationalist party that led the fight for Egypt's formal independence from Britain after World War I. It subsequently dominated Egyptian politics during the reign of King Farouk, despite occasional disputes over the powers of the monarchy. After Nasser came to power in 1952, the Wafd Party was banned, along with other parties, and many of its leaders were imprisoned.

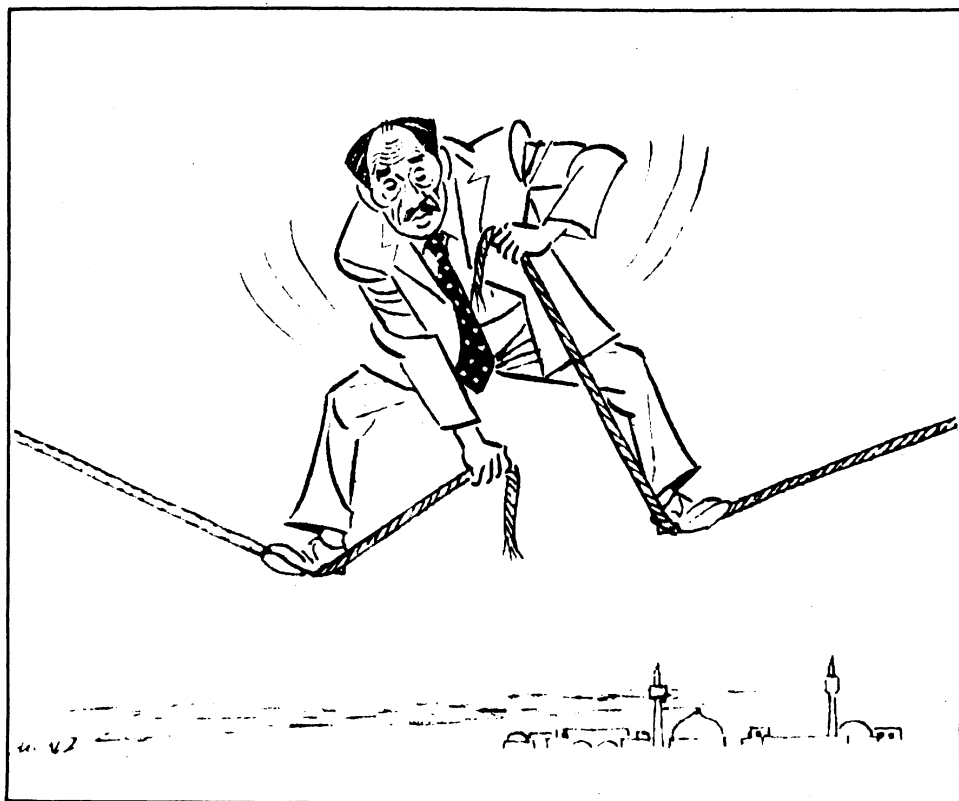
Neither the Progressive Union or New Wafd party has criticized Sadat in any fundamental way, but both have raised charges of corruption and nepotism against the Sadat regime. And both parties are potential poles of attraction for forces that are growing increasingly dissatisfied with Sadat's rule.

It was a measure of Sadat's own frustration that during a news conference May 23 he suggested that the two parties take a lesson in national unity from the Israelis, who, he said, have rallied around Prime Minister Menachem Begin's policies.

But Israel's "national unity" is breaking down too. A highly visible peace movement and continuing labor unrest are challenging Begin's diplomatic and domestic course.

Perhaps Sadat can take solace in the fact that his is not the only regime that is under heavy pressure from the international bankers. The governments of Peru, Zaïre, and Jamaica, to name just a few, have all received the same message from the International Monetary Fund—impose stricter austerity no matter what the domestic political consequences.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Stuttgarter Nachrichten

The CIA's secret war in

By Ernest Harsch

In the latest of a series of revelations about the worldwide operations of the Central Intelligence Agency, John Stockwell, a former CIA official, has provided a detailed firsthand account of the agency's substantial role in the Angolan civil war of 1975-76.

Stockwell, whose book *In Search of Enemies* first appeared in bookstores May 8, was in a position to know the full story. He was not some low-grade field officer, but the chief of the CIA's Angola task force, which was entrusted with carrying out the day-to-day operations of the covert war.

Stockwell had been with the CIA for more than a decade, serving three previous tours in Africa and one in Vietnam. He says that he became disillusioned with the agency as a result of his Angola experiences, and subsequently resigned in April 1977.

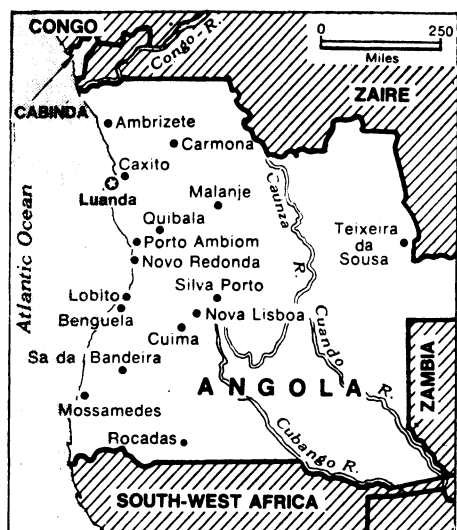
Caught by surprise

Although the CIA had maintained sporadic contact with Angolan nationalist forces before the April 1974 coup in Portugal, Washington's overall policy was to back continued Portuguese colonial rule in Angola, as well as in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. This included extensive military loans and financial assistance to the Lisbon regime. Washington generally looked the other way when the Portuguese forces used NATO-supplied arms in Africa. Stockwell notes that during the colonial wars, "American bombs and napalm fell on the Angolan nationalists."

Thus the April 1974 coup in Portugal, which eventually led to the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa, "caught the United States by surprise, without graceful policy alternatives and out of contact with the African revolutionaries."

With little direct knowledge about the three main Angolan nationalist groups, the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front), the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), and the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), the CIA scrambled to get back into the picture, to gain some leverage to influence the course of events.

"In July 1974," Stockwell writes, "the CIA began funding [FNLA leader Holden] Roberto without 40 Committee approval, small amounts at first, but enough for word to get around that the CIA was dealing itself into the race." The 40 Committee was a high-level intelligence coordinating body with the responsibility of overseeing all covert operations abroad. At the time, it was chaired by Kissinger.



U.S. supplies being unloaded in Angola. CIA intervention helped prolong war.

In July 1975, the Africa Division of the CIA drafted an options paper on behalf of the 40 Committee calling for increased covert assistance to Roberto, as well as to the UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi.

Stockwell notes that the options paper did not postulate a victory for the FNLA and UNITA, but rather laid out a holding operation that would achieve a military balance between the three groups and prevent a "cheap" victory by the MPLA, headed by Agostinho Neto.

Although Stockwell admits that this had the effect of actually fueling the civil war, he presents it as a result of a mistaken American policy. In fact, it is quite likely that another of Washington's aims was precisely to exacerbate the factional warfare, so as to weaken the Angolan struggle for national liberation as a whole and gain greater concessions from all three groups, including the MPLA.

One of Stockwell's superiors admitted as much, stating that if the three groups "go into independence on an equal footing we should have various options still open. Perhaps a negotiated settlement could be reached. Perhaps the Soviets and the MPLA will compromise when they see our determination."

In fact, there were important figures who favored the MPLA over its two rivals. According to Stockwell, Tom Killoran, the American consul general in Luanda, "believed the MPLA was best qualified to run Angola and that its leaders sincerely wanted a peaceful relationship with the United States." Similarly, as the civil war progressed, the CIA station chief in Luanda also concluded that the MPLA was "the best qualified to run the country" and that Washington should halt its actions against the MPLA as quickly as possible.

From a more hawkish standpoint, the deputy chief of the CIA's Africa Division pushed for a policy that would have allowed the FNLA and UNITA to quickly win the civil war. He suggested introducing a flying gun platform, called "Puff the Magic Dragon," that had been employed by the American forces in Vietnam.

"There was no doubt whatever," Stockwell writes, "that in August, September, and October 1975 a pair of these gunships would have completely broken the MPLA."

Overruling this suggestion, as well

as the criticisms from those who favored a "hands-off" policy or support for the MPLA, Kissinger, CIA Director William Colby, and other top government officials pushed ahead with their policy of stoking the fires of the civil war.

On July 16, 1975, President Ford approved the CIA's covert action plan for Angola, which was later code named IAFEATURE.

One factor that determined the CIA's attempts to keep its intervention in Angola as secret as possible was the widespread antiwar sentiment in the United States. As Stockwell points out, "Our secrecy was designed to keep the American public and press from knowing what we were doing—we fully expected an outcry should they find us out."

Despite public claims to the contrary, the CIA sent advisers into Angola itself to assist the FNLA and UNITA forces. "From the outset," Stockwell reports, "we were deeply involved in managing the war from Washington, from Kinshasa, and from

advance bases inside Angola, and this was reported daily in the flow of cables to and from the field. For cover purposes vis-à-vis the working group [an interdepartmental coordinating body] we called the advisors we placed inside Angola 'intelligence gatherers,' although their intelligence effort was always subordinate to their advisory activities."

Stockwell cites some examples. Together with other officials, he discussed requirements for the battle of Lobito and for sabotage operations in Congo (Brazzaville), a nearby country that served as a transshipment point for the Soviet arms aid to the MPLA. CIA experts in Angola prepared the tactical communications plan for the battle of Lobito and helped set up the FNLA and UNITA communications networks. CIA paramilitary officers trained FNLA troops in Ambriz and UNITA forces in Silva Porto in the use of infantry weapons.

Stockwell catches Colby lying on this question, when Colby claims that "no CIA officers were permitted to engage in combat or train" in Angola.

Maintaining 'deniability'

Stockwell stresses that this use of CIA advisers in Angola "was strictly prohibited by the 40 Committee. . . ." Like some other critics of the CIA, he seems to think that many of the CIA's operations are carried out without proper authorization and that a greater degree of control would help end its "abuses."

It is often the case, however, that top government officials do not want to know the details of sensitive CIA operations, so as to avoid any responsibility for them should they some day become exposed. (In White House jargon, this is called maintaining "deniability.")

In relation to the Angola war itself, the chief of the African Division allowed only summaries of the working group meetings in "blind" memorandums that were kept out of the regular files. "Thus the innermost records of the war," Stockwell writes, "would forever be immune to any Freedom of Information Act disclosures, or congressional investigation. Technically

Round 2 in Angola?

Even before the recent rebellion in Zaïre's Shaba province and the use of U.S. aircraft to fly French and Belgian troops there, the Carter administration had been seeking ways of renewing U.S. intervention in Angola.

Washington Post reporter Murrey Marder reported May 19 that "White House strategists for at least two months have attempted to develop a plan to permit the United States to funnel sophisticated arms and funds clandestinely to African guerrilla forces fighting Soviet-backed Cuban troops in Angola and Ethiopia."

At the beginning of May, CIA Director Stansfield Turner and David Aaron, Carter's deputy national security adviser, both discussed with Sen. Dick Clark (D-Iowa) the possibility of secretly providing U.S. military aid to anti-government guerrillas in Angola.

According to law, Carter is forbidden to send any military aid to Angola. But Turner and Aaron suggested that the aid could be funneled through a third country to circum-

vent the prohibition, which was written by Clark and adopted by Congress in 1976 due to mass sentiment against U.S. intervention in Angola.

White House Press Secretary Jody Powell denied May 24 that Carter had any "knowledge they were doing this sort of thing," but claimed that the proposals by Turner and Aaron—which even included details on the type and number of weapons to be supplied—were "a reasonable and routine thing to do," despite the law.

On May 23, Carter himself said that he would like to send assistance to the UNITA guerrillas. A report in the May 25 *Washington Post* explained that "Some members of the Carter administration, including national security affairs adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, have been discussing the idea of aiding UNITA rebels in hopes of tying down Cuban troops in Angola, so they could not easily move to another African country like Rhodesia."

Angola

they did not exist: legally they could be destroyed at any time."

Beginning in September, according to Stockwell, South Africans began to provide arms and training to FNLA and UNITA forces at Runtu, near the Angola-Namibia border. By October, the apartheid regime had sent 3,000 troops and support personnel into Angola, some of whom linked up with an UNITA force and swept up the coast of Angola, capturing a series of ports and cities by early November.

The CIA greeted the South African intervention. CIA personnel and officials from Pretoria's Bureau of State Security (BOSS) jointly supervised the transshipment of arms to the UNITA forces. BOSS was fully briefed about the CIA's own activities and on at least two occasions the director of BOSS visited Washington for secret talks with the head of the CIA's Africa Division.

The shipment of American arms directly to the South Africans in Namibia was considered, but then rejected at that point as too risky (the White House maintained a formal arms embargo against Pretoria).

Noting that the "CIA has traditionally sympathized with South Africa and enjoyed its close liaison with BOSS," Stockwell sums up the relationship between Washington and Pretoria during the Angola civil war: "Thus, without any memos being written at CIA headquarters saying, 'Let's coordinate with the South Africans,' coordination was effected at all CIA levels and the South Africans escalated their involvement in step with our own."

Following the South African intervention in Angola in September, the Cuban government stepped up its assistance to the beleaguered MPLA, dispatching thousands of Cuban technicians and combat troops to help stave off the South African onslaught.

The increasing Soviet arms shipments—and especially the arrival of thousands of Cuban troops to aid the MPLA—infuriated Kissinger, Ford, Colby and other American warmongers. It completely disrupted the White House's plans to "balance" the three groups off against each other and it threatened to seriously set back Washington's overall interests in the region.

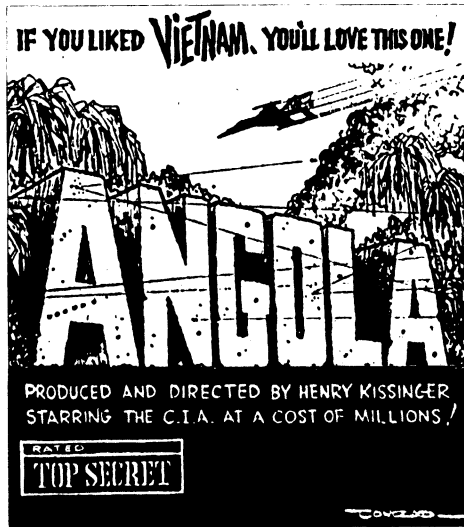
Their immediate reflex was to try to escalate the war. The old policy of seeking to just bolster the FNLA and UNITA and prevent an "easy" MPLA victory was dropped. The CIA was now told to find a way to win the war.

Opponents of the American intervention in Angola warned at the time that the conflict could quickly escalate into a Vietnam-type affair. Stockwell confirms this.

Stockwell writes, "Sophisticated weapons were now discussed freely: Redeye ground-to-air missiles, antitank missiles, heavy artillery, tactical air support, C-47 gun platforms. The working group considered major escalations: the formal introduction of American advisors, the use of American army units, a show of the fleet off Luanda. . . ."

Also confirming the dangers of a new military attack against the Cuban revolution, as indicated by the many threatening statements from the White House, Stockwell notes that the working group likewise weighed "the feasibility of making an overt military feint at Cuba itself to force Castro to recall his troops and defend the home island."

The only thing that stopped these war plans was the deep antiwar senti-



Conrad/Los Angeles Times

ment among the American population.

With all but \$7 million of its covert operations fund depleted, the CIA was compelled to go to Congress for additional money. But many congressional representatives would soon have to face new elections and they did not want to take public responsibility for an escalation of the Angola war. Amendments were adopted in both the House and Senate barring the use of any funds from the 1976 defense budget for the Angola operation.

With Washington unable to escalate its involvement in Angola, or even to continue it at the same level, the South Africans chose to pull back themselves. They withdrew from the front lines in January 1976 and by the end of March the last of them had left Angola altogether.

The FNLA forces were routed in the north and fled across the border into Zaïre, along with a significant number of Bakongo refugees from the FNLA's traditional region of support. The UNITA forces in central and southern Angola abandoned the cities to the MPLA and Cuban troops.

A 'reformed' CIA?

Stockwell's major criticisms of the CIA's involvement in Angola do not dwell on the violation of Angola's sovereignty or on the widespread suffering it inflicted on its peoples. He is, after all, a hardened CIA veteran to whom covert wars, subversion, and assassinations were a common occurrence.

Two central complaints run through his account of the war. First, that it was a mistake to launch a covert war in the first place, since no fundamental interests of American imperialism were seriously endangered. Second, that once Washington was involved, it was even more of a mistake to go in in time to call on Cuban assistance.

Stockwell still supports the existence of the CIA, but thinks it would be a more effective instrument of American imperialist interests if it were "house cleaned" and brought under greater supervision from Congress and the White House, in the process eliminating some of its clandestine operations.

However, subversive covert activities are an integral—and indispensable—part of Washington's role as top world cop. Without assassination plots, without manipulation of the news media, without infiltration of political parties and liberation movements, without clandestine wars like the one in Angola, the American imperialists would have a difficult time safeguarding and advancing their far-flung economic and political interests.

Thus despite the setback in Angola and despite Stockwell's "constructive criticisms," the CIA is pressing ahead as before and is preparing for the next covert intervention.

World news notes

New Zionist settlement in Palestine

Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman acknowledged May 30 that what he had previously claimed was an archeological dig at Shiloh on the occupied West Bank was, in fact, a new Zionist settlement. About sixty people are reported to be living there.

In January, the Israeli cabinet authorized the Zionist fanatics of Gush Emunim to carry out the dig. The decision was intended to placate the group, which has demanded authorization for new Zionist settlements on Arab land, while at the same time concealing the fact from Israeli and world public opinion, which has condemned new settlements.

The ruse fell through when Gush Emunim issued a statement saying they hadn't come there to dig but to live.

No. U.S. planes to Britain!

British environmentalists have been waging a fight against U.S. Air Force plans to station a second squadron of flying tankers in Britain. The air force says it wants the planes to strengthen the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's air defenses. The *New York Times*, however, commented June 4 that "according to [diplomatic] sources, the proposed squadron . . . could be used in the event of hostilities in the Middle East to refuel transport planes carrying troops and equipment to that region from the United States."

On June 1 a demonstration of several hundred took place in London against the squadron. One sign read, "We like the Yanks, but not their tanks."



Philippines antinuke action

The May 12 issue of *Philippine Liberation Courier* reports:

"The plan to install a Westinghouse nuclear reactor in the Philippines became the target of popular protests in various parts of the globe on April 27.

"In the Philippines, opponents of the project evaded tight martial law restrictions on popular assembly by holding special prayer services throughout the country." A petition drive to end the project has already collected some 25,000 signatures. Protests also took place in San Francisco, Washington, D.C., Japan, and Australia.

Adultery law overturned in Spain

Spanish women won a big victory during the last week in May when the Spanish parliament abolished a law that had made adultery a criminal offense.

The fight against the adultery law has centered on the case of Maria Immaculada Benito, whose case became known throughout Spain in 1976. Her husband tried to have her imprisoned because she had taken a trip to the Canary Islands with a male friend. Although she was eventually acquitted, if convicted she could have been sentenced to six years in prison.

French military moves against Chad rebels

French troops fought alongside government troops in Chad to crush a rebellion in that country June 2. About 500 French Foreign Legionnaires, backed by jet fighters, were involved in the fighting, which took place about 300 kilometers from the Chadian capital of N'Djamena.

A civil war has been going on in Chad, a former French colony, for the past twelve years. In April of this year, more than 1,000 French troops were sent there to prop up the regime of Gen. Félix Malloum against attacks by the Chad National Liberation Front in the north and antigovernment demonstrations in the south. At the time, the French government insisted the troops would not engage in actual combat operations.

—Peter Archer

India: new wave of working-class struggle

By Sharad Jhaveri

There was a big spurt in working-class strikes and struggles after the March 1977 general elections, when Indira Gandhi and her Emergency were overthrown.

These actions were mainly economic and defensive in character. Politically they were relatively harmless. Moreover they were sporadic.

The Janata regime initially took a benevolent, paternalistic attitude toward this upsurge, quite reasonably thinking that it served as a safety valve for the pent-up feelings of the workers after nineteen months of Emergency.

Before coming to power, the Janata Party, with a view to garnering working-class votes, adroitly played upon the anti-working-class measures of the Gandhi regime, such as the scrapping of bonus payments, and the freezing of dearness [cost of living] allowances. It tried to establish a populist image by pledging to restore bonuses as a deferred wage, to restore trade-union rights, to allow dearness allowance payments to rise, and so on.

But after assuming power, the Janata regime began to vacillate. Only the workers' increasing militancy forced the new government to carry out its promises, and then only in a partial way.

But even these concessions do not cover all industries. Railways, the major public-sector industry, is an example. Here the bourgeois state itself is the boss, and railway workers are still denied bonus payments.

Maharashtra strike

The major working-class actions have centered around economic demands. These have included demands for parity in wages, as in the case of the fifty-four-day Maharashtra state employees strike, and for payment of back wages, as in the case of the Kanpur Swadeshi Mills workers. Some demands were also directed at undoing the Emergency regime, such as reinstatement of victimised workers and the restoration of trade-union rights.

The Maharashtra strike was the longest and most publicised such action during the March 1977 to March 1978 period. This strike, which was universally characterised as a "social upheaval," did not settle any of the issues around which it was so stubbornly waged. Neither party won. But it did not result in the defeat of the strikers either.

A noteworthy feature was the degree to which divisions amongst strikers on the basis of caste, religion, and sex were overcome. Also, women participated in a vanguard role.

The strike threw up a new, young leadership, but it also revealed the inadequacies of that leadership:

The leaders were not democratically elected by rank-and-file strikers. While reflecting the pressure and militancy of the ranks, it also withdrew the strike call unilaterally, behind the backs of the membership. It then hastily withdrew its withdrawal when it was confronted at a rally in Bombay by angry rank-and-file strikers.

The leadership's attempt to underplay the strike's political overtones and implications played into the hands of the state. The strike did not cut into the profits of the bosses. So they and their state ignored it. At that point it was necessary to extend it and politicise it.

Even though in this struggle, as in others, workers challenged their leadership, this is not yet widespread. Nor have workers formed factory committees as they did during the last phase of the Emergency. A left-wing class-struggle tendency has not emerged on a significant scale on an all-India level.

'Starve them out'

The attitude of the bosses and their state has begun to harden. Many bosses have adopted a "no negotiations" stand, declaring lockouts and attempting to break strikes through new recruitment. As a result, strike actions become prolonged, with no tangible gains in sight.

An analysis of strike statistics in the April 8 issue of *Economic and Political Weekly* confirms this strategy of "starving them out."

A total of 21.12 million man-days were lost in 1977 through strikes and lockouts. With the exception of 1976—a year of Emergency—the loss of man-days due to strikes alone was the lowest in 1977 for any year in this decade. The number of man-days lost on account of employer lockouts more than doubled from 5.20 million in 1976 to 10.67 million, in 1977, the highest figure for any year in this decade.

This analyst comments that the overall industrial situation, marked by sluggish demand for the products of a large number of industries, is specially favorable to the use of long drawn-out lockouts by the bosses.

Another sign that the bosses are on the offensive is the Janata regime's appointment of a panel to draw up an incomes and wages policy. Major trade unions have boycotted it on the ground that its purpose is to freeze wages.

The proceedings at a conference on "industrial relations" held in New Delhi on February 13-14 are indicative of the thinking of the bosses on the question of a wage freeze. More than



Striking Bombay government employees demonstrate. Only through protests such as these have Indian workers won de facto recognition of their right to strike.

300 industrialists and top executives from all over India met with Desai's labor minister.

Wage freeze

A background paper presented at this conclave called for replacement of dearness allowances and bonuses by an "incentive payment scheme." To counter alleged pressure from the trade unions, the bosses are also demanding that every government and semigovernment employee be made to sign a declaration that he "voluntarily surrenders the right to strike."

In India, the right to strike is not recognised by the constitution. It has only been through mass struggles that the working class has won de facto recognition of its right to strike.

But it has always been the policy of the bourgeois state to cripple this right to the maximum extent possible. Even in normal times, there have been severe legal and administrative restrictions on strikes.

The Janata regime seems to be moving even further in this direction. The labor ministry's memorandum on the proposed comprehensive industrial relations law says: "While the law would recognise the right to strike and of lockout, the provision of effective machinery would make the exercise of such right redundant and unnecessary."

In reality, the aim is to ban strikes outright. In regard to hospitals and any other "essential service," either party, or the regime, will have the right to refer the dispute to arbitration for adjudication. "Any strike in such establishments," the regime's memorandum states, "will be treated as illegal since it jeopardises services that are essential to the community."

This will in effect be a far more sweeping ban on strikes than what the present law provides.

Further, the proposed legislation would require all strikes to be preceded by sixty days for negotiation, sixty days for conciliation, a strike ballot at which as many as 60 percent of the workers must support the strike proposal, and a strike notice of fourteen days. Except for the required fourteen-day notice, none of these provisions are to be found in the present law. A more ominous provision would bar a leader from holding union office for up to two years if he is found to have incited an illegal strike.

Meanwhile, the bosses and their

state have launched a murderous repression against working-class struggles. This is shown by the brutal massacre of textile workers of Kanpur's Swadeshi Cotton Mills on December 6. Hundreds of workers were shot by the police, reminding us of the tragedy perpetrated by British imperialism at Jallianwalla Bagh.*

Till today the Janata regime has not appointed any judicial inquiry into the bloody affair.

At the government-owned BHEL factory in Hardwar in Uttar Pradesh, on March 23, a cop of the Central Industrial Security Force got enraged at a sweeper and along with other cops ran amok and started shooting assembled workers. This happened even though the management tried to dissuade them from shooting unarmed innocent workers.

This incident throws new light on the role of CISF cops as gendarmes of the bourgeois state in government-run factories. In this incident, no question of workers demands was even involved. The sweeper concerned told the cop on being asked to show his entry pass that he had forgotten it at home and was prepared to go and bring it.

In another case, workers were protesting the sacking of 10,000 iron-ore miners at Kirandul on April 5. The brutality of the cops knew no limits; they roasted alive 500 hutment dwellers. When children attempted to escape, they were caught and thrown into the fire. Women were raped. Forty-one rounds were fired. Cops themselves say they saw twenty-six workers drop dead. Figures on the total number of casualties are not available.

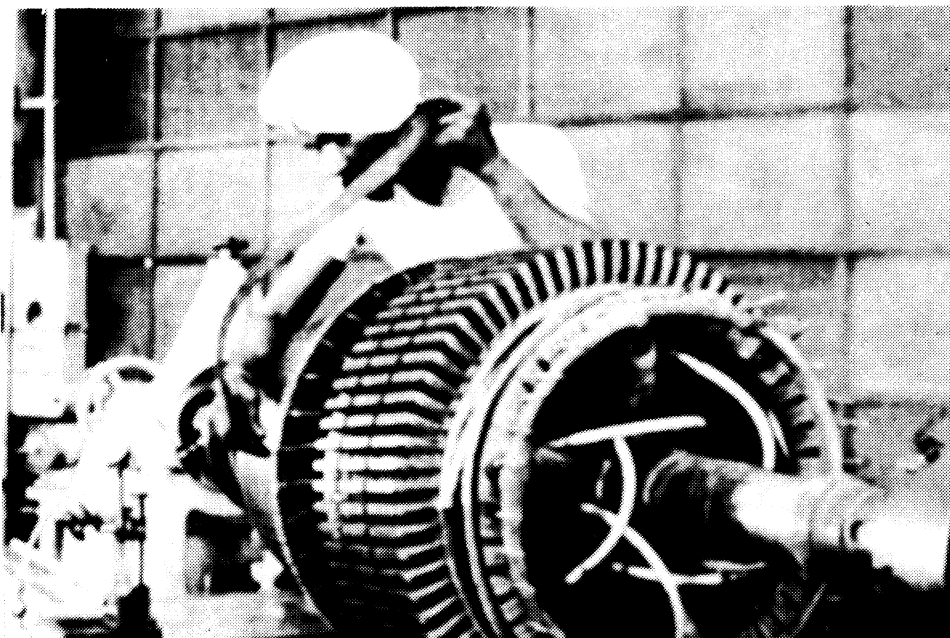
In the Faridabad industrial complex, near New Delhi, the bosses hired convicted thugs from other states as a private security guard. These goons have picked out militant or potentially militant workers or trade unionists, isolated them, and killed them. This is how the work force at Faridabad complex is kept under control. While this goes on, official cops simply look the other way.

The trade-union movement and the left political parties in India need to devise ways and means to combat the violent offensive of the bosses.

April 25, 1978

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

* A massacre of unarmed civilians on April 13, 1919, carried out by troops under British command.



Since ouster of Gandhi's 'emergency' regime, employers have staged a record number of lockouts and launched murderous repression against working-class struggles.

Where RSB goes wrong on 'Bakke' fight

By Osborne Hart

How do you build a movement against the *Bakke* decision and in defense of affirmative action?

To most people, actions such as the march on Washington of 10,000 on April 15, called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, would seem like a step in the right direction. Such actions, which involve a broad range of forces—from students, to Black groups, unions, and women—are important and should be continued.

Almost everyone involved in the struggle against the *Bakke* decision sees clearly the racist character of the decision.

So they might have been surprised to see an article that appeared in the April issue of the *Young Communist*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Student Brigade.

The RSB is an organization of young people who until recently considered themselves in agreement with the Revolutionary Communist Party. Since that organization underwent a split some months ago (see June 9 *Militant* for an account of the split) the RSB also split. Supporters of the *Young Communist* now consider themselves in agreement with the Revolutionary Socialist Brigade led by former RCP member Micky Jarvis.

The *Young Communist* article attacks the Young Socialist Alliance for its strategy in the anti-*Bakke* struggle. The crux of the RSB's argument is that the YSA focuses too much on the racist nature of the decision.

"The YSA . . . turn every issue into a question of racism," the author complains, "so that each leaflet is indistinguishable from the past. Their strategy, as well as the arguments, never attack capitalism."

'White rights'?

This is a strange argument.

The *Bakke* decision is an important centerpiece in the drive of the U.S. rulers against the most oppressed sections of society. The capitalists hope by attacking affirmative action to intensify racist and sexist practices essential to the profit system. And they seek to convince whites that affirmative action is against their interests.

Isn't it an elementary obligation of any group calling itself anticapitalist to point out the racist nature of the *Bakke* ruling and answer the "reverse discrimination" argument?

The RSB says no.

They point to a debate that recently took place in Boston between James Harris, national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and Avi Nelson, a racist local radio commentator. The *Young Com-*



Both minority and white students must be won to fight against racist 'Bakke' decision

munist falsely claims that NSCAR is a "front" for the YSA. NSCAR is a coalition in which the YSA plays an active role.

In the article, the anonymous author complains that the debate ended in a draw. "Many of the uncommitted students were white and were confused as to whether taking a stand against national oppression required abandoning their own rights." Elsewhere in the article, the RSB claims that "all nationalities are oppressed by capitalist rule."

Instead of building a movement against racism, they argue, the movement against *Bakke* has to be an "anticapitalist" movement.

Capitalism & racism

The RSB's argument is based on a completely false premise.

It's true that capitalist society oppresses all workers. It's *not* true that this oppression is exactly the same for all workers.

The ruling class tries to divide workers by granting limited privileges to some sections of the working class—such as white, male workers—at the expense of Blacks, Chicanos, women, and others.

Blacks are oppressed not only as workers but as Blacks. They are hired

last and fired first, forced into inferior schools, and deprived of needed social services.

These divisions hurt *all* workers. They make it harder to fight for better education and working and living conditions. They enable the ruling class to keep workers weak and divided.

Blinded to this divide-and-rule strategy, the RSB falls smack into the bosses' trap.

In fact, the *Young Communist* article actually refers to the most grotesque example of where their wrong position led the RSB.

They complain that the YSA "was two years ago demanding Federal troops into Roxbury [Boston]," during the fight to desegregate that city's schools.

It's true that the YSA demanded federal troops be sent to Boston to defend Black students from racist mobs. And we're proud of it.

Is the RSB proud of its role in that struggle? They shouldn't be. *They opposed desegregation.*

When the order to desegregate the schools in Boston sent white racist mobs screaming into the streets, the RSB and its parent group, then called the Revolutionary Union, did not condemn these attacks. They defended the white racists.

A leaflet passed out by the RU said, "We can't write off all white resistance to the busing plan as just racist." This was during the time when the slogan, "Niggers, go back to Africa," was scrawled on walls throughout South Boston.

Another leaflet put out by the RU complained that "anti-white sentiment has grown in Black and Latin communities, expressing itself in the attitude 'We're gonna show those honkies we can go to their schools if we want to.'"

Well, did the RU think Black students *didn't* have a right to go to white schools? That was what their position amounted to.

Although they later made some "self-criticism" of their more blatantly racist formulations, the RSB to this day has not retracted its opposition to busing. In 1977 in Chicago, RCP members participated in the Committee Against Forced Busing. The newsletter of that group stated at one point that "forced busing is the single greatest threat to our kids' education." Thus the newsletter objectively sided with the views of the racist antibusing

Continued on page 23

Third Denver killer cop acquitted

By Silvia Zapata

DENVER—Nearly a year ago, patrolmen John O'Dell, Gary Graham, and Dave Neil killed two Chicanos in cold blood in Denver's Meztizo Park.

On May 24 a jury found Neil innocent of the murder of Arthur Espinosa. Neil was the last of the killer cops to get off scot-free. Graham and O'Dell, who together pumped eight bullets into James Hinojos, were cleared by a Denver grand jury last December.

The killings sparked spontaneous protests in several city parks here. Last August 1,300 Chicanos and Blacks marched on the city-county building, demanding justice for the two slain men. The families of the two men also sponsored a rally to demand

prosecution of the cops and to demonstrate opposition to police harassment.

Since then, racist attacks by Denver cops have not ceased.

Sidney Whitecrane, a Native American, died while in police custody. Whitecrane's head "somehow" hit a trash can as he was awaiting processing at the city jail on January 14. He died of brain injuries at Denver General Hospital two days later.

Irene DeSoto, a transsexual, was shot to death by an undercover cop this spring.

An anti-Chicano hysteria hung over the trial of Neil for Espinosa's death. The Denver media played up cops' talk of reprisals from the Chicano commun-

ity. The *Rocky Mountain News* reported tight security of police stations because "there are several trials going on that represent a kind of police versus community thing."

A police sergeant stated, "Any police facility is susceptible to attack from subversives. We are under a real sense of awareness. These things can happen and will happen, especially in this day and age with all your liberals. These are Soviet trained people."

Reuben Espinosa, nephew of Arthur Espinosa, was not surprised by the not-guilty verdict. "What they said is the police have a license to gun down any individual or group of individuals whose life-style they disagree with," he charged.

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A sign of the times? Hollywood takes a

Do 'Blue Collar' and 'F.I.S.T.' signal the emergence of a new Hollywood mini-genre—worker movies?

To be sure, there have long been movies about 'ordinary' people who presumably work for wages. But for the American film industry it is new—and noteworthy—to make films about workers as workers, workers as unionists. Films in which the struggle between organized labor and the employers is central to plot and character.

Perhaps this means the people who make money by making movies sense there is growing interest in the subject—sort of a backhanded recognition of the radicalization among working people.

Here 'Militant' staff writer Andy Rose and Detroit auto worker Terry Bell take a look at Hollywood's latest look at the unions.

Their conclusions? 'Blue Collar' and 'F.I.S.T.' both fail—'Blue Collar' fails interestingly; 'F.I.S.T.' wretchedly.

'F.I.S.T.' Teamster Godfather?

F.I.S.T. Directed by Norman Jewison. Screenplay by Joe Eszterhaus and Sylvester Stallone. A United Artists film.

F.I.S.T. is apparently meant to be a working-class American epic, sort of a Teamster *Godfather*, about the rise and tragic fall of Johnny Kovak (Sylvester Stallone).

Kovak, you see, is a leader of men and an all-around good guy. He is caught in a web of corruption that drags him inexorably to his doom despite his better intentions and his final, desperate efforts to escape.

The possibilities for clichés are endless. Few are overlooked in *F.I.S.T.*

Kovak and the Federation of Interstate Truckers are supposed to be based—in some loose way—on Jimmy Hoffa and the Teamsters. It would be absurd to insist on that account that *F.I.S.T.* be accurate in every historical detail. Considerable leeway could be allowed either for ignorance or dramatic license.

So never mind the smaller distortions.

Never mind that no company in the 1930s (or today!) would voluntarily allow union organizers onto its property, not even to demonstrate that they had no support.

Never mind that company-paid

health benefits were not a major issue—much less the issue—in the Teamster organizing drives.

Never mind that because of the fragmented nature of the trucking industry, the key strike battles were not confrontations over a fixed picket line, the way *F.I.S.T.* portrays them.

And (in the later period of the movie) never mind that no senator in U.S. history has ever been known to protest because union officials used goon violence to break a wildcat strike.

These are mere annoyances.

What really makes *F.I.S.T.* a painful experience to sit through is that the entire film is conceived around one outrageous falsification. The fundamental point of the film is that the power that built the union—that enabled it to organize the unorganized and defeat the bosses—was Mafia "muscle."

This is the *F.I.S.T.* version of Teamster history:

Kovak, after leading an ineffectual work stoppage in his warehouse and getting fired, is recruited to be a union organizer. Comes the first big strike, and the workers are driven back by violence unleashed by the employers and cops.

Kovak is desperate. He turns to an old buddy who has become a successful small-time gangster. He despises the mob's methods but, as he tells another



Sylvester Stallone (center) in a scene from 'F.I.S.T.'

buddy (Honest Abe Belkin), "We need push."

Then—a few well-placed gasoline bombs, a few cops picked off by mob snipers, the strike is won, and Kovak and the Teamsters are on the road to success.

The rest of the movie is dreadfully predictable. The union grows. The mob grows. The union comes under congressional scrutiny. Honest Abe decides to help expose the corruption. Bye-bye Abe. Johnny decides to break with the gangsters. Bye-bye Johnny.

Maybe Stallone and Eszterhaus think it happened that way, but it didn't.

The organization of the Teamsters, like the rest of the major industrial unions, came out of immense class battles. The Mafia played no role, because Mafia "push" is a piffle compared to the forces that were contending—the capitalists versus the mass upsurge of rank-and-file workers.

In Stallone's mythical version, the union ranks are bystanders and paties. Their role is to cheer for Johnny. When he tells off the company-minded international union president by saying, "It's our fight, our strike, our union"—it's already a cynical hoax.

Even the incorruptible Abe Belkin—

in his final argument with Johnny before going to the feds—agrees with him that they had to let the mob in to build the union.

Part of Stallone's problem is that he is trying to combine two *opposite* characters, two *opposite* methods, and two *antagonistic* forces in Teamster history into one Johnny Kovak.

The leaders in building the Teamsters union in the 1930s were not the likes of Jimmy Hoffa. They were revolutionary socialists such as Farrell Dobbs, V. R. Dunne, and Carl Skoglund.

They were leaders not because of personal charisma but because their political program and training enabled them to direct the upsurge of the rank and file into effective class-struggle actions.

Contrary to the paternalistic and elitist attitude shown in *F.I.S.T.* ("They've all got to join up—it's for their own good," says Kovak), the revolutionary Teamster strategists aimed at all times to educate and mobilize the ranks and to develop new leaders. A democratically elected "Strike Committee of 100" was the backbone of the key Minneapolis strike battles in 1934.

Jimmy Hoffa served as a Teamster

'Blue Collar'

Blue Collar. With Richard Pryor, Yaphet Kotto, and Harvey Keitel. Screenplay by Paul Schrader and Leonard Schrader. Directed by Paul Schrader.

Blue Collar is a refreshing change from usual Hollywood filmfare because it tries to portray the alienation and frustrations of grinding factory work. The film revolves around the lives of three Detroit auto workers: Smokey, Zeke, and Jerry.

Smokey (Yaphet Kotto) is a Black ex-con, well-schooled in the art of looking out for number one, but also fiercely loyal to his friends. Zeke (Richard Pryor) is a Black production worker. Jerry (Harvey Keitel) is a white worker who supplements his income by moonlighting at a gas station.

Both Zeke and Jerry are family men trying to make ends meet any way

they can. All three friends would like to do something else with their lives besides slaving on the line.

Zeke and his friends find themselves squeezed between a profit-hungry company and a corrupt union leadership. Frustrated, they hatch an ill-conceived scheme to get ahead by ripping off the union's safe. The comical burglary goes haywire, but Zeke discovers a loan book that documents union corruption.

The three heroes talk themselves into using this material to extort the union leadership—not only for money, but for action to improve working conditions in the plant.

Predictably, their amateurish attempt fails, and they find themselves badly outmaneuvered by the crooks running the local.

As this somewhat contrived plot unfolds, the three are separated and



Kotto, Pryor, and Keitel

destroyed by the union's gangster leadership. Pegged as a hard-nose, Smokey is murdered in a fake "industrial accident." Zeke is bought off with a union job and a promise that he will be given the power to change things. And—in order to save himself after a botched attempt on his life by union hit-men—Jerry spills the beans to the FBI.

There are many facets of *Blue Collar*

that reflect the real problems and pressures auto workers face. These include the deadening effect of work on the assembly line, the Alice-in-Wonderland chase to get ahead of unpaid bills, and the frustration of being ripped off by a corrupt union leadership.

These common pressures draw Zeke, Jerry, and Smokey together as friends despite the racial prejudices fostered by the bosses. Their common enemies make their friendship real and believable. But they are ultimately destroyed because they are unable to see beyond individual solutions to their predicaments.

Zeke's desire to improve the union by "being practical" is a common reaction many workers have—in the absence of any struggle to build an alternative union leadership that really fights for the interests of the workers.

Blue Collar graphically illustrates where reliance on such "practical politics" leads—even if it fails to hint that alternatives such as the campaign for union democracy waged by Steel-

look at the unions

organizer in Michigan. In a crucial strike in 1938-39—led by Dobbs—that secured the first area contract for over-the-road drivers, Hoffa played a small role.

In 1941, however, Hoffa was part of the strong-arm squad sent by Teamster President Daniel Tobin to smash the revolutionary leadership. In the battle against Teamster Local 544 in Minneapolis (the center of the class-struggle wing of the union movement), Tobin did have some help from gangster elements. But that didn't count for much.

Infinitely more important was the help he got from Roosevelt, the FBI, and state and local authorities, who combined to frame up the Local 544 leaders and send them to prison for "sedition."

The real story of how the Teamsters union was built is told in four books by Farrell Dobbs (available from Pathfinder Press). It is not only accurate but also more interesting than *F.I.S.T.*

F.I.S.T. deserves low ratings on its politics, since it tries to make a politi-

cal statement. It is also a zero artistically.

The Kovak character is simply not believable as a leader of anything more complex than a small-town street rumble. He is inarticulate, shows no hint of intelligence, and is hopelessly inept in strategy and tactics. Maybe Stallone is simply playing himself, as he is said to have done in *Rocky*.

He shows he is "militant" by growling at the bosses, "We're going to cut your balls off."

He shows he is a "leader" by getting the truck drivers to chant "Fist! Fist! Fist!"

This doesn't come close to Hoffa, much less Dobbs.

Rod Steiger does a better job in his short time on screen, playing the senator who brings about Johnny's downfall. He reveals the "crusader" against union corruption to be something of a weasel as well.

F.I.S.T. has no sex and not enough violence to attract the Charles Bronson crowd. Maybe it will be a commercial flop. It deserves it. —Andy Rose

Get the facts behind 'F.I.S.T.'

In "The Facts Behind 'F.I.S.T.'" (*Esquire* magazine, May 23), contributing editor Steven Brill explains that the real story of the Teamsters union is "better than the one on the screen."

Under the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, Brill recounts, union activists in the "first major Teamster rebellion" had no need to "fight company violence by going to the underworld. They were an incredibly disciplined organization that manned strong barricades, brought the city to its knees, won their strike, and went on to victories at carefully chosen strategic outposts throughout the country. The union that has given its only presidential endorsements in the past twenty-five years to Eisenhower and Nixon owes the origin of its strength

to the Socialist Workers party."

Four books by Farrell Dobbs, a central leader of that Teamster rebellion, record the rich lessons of this key chapter in the labor upsurge of the 1930s. In so doing, they offer a class struggle strategy for the labor movement today.

Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., paper \$3.95

Teamster Power 256 pp., paper \$4.45

Teamster Politics 256 pp., paper \$4.45

Teamster Bureaucracy 256 pp., paper \$4.45

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.50 for postage and handling.

workers Fight Back exist. Significant numbers of workers are beginning to consider alternatives like this as the only really "practical" solution.

The theme of *Blue Collar* is powerfully expressed in Smokey's blast at the boss. "Everything they do," he explains, "the way they pit the lifers against the new boys, the old against the young, the Black against the white—is meant to keep us in our place." But the seriousness of this theme is undercut by Schrader's painful preoccupation with cute one-liners and sight gags.

Schrader also lets the company off the hook in other ways. He portrays the union as equally responsible for bad working conditions. He blots out completely the company's role as the prime cause and force behind the union misleaders.

He therefore creates a movie that at bottom is contemptuous of its own heroes. Schrader admits as much in an interview in *Seven Days* magazine where he comments that, "The workers in this film are sheep. . . . If I had

these assholes working for me I'd have them whipped and chained."

Perhaps this helps explain why co-workers I talked with expressed little enthusiasm for *Blue Collar*. There was a complete absence of the kind of discussions and debates that erupted when *Roots* was shown on TV.

Schrader's one-sided portrayal of the workers in *Blue Collar* and his anti-union bias inevitably rob this film of much of its vitality, despite strong performances by Pryor, Kotto, and Keitel and some accurate glimpses of what everyday life for auto workers is like.

Even with these many weaknesses, *Blue Collar* is a clear departure from Hollywood's usual trivialization of working-class life. But the film remains basically flawed by Schrader's one-dimensional portrayal of his characters and their aspirations for a better future.

—Terry Bell

Terry Bell is a member of United Automobile Workers of America Local 51 in Detroit.

...Dallas

Continued from page 13

extension of its 1979 ratification deadline. White is also campaigning to overturn the *Bakke* decision and for full abortion rights.

When the Texas Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the Dallas Independent School District had to desegregate its schools, White greeted the decision as a "victory for the Black and Chicano communities."

"The only practical solution to today's segregated schools is busing," he said. "Only when both white students and Black and Chicano students are bused to each others' schools will the school board be forced to equalize education."

...RSB

Continued from page 21

forces on Chicago's Southwest Side.

Having no confidence that white students can be won to oppose racism, the RSB bends to reactionary prejudices. For them, struggles by Blacks to overcome discrimination become at best a diversion from the "real" struggle. In practice, the RSB's position has consistently placed them on the same side of the street as white, racist forces.

The RSB tries to make it sound as if building the anti-*Bakke* struggle around the demand, "end capitalism" will make the movement "more radical." But this demand is designed to duck the concrete struggle against racism. Ignoring this issue in favor of an abstract call to "end capitalism" is a retreat from revolutionary politics.

The RSB, in the *Young Communist*, charges that the YSA doesn't explain that the capitalist system is to blame for *Bakke*.

This is a lie.

The YSA has explained many

...Reid

Continued from page 6

powerful and united. To defeat them we must mobilize the power of women and our allies, especially in the Black and labor movements, into a united force, so powerful that our just demands cannot be ignored.

Our movement must be inclusive of all who support equality for women and all in the movement must be equal—there can be no second-class feminists.

Every effort must be bent to unite all supporters of the ERA in a massive campaign to gain the victory that is within our grasp.

In sisterhood,
Willie Mae Reid

times in speeches, leaflets, and in our newspaper, the *Young Socialist*, that racism is a basic feature of capitalism. Furthermore, we are active in the struggle against racism, a central component of the fight against the capitalist system itself.

The *Young Communist* article claims, "The YSA champions itself as a leader of the struggle against national oppression, but in fact only serves to prolong it."

Look who's talking.

In Boston, the YSA fought for the right of Black students to attend any school they chose.

The RSB was on the other side, trying to stop "forced busing."

Like it or not, the RSB leadership, by their opposition to concrete struggles for Black rights, are objectively aiding capitalism's efforts to keep the working class divided. And an organization that does that has no business calling itself socialist, communist, or revolutionary.

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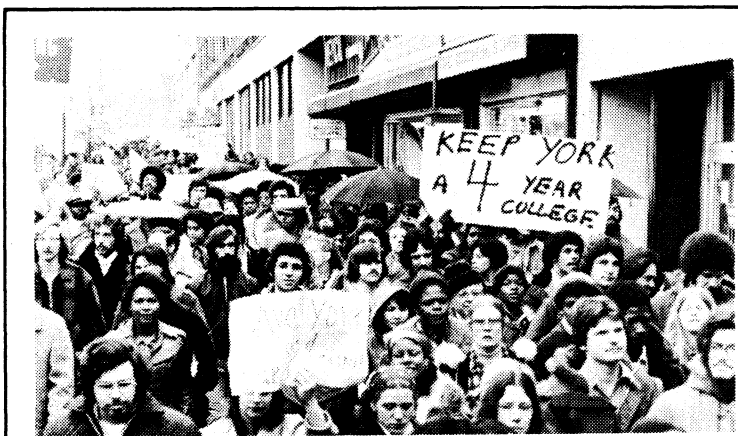
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York College wins four-year status

The New York City Board of Higher Education approved May 29 a plan to maintain the status of York College, located in a predominantly Black section of Queens, as a four-year school.

Originally planned as a four-year school, York got the short end of the stick when it came around to financing. Its "campus" is a converted department store.

Most York students are Black or Puerto Rican, and many attend night classes after work.

Students and faculty organized several large demonstrations recently when the city proposed closing down York altogether as part of sweeping educational cutbacks aimed at the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Disease Control reported May 26 that the number of legal abortions went up 16 percent from 1975 to 1976, while the number of abortion-related deaths declined. No figures are available for 1977, when restrictions on government aid for abortions became law, forcing many women to seek illegal abortions.

MOHAWK ACCEPTS FINE

Rather than endure another trial, Richard Mohawk pleaded no contest to a heroin possession charge. He was fined \$500 and given a year to pay it.

Along with Paul Skyhorse, Mohawk was recently acquitted by a jury in a frame-up murder trial that lasted nearly a year. The two American Indian Movement activists had been imprisoned for three and a half years before winning their freedom.

While in prison, Mohawk said, he met with an inmate who proved to be an important defense witness. After she left, he saw a small packet on the floor.

Fearing that a drug possession charge would damage the credibility of his witness, Mohawk took the packet to dispose of it in his cell. On his way back he was stopped by a guard, who searched him and found the drug.

While pleading no contest to the charge, Mohawk emphasized he was opposed to the use of drugs and had never taken heroin.

PUT KOREAGATE BEHIND US?

Deputy Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti said June 1 he expected no more indictments of past or present members of Congress in connection with the "Koreagate" influence-peddling and bribery scandal.

Civiletti told reporters that the Justice Department had "about exhausted the amount of heavy information we have had from Tongsun Park," the former South Korean rice dealer.

Park has admitted spending \$850,000 in bribes to two dozen past and present members of

Congress, but only two members of Congress have been indicted.

Meanwhile, former Nixon aide John Nidecker told a congressional committee that a top South Korean official gave him \$10,000 as a bribe at a National Prayer Breakfast in Seoul in 1974. Nidecker said he turned the money over to the American Embassy.

TWENTY-FIVE MILLION LOOKING FOR WORK

A recent study, conducted by the Daniel Yankelovich Company, found that 25 million people want jobs. The government's estimates put the number actively seeking work at 7 million.

The largest component of the

job seekers, Yankelovich said, is women "who no longer feel that they should stay in the home even if they can afford not to take a paid outside job."

The pollster noted that this was a permanent phenomenon: "America will never go back to the time when it was generally acceptable for the man to be the breadwinner and provider and the woman to be only the economically dependent mother and homemaker," he said.

FOUR MORE HOUSTON COPS INDICTED

A federal grand jury June 2 charged four Houston cops in the February 1977 shooting death of an unarmed teen-ager. Danny Howard Mays was

Widows sue in scaffold disaster

Two women whose husbands died in the April 27 collapse of a construction scaffold at a nuclear power plant site in West Virginia have sued for \$5 million each. The targets of the suit include owners of the plant and construction firms.

Families of other victims have asked President Carter to initiate an investigation independent of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA).

Richard Bowser, chair of the Willow Island Disaster Organization, declared that "the main thing is that

OSHA is in there not to find the cause of the accident but to find violations of their regulations. If their findings don't satisfy the families, we want an independent investigation."

Meanwhile, OSHA announced May 31 it would issue citations "next week" for violations at Willow Island.

On May 25, a 138,000-volt power line at the site broke loose. One worker was hospitalized. Other workers assigned near the power line refused to continue work.



YSA BACKS JOBS MARCH

The New York Young Socialist Alliance has issued a statement in support of the June 9 march for jobs called by the New York March for Jobs Committee.

"We demand jobs at union wages for all youth now," the statement said, "including quotas and affirmative-action programs to overcome the disproportionate unemployment faced by minority youth."

"In March 1978, a record 337,000 New York job applicants took U.S. Postal Service tests for an expected 3,150 openings. Last month New York City youth protested Mayor Koch's announcement that only 50,000 CETA summer jobs would be available—down 15,000 from last year."

"The money to provide jobs is there. The \$126 billion military budget is one source of funds. Taxing the banks and

corporations is another. Shortening the workweek from forty to thirty hours—with no cut in pay—would also create new jobs."

"A massive direct-action campaign combining teach-ins, pickets, rallies, and marches—like the New York march for jobs—is the way to force the government to begin to provide jobs for youth."

BAN ON MEDICAID FOR ABORTIONS VOTED

The House Appropriations Committee June 1 approved a ban on federal Medicaid funds for abortion except to save the life of a pregnant woman. There was no debate. Last year the full House passed a similar measure, which was later altered to agree with a Senate bill adding incest and rape victims to the list of women eligible for abortion aid.

Meanwhile, the Center for

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

RALLY IN DEFENSE OF HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speakers: George Young, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Clovis Campbell, NAACP; Tony Abril, state representative. Fri., June 16, 7:30 p.m. Pinal Room Memorial Union, Arizona State University. Ausp: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee & ASU MECHA. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

KANSAS

MARCH AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER. At John Redmond Reservoir, near Burlington, Kansas, against Wolf Creek nuke now under construction. Sun., June 25, noon. Ausp: Sunflower Alliance. For more information call (816) 531-6403 or 753-5370.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

CHINA AFTER MAO. Speaker: John Goebel, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June

11, 7:30 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Strikers and unemployed free. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

1978 NEW ORLEANS SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF RALLY. Speakers: Christine Gavreau, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress; Joel Aber, SWP candidate for school board. Sat., June 17, 7:30 p.m.: reception; 8:30 p.m.: rally. 3319 S. Carrollton. Donation \$1; \$2 reception and rally. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

MARXISM VS. TERRORISM. Speaker: Joyce Warren, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 16, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MINNESOTA MINNEAPOLIS

JULIUS & ETHEL ROSENBERG MEM-

ORIAL MEETING. Speaker: Marc Shaver, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 23, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

WHAT STRATEGY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER? Speakers: Paul Schaeffer, KC People's Energy Projects; Bob Kutchko, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 18, 7:30 p.m. 4715 Troost. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

OREGON PORTLAND

NUCLEAR POWER: DANGER TO HUMANITY. Speakers: Beverly Stein, Trojan Decommissioning Alliance; Sam Warden, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 16, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum & Young

Socialist Alliance. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

TEXAS DALLAS

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. 8 classes on "Building the Revolutionary Party." Every Wed. evening, 7:30 p.m., June 7-July 26. 5 classes on American Labor Struggles, every Sun., 2:30 p.m., June 11-July 16 (except July 9). 2215 Cedar Crest Blvd. Donation: \$1 each series. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Glova Scott, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. mayor; Tony Grillo, SWP candidate for D.C. city council; Maceo Dixon, SWP National Committee member. Fri., June 16, 7 p.m. All Souls' Church, 16th & Harvard. Refreshments will be served. Donation: \$1. Ausp: D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (201) 797-7699.

U.S. out of Africa!

ATLANTA. Hands off Zaire! Speakers to be announced. Fri., June 16, 8 p.m. Georgia State Univ., Student Activities Building, Room 463. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

INDIANAPOLIS. U.S. out of Africa. Speakers: Billy Jones, Socialist Workers Party; Molisi Mokwena, South African student activist. Sat., June 17, 3 p.m. 4163 N. College. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

MILWAUKEE. The freedom struggle in Africa. Speaker: Malik Miah, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 16, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

MINNEAPOLIS. The liberation struggles in Southern Africa. Speakers to be announced. Fri., June 16, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

charged with "violating the civil rights" of Randall Alan Webster. The other three cops were charged with helping to cover up the killing of Webster by planting a gun on the body.

A fifth cop had already been charged in the cover-up.

A state grand jury had previously cleared all the cops of any wrongdoing, but pressure from the victim's family forced the federal government to carry out its own seven-month investigation.

NEW YORK TO APPEAL DESEGREGATION ORDER

Attorneys for the New York City Board of Education said May 30 they would appeal a decision ordering Andrew Jackson High School desegregated. Jackson High has more than 2,500 students, only one of whom is white.

The city will argue that federal Judge John Dooling had no right to order a desegregation plan, since the board did not intend to keep Jackson segregated.

Quote unquote

"If the Cubans did not do it, it is up to them to show that they did not do it."

—House Republican leader John Rhodes on alleged Cuban involvement in Zaire.

LESBIAN RIGHTS VICTORY

On June 2 Judge Robert Bowen ruled in a Minneapolis Family Court that a mother's sexual orientation had not interfered with her ability to be a good parent. The husband in the case had tried to get custody of their three sons because he said he feared their mother's homosexuality would influence the children.

The judge said he saw no reason to take the children from their mother, adding that "both parents are good parents."

Hunger strikes protest Chile repression

Sparked by a hunger strike of more than 200 people in Santiago, Chile, similar actions demanding information from the Chilean military dictatorship about 2,500 "disappeared" political prisoners have spread throughout the world. The hunger strikers have won open support in Chile, including from an archdiocese of the Catholic church.

In New York City, the Ad Hoc Committee to Support Chilean Hunger Strikes, a group of Chilean exiles, has announced a hunger strike in solidarity with these protests. In a statement the group called for the right of all exiles to return to Chile, for an unconditional general amnesty for political prisoners, and for dissolution of the brutal Chilean secret police.

COURT WON'T BLOCK LITTLE EXTRADITION

The Supreme Court refused June 5 to block extradition of Joanne Little from New York to North Carolina. Little and her attorney, William Kunstler, charged her life would be in jeopardy if she were forced to return.

Little became a symbol for the women's liberation move-

ment and the Black movement in 1975 when she was accused of murder after fighting off a jailer who tried to rape her. A national defense campaign won her an acquittal.

She fled North Carolina last fall, fearing for her life.

"I hadn't expected this kind of a Supreme Court to do anything for me," Little commented.

New from Monad Press

André Breton (1896-1966) was the founder and major theorist of surrealism, a vital current in modern art and literature. He produced manifestos, interviews, and theoretical writings on poetry, painting, psychology, anthropology, and politics.

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The Great Society

Harry Ring



Well laid plans—In the event of nuclear attack, a group of "district directors" will assume dictatorial power in England to get the island running again. (Later, they may be legally accountable for their conduct.) The plan is based on the assumption that of a population of fifty-five million, forty-five million to forty-nine million will be killed, including the prime minister and his cabinet.

What better reason—Tropicana is now peddling a juice drink containing only 15 to 20 percent orange juice. A representative said they were worried a bit because "our name was built on pure juice, but this is a little cheaper."

Enlightened industry—Johns-Mansville recently banned smoking in its asbestos mines and plants and will no longer hire smokers. They found that asbestos workers who smoke run a significantly higher risk of incurring cancer. Asbestos workers who don't smoke only run a normally high risk of cancer.

House-hunting?—The old Mellon mansion in Pittsburgh is available. Twenty-four rooms and a four-car garage. The master bedroom has his and her baths, separate dressing areas, and a pantry kitchen. Separate apartment area for maid or butler. \$700,000.

Travel tip—If you're planning on visiting Los Angeles, you might bear in mind recent EPA findings that brief exposure to higher levels of pollution may be unhealthier than longer exposure to lower levels.

Flat feet?—The National Pork Producers Council suggests pigs could be trained to do watch duty. "Pigs are good animals to train and are very smart," says Marvin Garner of the pork council. "A hog will notice a stranger and react to it," he observed. "They really can't run after it and bite it, but they can react and notice it."

Their Government

Carter's coal commission

President Carter chose a two-and-a-half-hour stopover in Charleston, West Virginia, May 26 to announce three appointments to his Commission on the Coal Industry.

The commission is Carter's attempt to insure he never goes through another roasting like the one he received during the national coal miners' strike this winter. The final straw came when the miners defied the almighty presidential authority and refused to return to work under the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act.

The commission has one year to "identify and solve" the problems that led to this and other coalfield "class warfare," as Labor Secretary Ray Marshall puts it.

Carter abandoned earlier talk about a larger "shirt sleeves" group that would have included rank-and-file miners, Appalachian educators, and health specialists. Instead he settled on a five-person voting commission, with eight consultative members.

One voting commissioner is to be nominated by management and one by the United Mine Workers, although they are not to come from the ranks of management or the union. The three others are presumably the perennial representatives of the "public." Those are the three Carter announced.

The industry rep has yet to be picked. You could have fooled me.

Heading the commission is John D. Rockefeller IV. Rockefeller spends his time these days as governor of West Virginia. But he is best known as one of the heirs to the Rockefeller fortune—the Rockefeller oil and coal fortune.

Appointed as another rep of the "public" is W. Dewey Presley, who bills himself as a Dallas banker. He is also coincidentally on the board of directors of Continental Oil. Continental owns Consolidation Coal, the nation's second largest coal producer.

The third named by Carter to the commission is W. Willard Wirtz, a Washington lawyer and former U.S. secretary of labor. Wirtz embodies a certain continuity—he was a member of the union-busting War Labor Board during World War II.

Carter said the commission will have five priorities:

- general economic health of the coal industry;
- labor-management relations in the coalfields;

- development and application of new technologies using coal;
- impact of federal regulations on the coal industry; and
- health, safety, and living conditions in the coalfields.

You can bet health, safety, and coalfield living conditions will come last in any deliberations by this crew of industry-oriented commissioners.

The purpose of the board is *not* to find ways to better the lives of coal miners. Rather it aims to implement some of the union-busting schemes the coal operators tried but failed to get into the UMWA contract. Like fining or firing wildcat strikers.

The "friends" of labor in Congress jumped the gun and added a section to the labor law reform bill offering the courts broader jurisdiction in breaking wildcat strikes.

Recently the UMWA announced its opposition to this part of the pending bill—Section 13—calling it an antilabor provision. "It's supposedly going to stop wildcat strikes," said UMWA lobbyist Christopher Lopiano. "But this will cause them to spread further and faster than ever before."

The fact that the West Virginia Coal Association also opposes Section 13—the coal bosses think it leaves too many loopholes in favor of union locals—has prompted Sen. Jennings Randolph (D-W. Va.) to suggest that maybe it should be dropped.

This is reasonable, the senator's aide told reporters, because of the president's commission on coal problems.

In other words, let the commission take care of ending wildcats and leave the senators to less controversial antilabor legislation.

Carter's commission can mean nothing but bad news for coal miners. And it's certainly not going to solve "class warfare" in the coalfields—whether it has one year in which to do it or ten.

The miners' militancy stems from the coal operators' practice of always putting their profits before the lives and health of mine workers.

And *that* will end only when miners unite—not with millionaires, oil executives, and Democratic Party politicians—but with other working people to take industry out of the hands of greedy capitalists so that it can be run in the interests of workers.

—Nancy Cole

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

1950s witch-hunt victims

On June 19, 1953, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed, having been charged with stealing atom bomb "secrets" for the Soviet Union. They were victims of the government's vicious anti-communist witch-hunt following World War II.

After their frame-up trial in 1951, a public outcry by millions demanded the Rosenbergs' release. The *Militant* joined this campaign, exposing the government conspiracy against them.

One day before the Rosenbergs' scheduled execution, court Justice William Douglas issued a special stay-of-execution order pending further investigation. The *Militant* reported at the time, "What induced Douglas to issue his stay was undoubtedly the tremendous worldwide cry of protest against this political murder and the growing doubts and uneasiness among millions of Americans about the justice of the verdict."

The execution was delayed, but only for one day. President Eisenhower saw to that. "Moving with the speed and venom of a rattler," the *Militant* reported, "Eisenhower's Attorney General Brownell demanded that the Supreme Court, which had adjourned for the summer, be reconvened within 24 hours for the sole purpose of overriding the Douglas decision in time to permit the execution to take place as scheduled."

Paying no heed to the millions in this country and abroad who were demanding justice, the government electrocuted the Rosenbergs on June 19.

The *Militant's* tribute to the Rosenbergs noted, "There are tens of millions here and abroad who recognize this case for what it was—a bestial act of capitalist class terrorism intended to help intimidate into silence all who would criticize or oppose Wall Street's policies abroad or at home."

Twenty-five years later, the government is still trying to keep a tight lid on the Rosenberg murder. But the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, formed by the Rosenbergs' sons, has forced out some of the truth. On June 19 the committee is sponsoring a meeting at Union Square in New York City to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Rosenbergs' death.

Below are excerpts from the June 22, 1953, *Militant*. —Priscilla Schenk

Not since the days of the Sacco-Vanzetti executions has there been so powerful a wave of indignation abroad against capitalist injustice in the United States.

The administration has been in such a mad rush to carry through the execution because it wishes to head off the mounting opposition to its action. This Big Business government has been impelled by four major political motives to go through with the executions as fast as possible.



Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

1. It seeks to strike terror into the hearts of radical critics of its imperialist policies and police-state methods. The fate of the Rosenbergs is to serve as a grim threat to all present and prospective opponents of Washington's war plans.

2. It aims to place a tighter gag on those who are troubled by its encroachments on American liberties. Not only can jobs be lost in the loyalty purge. Not only can reputations be ruined through false accusations by Congressional witch hunters. But the Rosenberg precedent can prove that even lives can be forfeited.

3. It wants to buttress the system of stool-pigeoning which has become one of the girders of the FBI inquisition. Greenglass, the chief witness against the Rosenbergs, saved his neck and spared his wife by turning state's evidence against them. The Rosenbergs themselves were offered commutation from death if they would admit their guilt and become informers against others. This is one of the most important reasons for the deadly pressure exerted upon them.

4. Finally, Eisenhower's administration hopes to appease and strengthen the McCarthyite currents, preparing them for future attacks upon the most vulnerable sections of the labor movement.

Thus death for the Rosenbergs means one of the greatest triumphs to date for the warmakers, witch hunters and enemies of labor in this country.

That is also why the labor movement has had the duty to be in the front line of the fight. The sinister forces hastening to exact their blood vengeance from the Rosenbergs, in defiance of world public opinion and the best traditions of American democracy, are not going to stop there. After their first taste of blood, they will be on the prowl for more.

Emboldened by the inactivity and cowardice of the labor leaders, the McCarthyites will reach out for bigger prey in the trade unions. They will not show any gratitude to the labor leaders later for their refusal to defend the Rosenbergs.

Whatever the Supreme Court decides in this case, the labor movement must realize that in defending all victims of the witch hunters it is defending its own interests and its very existence.

Letters

Cops murder Black

It is most unfortunate that the ugly head of racism is still rearing itself in a progressive city like Los Angeles. I'm referring to the apparently brutal murder of NAACP youth worker Ferdinand Bell while in police custody. [See "L.A. Blacks protest death of NAACP activist," May 12 *Militant*.]

Nevertheless, his work and goal will eventually be vindicated in the eyes of civilized people.

Please pass on my condolences to the Bell family. V.A.

Chicago, Illinois

Supporter's criticisms

I have long been a supporter of the *Militant* and it is in the interests of keeping the *Militant* number one that I make these observations.

There has been a tendency to use caricature drawings of bourgeois political figures and Stalinist bureaucrats that are unnecessarily insulting.

Recently I noticed a drawing that likened Carter's face to a pig's. For some time I have observed similar sorts of caricatures in the pages of *Intercontinental*

Press/Inprecor and the *Militant* that would seem more appropriately found in the press of the ultraleft Maoists than in Marxist journals.

Also, the "In Brief" on June 2 mentioned one of the latest organizational difficulties for the Spartacist League. I feel it disturbs the non-sectarian tradition of the *Militant*. Things like leaving the "falsely" out of "small sectarian group that falsely proclaims to be Trotskyist" gets the point across without reducing the paper to the mud-slinging type. The Spartacists have long been a tiresome pain, but this in no way warrants the smugness the article betrays in accounting the difficulties of our opponents on the left.

These are minor criticisms and written only with the intentions of maintaining the high quality of the Trotskyist press.

Vaughn Hogikyan
San Francisco, California

ACLU & the Nazis

While I agree with Steve Clark's story on how best to oppose the Nazi march in Skokie, I disagree with his attack on the American Civil Liberties Union for its role in the issue. [See "How to defeat Nazi threat in Skokie" in May 26 *Militant*.]

The point of the article is that antifacist persons and groups should unite in massive demonstrations against the Nazis instead of relying on governmental bodies to stop the stormtroopers. Given this contention, Clark's attack on the ACLU defense of the Nazis' right to march is contradictory.

Had the ACLU not challenged the Skokie law on First Amendment grounds, the results would have been far-reaching. If the Skokie government were allowed to ban the Nazi demonstration, the result would be that a governmental body would have determined which ideas are presented to the people instead of allowing the people themselves to decide what ideas they want to embrace. This occurrence would be totally against the ideas of free speech and democracy, which



the Socialist Workers Party supports. It would also be a dangerous precedent indeed.

As Clark points out, the law in question effectively bans all types of demonstrations in Skokie, including anti-Nazi demonstrations. A show of contempt for the Nazis would not be legal had the ACLU not intervened.

Considering the federal government's history of harassment of the SWP, I would think the party would support the ACLU's actions on the principle of free speech and, in a more practical vein, as a means of protecting itself from more legalized government suppression.

As for the violence the Nazis and other fanatics have perpetrated against the SWP, the individuals should be brought to justice. But those prosecuted must be tried for their violent actions not for their beliefs.

The government must not be allowed to destroy the Nazis; the Nazis must be allowed to destroy themselves.

Joel Hollis
Austin, Texas

Disagrees on Ireland

I think you should do more research into Irish problems, both sides.

You might understand that you are pumping for all of Ireland to be turned over to

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Learning About Socialism

Are there workers states in Africa?

On May 4, Ernest Mandel, the noted Belgian Marxist economist and leader of the Fourth International, spoke before a meeting of some 600 people at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

During the discussion period following his talk, Mandel was asked his opinion of the future of capitalism in Africa, given the series of defeats for Portuguese colonialism that occurred in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. He was also asked if the nationalizations occurring in Angola were similar to those that took place in Yugoslavia following World War II.

Below are excerpts from Mandel's answer.

Imperialism has suffered some defeats in Africa. Personally, I would say that they suffered a grave defeat in Angola.

This has led to a spread and an intensification of the national liberation movement. This movement has now spread to the southern belt of African countries: Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa.

But in my opinion no new workers states have come into existence in Africa.

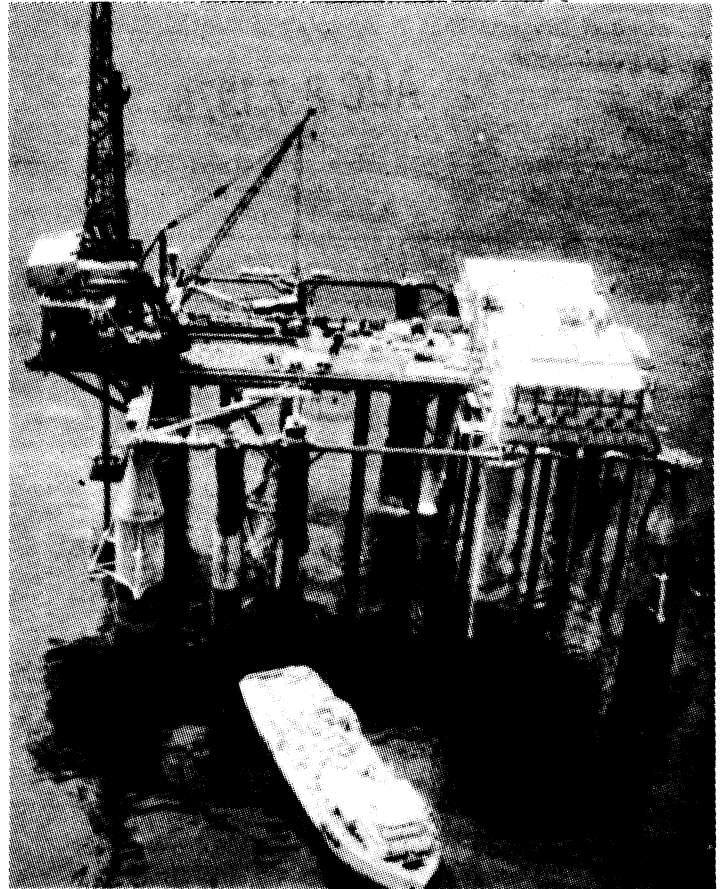
I do not see workers states in Angola, Mozambique, or in Guinea-Bissau. I see essentially the same phenomenon that happened in Algeria: the transfer of power to a petty-bourgeois nationalist party or grouping that tries to get as many concessions from imperialism as it can but that continues to collaborate with imperialism.

Let's wait until Gulf Oil is nationalized in Angola before we discuss any basic change in the Angolan state. For the time being, the thing seems rather clear. Let's wait until the main ties between these countries and the world capitalist market are cut. But again, for the time being, things seem rather clear.

And especially, let's wait until we understand better and on a long-term basis what is happening with the primitive accumulation of capital in these countries.

There is one thing you should learn from the experiences of Egypt and Algeria and from the experiences of many semicolonial countries. In a workers state, accumulation of private property, of the means of production, into private hands is made illegal and is only possible in a completely marginal and illegal way.

In other countries where the bulk of industry, banking, and transport represent only 10 percent of the gross national product, they can be nationalized without stopping in any way primitive accumulation of private fortunes and private capital.



Gulf Oil rig off coast of Angola

You can, on that basis, after having nationalized nearly all of industry and banking, easily relaunch a bourgeois class. We see this now in Egypt and Algeria, with millionaire entrepreneurs, people who pocket great fortunes and who have not been disturbed by the nationalizations of what is, I repeat, a very minor sector of the economy, given the essentially agricultural nature of that economy.

So I don't see any comparison with Yugoslavia. In Yugoslavia there was a genuine socialist revolution led by a bureaucratic workers party and in bureaucratic forms. It is not some industries that were nationalized. All private property was suppressed and made illegal. For that reason you had no possibility of private accumulation of capital going beyond a very narrow limit. The capitalist class was expropriated, destroyed. The capitalist state was destroyed. You had a new state, a new class in power. All the rest flows from that.

Irish Catholics, not known for fairness either.

With more open-minded research, you will find that Irish Protestants are just as much Irish and just as deserving as Irish Catholics. You will find that calling in British troops was an Irish decision and not imposed from outside. They are wanted by Irish Protestants to prevent greater violence than is now present. The IRA (Irish Catholic terrorists) are killing more civilians by design, not by accident.

J. Snyder

College Park, Maryland

[In reply—Historically, Irish Protestants have held certain privileges in Ireland at the expense of the Catholic population. These include better housing, jobs, and positions of political authority. This is because the Protestant population was originally a settler population imposed by Britain on Ireland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to maintain British rule.

[This is what the civil rights struggle that erupted in the late 1960s was directed against.

[British troops were sent to Ireland to suppress that struggle. An article in the March 24 *Militant* pointed out that the troops, supposedly there to even-handedly enforce the peace, directed the bulk of their repressive activities against the Catholic communities.

[What the *Militant* is "pumping for" is an independent socialist Ireland in which neither Catholics nor Protestants exercise any special privileges over one another. Today, the struggle for that goal means supporting the struggle of Catholics against their oppression and campaigning for British troops out of Ireland.

[While the *Militant* is strongly opposed to individual terrorism, it should be pointed out that the real source of violence in Northern Ireland is the occupation of that country by British troops.]

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.

Correction

A typographical error occurred in the June 9 *Militant*. In the article, "Why Sanchez Vilella is No Alternative for Puerto Rico," the sentence, "The PSP [Puerto Rican Socialist Party] claims that statehood is that solution," should have read, "The PNP [New Progressive Party] claims that statehood is that solution."

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THE MILITANT

STEARNS MINERS' STRIKE

Company steps up attacks

By Nancy Cole

The Blue Diamond Coal Company has stooped to a new union-busting low in its two-year battle with striking miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

After a year and a half of refusing to even talk with the United Mine Workers, the company has announced it recently signed a contract with a different "union." This Justus Employees Association is made up of seventy-nine scabs now crossing the picket line.

In a statement released June 2, UMWA President Arnold Miller said, "It is ironic that on the date scheduled for the resumption of talks with the UMW the company announced it had signed a contract with the Justus Employees Association, an organization which materialized almost overnight."

"This is just another example of how this company has frustrated the efforts of their employees to get a fair contract with reasonable safety protection."

The central issue in the strike is safety. The miners are demanding a UMWA contract so that they can establish a union safety committee to help enforce laws and contract provisions.

Blue Diamond has adamantly refused to even consider such a union-controlled committee, which management says would cut across its right to control working conditions.

The new contract Blue Diamond claims to have signed with its company union does not include a safety committee. It does include a specific no-strike clause to ensure that Stearns miners would be powerless to enforce safety regulations.

"It's just a labor contract, just like all unions want to sign," an unidentified Blue Diamond spokesperson told the *Louisville Courier-Journal*.

"They [Blue Diamond] don't expect you to work in an unsafe condition," said scab Caste Basham. "Any time they have an unsafe condition, they correct it."

That statement would do little to convince the families of twenty-six men killed in two explosions at another Blue Diamond-owned mine in Scotia, Kentucky. Miners at Stearns vowed to bring the UMWA to their mine just three weeks after that March 1976 tragedy in Scotia.

They've been fighting for their lives ever since—not just against Blue Diamond, but against the courts, state police, and Democratic and Republican officials as well.

Some big-business commentators would wish the strike over. The *Wall Street Journal* headlined its June 2 story, "UMW Loses Bid To Get Contract at Blue Diamond." The first sentence concluded that the two-year confrontation "appears to be over."

Not so, say Stearns strikers. UMWA organizer Lee Potter told the *Militant* that the company union doesn't come close to representing the majority of the miners who voted to form a union in March 1976.

Thirty-three of those crossing the picket line worked for Stearns before the strike began. But nearly 130 of the original miners are walking the picket line and receive strike benefits. The picket line is still up, Potter said.

The UMWA has filed a complaint with the

National Labor Relations Board, charging the Stearns Mining Company (subsidiary of Blue Diamond) with refusal to bargain and with company dominance over the so-called Justus Employees Association.

The union is currently organizing informational picket lines in various cities to call attention to strike issues and bring pressure to bear on companies and institutions that have connections with Blue Diamond.

Picketing began May 23 in Frankfort, Kentucky. More than seventy-five strikers and supporters marched through the state capitol, protesting Gov. Julian Carroll's long-term stationing of state police units in Stearns.

The protesters carried signs with enlarged photographs of the October 1977 state police attack on Stearns strikers. The placards read, "Carroll's Cops or Company Thugs—Stop Police Harassment at Stearns."

On June 1 and 2, strikers traveled to Georgia to target the John Bulow Cambell Foundation in Atlanta and Berry College in Rome. The foundation, which is connected with the Presbyterian Church USA, is the second-largest Blue Diamond stockholder. Blue Diamond's president is on the Berry College Board of Visitors.

The strikers also plan to picket Citibank in New York City, McLouth Steel Corporation in Detroit, and Heppenstall Company in Pittsburgh. Workers in the latter two plants are organized by the United Steelworkers.



Part of recent rally in support of Stearns miners

Militant/Nancy Cole

Miss. Blacks spread economic boycott

By Ed Warren

HOLLY SPRINGS, Miss.—Chanting "Justice for all," and singing civil rights songs, more than 200 Black demonstrators marched June 3 from the church in this town's Black community to the court house square to protest police brutality and job discrimination.

Many of the marchers wore t-shirts printed with the words "Justice for all"—slogan of the growing protests here and in nearby Tupelo.

As the marchers made their way into the town's downtown area, they were joined by close to 200 more protesters.

The struggle here was sparked by the police murder May 20 of Gary Garrett, a Black youth. Garrett had been extradited from Memphis to Holly Springs, arriving at the city jail that Saturday.

At midnight Garrett was "found" hanged in his cell.

In response to Garrett's murder, the United League of Northern Mississippi, a civil rights group, initiated protest actions—including an economic boycott of the town's white merchants.

The boycott is demanding an investigation of the Garrett case and an end to the harassment and brutality of

Holly Springs cops against Blacks.

In addition, boycotters are demanding that Holly Springs merchants and the city government end their blatant racial discrimination in hiring.

Although 60 percent of the town's population is Black, only a very small number of Blacks work in the city. In fact, 90 percent of the Black population is forced to travel to Memphis—nearly fifty miles away—to find work.

According to United League organizers, the boycott has been 80 percent effective.

At the rally in the court house square, speaker after speaker detailed the discrimination and brutality Holly Springs Blacks face daily.

Walter Stanfield, leader of the United League in nearby Tupelo, expressed the solidarity of Blacks in that city, where a similar boycott is going on.

Alfred "Skip" Robinson, president of the United League, told the demonstrators:

"The struggles of Blacks in Tupelo and Holly Springs are not just isolated cases. People across the country know about our struggle.

"If we have to, we'll organize every Black in this country to defend our rights to a job and equality."

Robinson scored the hypocrisy of Jimmy Carter's human rights rhetoric. If Carter is looking for violations of human rights, he said, "all he has to do is look practically next-door to Georgia—at Holly Springs, Mississippi—to see human rights being denied."

Calling for more protests and a continuation of the boycott, Robinson said, "We did it in the sixties and then quit. But the United League says now, we won't quit this time.

"We're going to continue to fight until our demands are met."



Holly Springs protesters demand end to police brutality, job bias.

Militant/Bob Allen