

THE MILITANT

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

Defend Newport News strike!

Solidarity needed to block union-busting



NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Thousands of unionists marched and rallied March 2 to support landmark organizing drive by United Steelworkers. See pages 8-9.

Militant/Eric Simpson

Solidarity with striking shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia, is now more urgently needed than ever before.

On March 2—while several thousand unionists marched and rallied to support the strike, and while a host of international union officials delivered pledges of support—a federal appeals court announced its decision on company charges

An editorial

against United Steelworkers Local 8888.

Tenneco, the owner of the shipyard, has taken the court ruling as a signal to sharply escalate its strikebreaking efforts.

Claiming that the court decertified the USWA and that it is now free to fire strikers, the company is seeking to get a back-to-work panic going.

As the *Militant* goes to press, the strikers are standing firm and picket lines are bigger than ever.

The strikers' courageous stand should be backed up by the broadest possible show of solidarity all across the country—from resolutions and financial aid to mass rallies and demonstrations.

That's the way to let Tenneco, the courts, and the antilabor politicians know that the union movement will not tolerate strikebreaking in Newport News.

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**Working class
moves to
center stage**

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
**International
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INSIDE review

U.S. HANDS OFF YEMEN!

Carter talks peace, sends
warships to Middle East

—PAGE 3

Attacks on Angola

On March 6 the white racist government of South Africa invaded Angola with troops and warplanes.

Under the guise of checking a "buildup of guerrillas" along the Namibia border, South African forces attacked what they said were bases of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). SWAPO is the nationalist group struggling for independence and Black majority rule in the South African colony of Namibia.

This is the first large-scale invasion of Angola by the apartheid regime since May 1978. During last year's attack, hundreds of African refugees were killed.

It is the second major military assault on Angola in the past two weeks. On February 26 Rhodesian planes bombed Zimbabwean guerrilla bases in Angola.

These terrorist attacks again point to the revolutionary role of the Cuban forces in Africa. During Angola's struggle for independence in 1975-76, Cuban troops were decisive in crushing a South African invasion. Cuba has vowed to continue its support for the freedom fighters in Namibia and Zimbabwe, as well as its help in defending Angola. These internationalist actions have given inspiration to liberation fighters throughout southern Africa.

The white minority regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia could not carry out their terrorist raids without the continued economic and military support of Washington and its European allies. While paying lip service to the concept of Black majority rule, the Carter administration is desperately searching for "compromise" solutions that would safeguard imperialist interests and contain the radicalization of the Black masses.

U.S. banks have loaned billions to South Africa, while U.S. corporations have invested billions more to reap the profits from oppressed and superexploited Black labor.

Students across the country are demanding that their schools stop investing in corporations that do business with South Africa. A national week of anti-apartheid campus actions has been set for April 4-11 around this demand.

These actions offer a way to protest the latest raids on Angola, to voice solidarity with the African revolution and Black majority rule, and to pressure the U.S. government and corporations to get out of southern Africa now!

We urge our readers to join in these solidarity activities.

...Newport News

Continued from front page

Like during the coal miners' strike, our watchword must be: *An injury to one is an injury to all!*

No one could say precisely what the appeals court ruling on Tenneco's charges meant—labor laws and court decisions are designed to be confusing and subject to varying interpretations.

But the simple truth is, the court did *not* order Tenneco to recognize Local 8888 and begin bargaining. Instead it handed the case back to the National Labor Relations Board for still more "investigation." This is an arrogant refusal to accept the democratic decision of the shipyard workers that Local 8888 as their union.

All the way back in January 1978 the Newport News workers voted—by 9,093 to 7,548—to be represented by the United Steelworkers.

The NLRB then stalled for ten months, finally certifying the election last October.

But Tenneco refused to recognize the union, which by that time had signed up nearly 13,000 members out of 17,500 production and maintenance workers at the yard. The company went to court, challenging the election.

It was these charges that the court ruled on March 2, dismissing all of Tenneco's claims but one—just enough to send the case back to the NLRB for another hearing, another ruling, and quite possibly another Tenneco appeal to the courts.

These stalling tactics benefit no one but Tenneco. They underline the fact that the courts and the NLRB can never be trusted to protect workers' rights. They are no less anti-labor than Virginia Governor Dalton's cops and dogs—just more treacherous because of their pose of "neutrality."

"All we've got in the end is the strike," says USWA spokesperson Bill Edwards. "And we had that before the NLRB Act was ever written."

That is exactly what USWA Local 8888, and its sister marine designers' Local 8417, have: the strike, bolstered by the support of millions of other working people who are beginning to realize the stakes in this fight.

The employers everywhere are on a campaign to drive down the living standards of working people. Workers are told to lower our expectations, tighten our belts, and accept patriotic wage cuts. Job rights for women, Blacks, and *latinos* are under sweeping attack. And far from accepting any expansion of

unions, big business is out to whittle away and eventually destroy the labor movement.

Tenneco knows well the stakes in this battle. It is seizing any opportunity to divide the workers and portray them as isolated hot-heads.

"The Strike Is A Failure," blared Tenneco in a full-page ad the day before a big solidarity rally February 24. The ad, boldly headlined "A TACTICAL BLUNDER?" picked up on a statement by USWA President Lloyd McBride.

At a news conference in Florida, McBride had reportedly said that the labor movement might have made a "blunder" in portraying the strike as "an expansion into the South." That may have prompted other southern employers to "influence" Tenneco's actions, he reportedly said.

McBride quickly issued a statement—which was not picked up by the press—charging his words had been distorted by the media and pledging that the strike "will continue to have the full support of the union and all its resources."

As USWA organizer Jack Hower told reporters after the February 24 rally, "Union solidarity has come to the South, and that is why we're going to win."

The power of this solidarity is already having an effect on the company. A company spokesman complained after the February 24 support actions, "If it is a local dispute, then why were all these outsiders brought in today, and why are more outsiders coming in next week?"

The company needs to be shown that *millions*, not just thousands, of "outsiders"—or union brothers and sisters, as Local 8888 sees them—are behind the strike.

Already the AFL-CIO Executive Council and most top union officials have expressed their support. Like during the coal miners' strike last year, local unions can take the initiative to make this support visible and active:

- by inviting representatives from Local 8888 to address their meetings,
- by countering Tenneco's lies and making sure every union member and the public at large know the real issues,
- by collecting funds for strike relief,
- by reaching out to Black and women's groups, students, and farmers—as was done in Missouri to defeat the anti-union "right to work" law last November.

Address donations, resolutions, and requests for speakers to: USWA Local 8888, Thirty-third and Washington Streets, Newport News, Virginia 23607, telephone (804) 247-5291.

Support the Newport News strikers!

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Was Peking's invasion of Vietnam caused by 'human nature'? Or are material interests at stake—such as the trade deals agreed to by U.S. Treasury Secretary Blumenthal and Chinese Finance Minister Chang? **Page 6.**



United Farm Workers in Texas

At a convention of 800 in San Juan, the UFW announced a drive to organize farm workers in Texas. **Page 12.**

Election upset in Chicago

Jane Byrne benefited from protest votes in her victory over Mayor Bilandic in the Democratic primary. But socialist candidate Andrew Pulley says Byrne has no answers to the problems facing working people and Black community. **Page 11.**



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Carter's Middle East trip

Attempt to wrap up counterrevolutionary pact

By David Frankel

Faced with the prospect of a complete breakdown in negotiations for a Middle East deal, President Carter announced March 5 that he would go to Egypt and Israel.

Behind Carter's sudden decision—and underlying all the diplomatic moves by the negotiators—is the impact of the Iranian revolution.

As a result of that revolution, both Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat have tried to pull back from terms they agreed to at the Camp David summit last September.

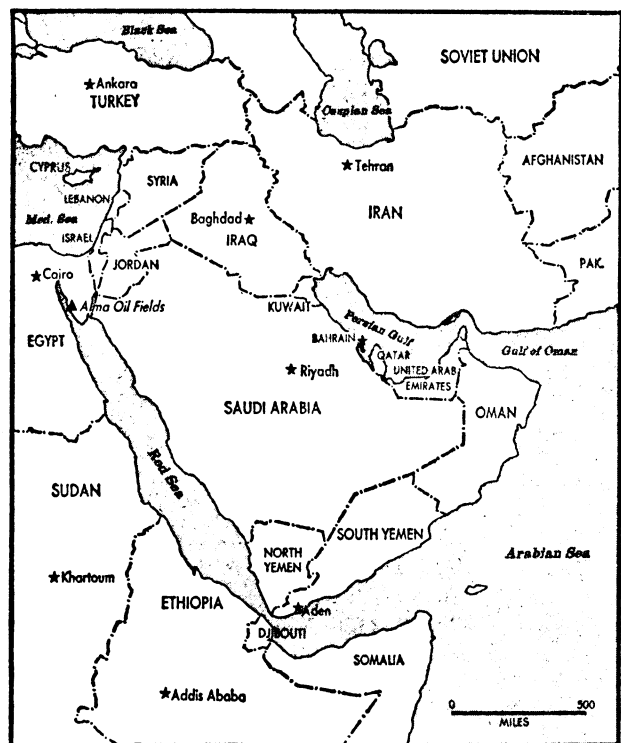
But Washington—also as a result of the Iranian revolution—is more eager than ever to conclude the deal.

The Iranian revolution has given new encouragement to the Palestinian people in their struggle for self-determination, and strengthened all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world.

Even the most reactionary regimes, such as those in Jordan and Saudi Arabia, have been forced to take some distance from Washington. And Sadat has been forced to reconsider how brazenly he can act in betraying the Palestinians without arousing open opposition among the Egyptian masses.

As for the Zionist regime, it has fought bitterly from the very beginning against even the most modest concessions to Sadat. With the collapse of the shah and the threat of new upheavals in the Mideast, Israel's importance as a counterrevolutionary bulwark in the region has been emphasized. Israel is "the only stable ally of the United States" in the Middle East, Begin told the White House press corps March 1.

Moreover, with the cutoff of Iranian oil supplies to the Zionist state, the oil fields in the Sinai Peninsula and the Gulf of Suez have increased in importance for Israel.



Washington Post
Revolution in Iran and fear of upheaval in Yemen have spurred Washington in its search for a new counterrevolutionary alliance in the Mideast.

Finally, the Zionist regime is now more reluctant than ever to give up its military bases in the Sinai—bases that are right across the Gulf of Aqaba from Saudi Arabia.

"Evacuation seemed a reasonable measure in the relative tranquility of last September," *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton noted February 13. But now, "Israeli diplomats and politicians have been asking Washington about American contingency plans in the event of a revolution in Saudi Arabia."

But fear of such a revolution—whether in Saudi Arabia or elsewhere in the Middle East—is precisely why Carter is pushing so hard for a pact.

U.S. policymakers have long dreamed of a formal counterrevolutionary alliance in the Mideast based firmly on the Israeli state and tying in the pro-imperialist Arab regimes. Earlier attempts in this direction—the Baghdad Pact and the Central Treaty Organization—failed.

But unrelenting military pressure from Israel and the economic pressure of world imperialism—pressure that was intensified by the world economic crisis of 1974-75—finally forced Sadat to offer recognition of the Zionist state in November 1977.

Presented with this opportunity, Carter sought to wrap up an Egyptian-Israeli treaty and to win endorsement for the pact from the other pro-imperialist Arab regimes.

Such an accord would free Israeli forces for counterrevolutionary intervention in the area. From Washington's point of view, this has become more urgent than ever because of the revolution in Iran and the political difficulties in using U.S. troops abroad. In order to get a treaty, Carter is offering both Begin and Sadat substantial increases in economic and military aid.

The outbreak of hostilities between North and South Yemen February 24 was an indication of the political instability that the American imperialists fear.

It is clear Carter has pulled out all the stops in pursuit of an Egyptian-Israeli treaty, and it is certainly possible that he will get a piece of paper signed.

If that happens, it will be a signal for celebration in the capitalist media. But such an accord will not bring peace to the Mideast, and it is doubtful indeed if it will even do much to further the imperialist stability Carter is seeking.

The day after Carter announced his trip, Israeli jets jolted Beirut with sonic booms, and Israeli artillery shelled three Lebanese towns. A pact with Sadat will embolden the Zionist regime in its attacks on the Palestinian people and encourage it to undertake further military adventures against Lebanon, Syria, and perhaps Jordan.

As for Sadat, he has tried to compete with Begin by offering his services as a cop for imperialism in the Middle East. He has asked for a few billion dollars worth of U.S. arms.

But with the example of the shah still fresh, the U.S. ruling class is not about to shift its reliance from the imperialist outpost of Israel to Sadat's weak, semicolonial regime. As an editorial in the March 4 issue of the British *Manchester Guardian Weekly* put it, "it is fair to ask what would happen to the myriad squadrons of F-16s and the massed M-60 tanks if Egypt decided, on reflection, that its

U.S. hands off Yemen!

Once again the warmakers in Washington are moving to intervene in the Middle East.

Four U.S. warships, including the aircraft carrier *Constellation*, are on their way to the Arabian Sea. Three more U.S. ships have put into the port of Djibouti, directly across the Gulf of Aden from strife-torn Yemen.

President Carter is rushing military supplies to the pro-imperialist regime in North Yemen, and has announced his support for an additional \$300 million in arms for that government.

Still smarting from the defeat they suffered at the hands of the Iranian people, U.S. policymakers are looking at the conflict in Yemen as a chance to reassert their readiness to use military force to protect imperialist interests around the world.

Among the measures being considered by Carter, according to a report by Richard Burt in the March 7 *New York Times*, "were requests by Saudi Arabia for American logistical support for a possible Saudi intervention in the Yemeni fighting. . . ."

As usual in such cases, Washington is trying to cloak its reactionary aims by focusing publicity on a supposed challenge from Soviet forces in the area. Reports in the big-business media have claimed that there is a "buildup of Soviet arms" in South Yemen, and stress the presence of Soviet, Cuban, and East German advisers there—about 1,500 in all, according to the Pentagon.

This number—even if accurate—is dwarfed by the number of U.S. and British military specialists in neighboring Saudi Arabia and Oman.

Moreover, the claim that the conflict in Yemen is simply a clash between two hostile governments is open to considerable doubt. The current Saudi-backed regime in North Yemen was imposed in 1970 only after an eight-year civil war between royalist and republican forces.

Both the South Yemeni government and the opposition National Democratic Front of North Yemen insist that the current fighting involves antigovernment rebels from inside North Yemen.

In any case, one thing is certain: *The last thing in the world the people of Yemen need is "help" from the Pentagon.*

We must demand, "U.S., hands off Yemen!"

—D.F.

destiny lay elsewhere."

That, of course, is precisely the point. The destiny of the Egyptian people—and of the Arab masses as a whole—lies in struggle against American imperialism and its Israeli junior partner. And as the Iranian people have shown, imperialist-imposed treaties aren't worth much when the masses decide they have had enough.

Special offer to new readers

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Kurds spearhead fight for democracy in Iran

By Cindy Jaquith

"For us, the revolution is not over."
The speaker was Ayatollah Ezzedin Hosseini, a leader of the current struggle of Kurds in Iran for full national autonomy. But the sentiments Hosseini expressed are also the sentiments of Iran's oppressed Azerbaijanis and Baluchis, of the oil workers, peasants, women, and others who are now pressing for their rights in the wake of the victorious insurrection that overthrew the shah.

For the masses the revolution is just beginning. For the government of Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, the revolution must be stopped and capitalist stability restored.

In an interview published in the March 1 *New York Times*, Kurdish leader Hosseini explained:

"We fought in the revolution not out of religious conviction but for political goals. We want autonomy—our own Parliament, our own language, our own culture. The revolution has destroyed despotism, but it has not ended discrimination against minorities. The revolution must go on until all major minority groups—the Kurds here, the Turks in Azerbaijan, the Baluchis in the East—win a measure of autonomy."

This basic democratic demand has been categorically rejected by the Bazargan regime. Immediately after the insurrection, Bazargan tried to send in officials to run Kurdistan. The Kurds threw them out.

Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Entezam then threatened: "There are hands at work [in Kurdistan] to provoke the people, but the government will ruthlessly crush those behind unrest."



Kurds in Mahabad: 'For us, the revolution is not over.'

But according to reports from Kurdistan by Iranian Trotskyists, the central government has been unable to take control of the province. Armed Kurds patrol the streets. The Kurdish national flag is flying, and the cities of Sanandaj, Mahabad, and Kermanshah have proclaimed Kurdish the official language. People are celebrating in the streets, proudly wearing their traditional dress, which was banned under the shah.

The Kurds have also opened up the border with Iraq. At least 3.5 million of the more than 12 million Kurds live in Iran. Millions more are across the

border in Iraq, the Soviet Union, Turkey, and other parts of the Middle East. The Kurdish people have historically fought to reunite their nation and throw off the oppression they suffer.

With the Iraqi border open, thousands of Kurds from both sides are now crossing back and forth.

The fight of the Kurdish people throughout the region for self-determination—including the right to establish their own state if they so choose—is a central question for the Iranian revolution. The Kurds, Azerbaijanis, Baluchis, Arabs, and other oppressed national groups constitute 60 percent of the population in Iran. An alliance between these nationalities and the rest of the country's workers and peasants—based on support for the national rights of the oppressed—is critical to advancing the revolution.

Right now the Iranian Kurds' resistance to efforts by Bazargan to block the extension of democratic rights is setting an example for others.

It can only reinforce the determination of Iran's oil workers, many of whom are Arab, to stick to their demand for the right to run the oil fields. On March 5, the government announced it had resumed the export of oil but had cut off all sales to Israel and South Africa, one of the workers' demands.

The political struggle is far from over in the oil fields, however. "The revolution is not finished," one foreman told the *New York Times*. "Everyone goes to work, but we don't do much. . . . Much of the time, workers are talking politics here."

Revolution in Iran

Eyewitness report from Cindy Jaquith, associate editor of the *Militant*, just returned from Tehran

CHICAGO	March 10	7:30 p.m.	Blackstone Hotel, Gold Room, Michigan & Balbo
VANCOUVER	March 16	8:00 p.m.	1208 Granville St.
SEATTLE-TACOMA	March 17	8:00 p.m.	Call (206) 723-5330 or (206) 627-0432 for location
PORTLAND	March 18	8:00 p.m.	711 NW Everett
TORONTO	March 25	7:30 p.m.	334 Queen St. West

Militant subscription week rousing success

By Peter Seidman

The drive to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* this winter and spring got off to a rousing start last week.

So far, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have reported selling 1,094 ten-week introductory subscriptions; 52 six-month subscriptions; and 30 one-year subscriptions during the national subscription blitz week.

These subscriptions have already brought the drive to 12.9 percent of the national goal.

The national subscription blitz week confirms that working people are increasingly interested in socialist ideas.

- The *Militant's* unsurpassed coverage of the Newport News shipyard strike continued to spark high sales among steelworkers at Bethlehem's giant plant at Sparrows Point, Maryland. Our supporters there sold eight more subscriptions last week.

- Tacoma socialists sold six subscriptions to aircraft workers at Boeing.

The *Militant's* coverage of Newport News has helped boost single-copy sales at the Tacoma Boat Shipyard to between ten and fifteen copies a week.

- Socialist auto workers in Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, and Toledo all reported selling subscriptions on the job.

- Our Iowa City supporters—front-runners on this week's scoreboard—sold most of their subscriptions to co-workers in the Teamsters union and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

In Oakland, thirty members of Teamsters Local 70 eagerly purchased copies of the *Militant* on sale outside their union meeting.

- Miami socialists had their biggest sale at a farm workers camp in Homestead, Florida. They sold twenty-one subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and ten to the *Militant*—as well as sixty-three single copies.

Several young Cubans attending a showing of the Cuban film "La Brigadista" sponsored by the Antonio Maceo Brigade also bought *Perspectiva Mundial* subs.

As the circulation drive opens, Los Angeles has sold the most overall—with New York City not too far behind.

The Los Angeles socialists are also putting a special emphasis on longer-term subscriptions. These are 30 percent of their subscription points so far.

During this drive, our supporters are making a special push for these longer-term subs, especially to co-workers.

Miami supporters are taking the lead on *Perspec-*

tiva Mundial. They've sold twenty-six of the sixty-four *PM* subscriptions reported sold during the blitz week.

The blitz week was phase one of the circulation drive.

Phase two—a ten-week single-copy sales campaign—gets under way with sales of this issue.

Areas so far have increased their *Militant* bundles by more than 5,000 papers for the national target week that kicks off this part of the drive.

That's a good beginning.

The subscription blitz week indicates that those extra papers will find a receptive audience among industrial workers eager to find out about the socialist alternative.

CITY	SUBSCRIPTION POINTS	GOAL	PERCENT	CITY	SUBSCRIPTION POINTS	GOAL	PERCENT
Iowa City	240	500	48.0	Detroit	270	2500	10.8
Baltimore	540	1400	38.5	Albany	160	1500	10.6
Atlanta	750	2100	35.7	Chicago	500	4900	10.2
Iron Range	300	900	33.3	Minneapolis	250	2500	10.0
Miami	710	2300	30.8	Philadelphia	340	3500	9.7
Birmingham	160	700	22.8	New York City	1050	11000	9.5
Dallas	590	2600	22.6	Tacoma	160	1750	9.1
St. Louis	410	2100	19.5	Cleveland	150	1700	8.8
Los Angeles	1150	5900	19.4	Seattle	210	2700	7.7
Denver	380	2000	19.0	Washington, D.C.	270	3500	7.7
Newark	370	2000	18.5	Morgantown	140	2250	6.2
San Antonio	260	1440	18.0	San Francisco	190	3150	6.0
Phoenix	360	2100	17.1	Pittsburgh	160	2800	5.7
Portland	300	1800	16.6	Boston	160	3500	4.5
Toledo	220	1400	15.7	St. Paul	60	1400	4.2
San Diego	320	2100	15.2	Kansas City	50	1550	3.2
Vermont	30	200	15.0	Houston	0	3500	0.0
Milwaukee	260	1750	14.8	Oakland	60	*	
Salt Lake City	360	2450	14.6	TOTALS	12,860	100,000	12.9
Cincinnati	140	1050	13.3	*GOAL NOT YET REPORTED			
Albuquerque	380	3000	12.6	AREAS NOT REPORTING SUB BLITZ RESULTS: AMHERST, GARY, INDIANAPOLIS, LOUISVILLE, NEW ORLEANS, SAN JOSE			
Raleigh	210	1750	12.0				
Berkeley	240	2100	11.4				

Thugs disrupt Trotskyist meeting

Iranian SWP demands full political rights

By Cindy Jaquith

The Iranian Hezb-e Kargar-e Socialist (Socialist Workers Party) has opened an aggressive campaign for its right to function freely and openly and for the democratic rights of all political parties in Iran.

The campaign was launched immediately after a gang of thugs attacked the SWP's first public meeting in Tehran on March 2. More than 2,000 people had turned out for the rally, held at Polytechnic University, on only two days' notice. Enthusiasm was high: this was the first public meeting of a workers party in Iran since the overthrow of the shah.

But when the disrupters, brandishing switchblades, made it clear they wanted to provoke a violent confrontation, the SWP discontinued the rally to protect its supporters. The meeting was rescheduled.

In a statement on the attack, the SWP appealed to "all militant workers, students, and toilers" to join in condemning the assault on democratic rights, an assault that threatens the rights of all political parties, workers' committees in the factories, and other organizations.

Democracy debate widens

With the disruption of the socialists' meeting, which was front-page news the next morning in the daily *Ayandegan*, the debate over democracy has intensified in Iran. Workers are already protesting government attacks on their right to elect their own factory committees. The Kurdish people are demanding autonomy and national rights. Soldiers want the right to organize in the armed forces. Students and teachers are fighting for the right to run the universities. And women are defying challenges to their right to organize.

These demands have met with a cold response from Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan's government. Bazargan has opposed democratically elected committees in the factories and elsewhere. He has told the workers they must instead accept representatives ap-

pointed by Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic Revolutionary Committee. The committee has also attacked democratic rights, banning demonstrations and harassing activists distributing political literature.

In a fact sheet the SWP explains the events leading up to the March 2 disruption.

On March 1, the day before the SWP's meeting, two dozen people confronted SWP activist Zia Abrahimi, who is a professor at Polytechnic University. They threatened that "the SWP won't come out of tomorrow's meeting alive." Some of those making the threats said they were Islamic students, while others said they belonged to the Militant Students of Polytechnic, a small Maoist sect.

That evening a wall poster appeared on campus. Signed by Militant Students of Polytechnic, it charged that the revolutionary poet Reza Baraheni and Babak Zahraie, a well-known leader of the SWP, were CIA agents operating under the name of socialism and the Trotskyist Fourth International.

This slanderous charge is familiar to many supporters of the Iranian revolution. It originated with the shah's secret police, SAVAK. For years SAVAK carried out a campaign to discredit Baraheni while he lived in the United States in exile. SAVAK wanted to silence Baraheni because of his work in collaboration with Iranian Trotskyists to expose the shah's torture and repression.

Some Iranian Maoist groups shamelessly picked up SAVAK's lies and carried out violent attacks on meetings in the United States where Baraheni spoke. They tried to disrupt not only meetings sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), of which Baraheni is honorary chairperson, but also meetings of Iranian Trotskyists.

When the slanderous wall poster went up at Polytechnic, SWP leader Bahram Atai immediately lodged protests with the Islamic Revolutionary Committee and Bazargan's offices.

On March 2, the day of the SWP meeting, workers, students, and others gathered at the gates of the university at about 1:30 p.m. A busload of cement workers arrived to hear the SWP speakers. Workers came from the General Motors plant and the Iran National auto factory. Two teachers were there; they had traveled all the way from Yazd, 250 miles from Tehran.

A group of ten people, who identified themselves as members of the Militant Students of Polytechnic, had chained the gates of the university shut. The crowd was outraged. "The university belongs to all!" they chanted. "The chains belong to SAVAK!"

The throngs of people who had come to hear the SWP grew to 2,000. Inside the university, a group of about 150 people also gathered to protest the chained gate.

The Committee of Islamic Students at Polytechnic arrived and put up a wall poster stating that while it disagreed with the SWP's views, it supported the party's right to hold the meeting.

At 2:30 p.m., ten armed representatives of the Islamic Revolutionary Committee arrived. One of them stated that the committee opposed the purpose of the meeting, that it had been called without Khomeini's permission, but that the gates should be opened.

The committee spokesperson said an armed group of people was going to attack the meeting if it took place, so people should go home.

But the crowd responded with the slogan made popular during the battles against the shah: "Neither guns nor tanks will stop us!" They marched onto the campus and into the gymnasium where the meeting was to take place.

Before the rally began, an Islamic Revolutionary Committee representative spoke to the crowd. He said that while the socialists had a right to hold their meeting, his committee would not be responsible for defending it. The committee members then left.

A group of goons surged to the platform and attempted to start a fight

with SWP monitors. To prevent a confrontation the monitors allowed one of the thugs to speak.

This goon launched into a diatribe against Baraheni and Zahraie, repeating the slander that they were CIA agents. He demanded the crowd leave, but no one did. Having nothing more to say, he left the podium, hailing "the great Stalin." His cohorts then cut the microphone wires.

Meanwhile, in the back of the room a gang of more than 100 hoodlums began shouting: "Death to Baraheni!" "Renegade Baraheni should be hanged!" "Death to Babak Zahraie, the servant of the U.S.!" Both Baraheni and Zahraie were in the room, surrounded by defense guards.

The disrupters were a heterogeneous grouping. They were led by provocative elements who have been seen at other political meetings. Usually presenting themselves as "Islamic," or "workers," these goons try to start fights to break up political discussions.

Also in the crowd of disrupters were people throwing statements in the air from the Union of Iranian Communists. This group has political ties to the U.S. Revolutionary Communist Party and, along with the RCP, carried out violent attacks on Iranian Trotskyists in the United States.

Other thugs carried statements from a group known as *Paykar* (Combat), which is another Maoist organization. The Militant Students of Polytechnic also participated in the attack.

After a half-hour of chanting, the gang left, again demanding the audience walk out with them.

Thugs' appeals rejected

No one followed the thugs, and the program began as scheduled. The planned speakers were Hormoz Rahimian, national secretary of the SWP; Babak Zahraie; Javad Sadeeg, a long-time Trotskyist known for his writings on the national question; Parvin Najafi, a prominent feminist and socialist; and Hooshang Sepehri, whose four

Continued on page 12

Tehran women protest attacks on March 8 rally

Iranian women are protesting attacks on their right to hold a celebration of International Women's Day in Tehran.

On March 3 at Alborz High School 300 women met to make final plans for the March 8 celebration, which has been called by the Ad Hoc International Women's Day Committee of Iran.

The women have met with opposition from government officials, who refuse to provide a meeting hall for the March 8 celebration. In addition, three women passing out leaflets for March 8 were arrested by armed men who said they were from the Islamic Revolutionary Committee. The women were threatened and then taken to the Revolutionary Committee's central headquarters. They were later released.

Because of this harassment, and because of the disruption of a meeting of the Socialist Workers Party on March 2, the women demanded that the Islamic Revolutionary Committee defend their right to hold a planning meeting March 3. The committee responded by sending two armed guards to protect the meeting.

Shortly after the women had gathered, seventy men, armed with knives, broke into the meeting hall. But one of the committee guards stopped them cold. Lowering his

automatic rifle, he told the goons: "If you take one step closer, I'll shoot you."

The attackers retreated to the outside. Inside, the women discussed the situation and decided they would be unable to carry out their meeting free of intimidation from the antiwoman thugs outside and their threat of violence. They decided to reconvene the meeting at a later date.

As the women marched outside, the angriest were the women workers. Many wore the *chador* (veil). Raising their fists at the goons, they shouted: "We went in front of tanks. Do you think we are afraid of you?"

Hundreds of women, including students, nurses, and auto workers, have become involved in publicizing the March 8 meeting. Its purpose is to show solidarity with the international feminist movement and to discuss how Iranian women can win their demands for equal pay, child care, abortion, and the abolition of a host of discriminatory laws.

The women view the celebration as their answer to last year's phony "women's liberation" celebration by the shah. Speakers will expose the shah's cynical claim to be for women's rights as a crude attempt to cover up the savage repression of his regime.



Women were on front lines of battle against shah. They are now demanding end to discrimination his regime enforced.

Behind the lies on invasion

By Gus Horowitz

"Business as usual"—or, rather, business full speed ahead—remained Washington's stance toward Peking two weeks after Chinese troops invaded Vietnam.

While U.S. officials continued to hand out *pro forma* statements of disfavor, proof that Washington was fully behind the invasion by the Peking Stalinists was conveyed by more tangible evidence, such as:

- The formal opening of full diplomatic relations between Peking and Washington on March 1.
- Rapid progress in expanding economic relations between Washington and Peking.
- The basic identity of Washington's and Peking's positions on proposed solutions to the conflict. The diplomatic formula for this is: the

As the 'Militant' goes to press, the Peking regime was reporting that its forces are withdrawing from Vietnam. An editorial in the March 7 issue of the 'Peking Daily' said Chinese troops were "victoriously returning."

The Vietnamese government responded March 6 that Chinese attacks were continuing. The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry declared:

"If China really withdraws all of its troops from Vietnam as it has stated, and after all the Chinese forces have been withdrawn to the other side of the historical border that both sides have agreed to respect, then the Vietnamese side will be ready immediately to enter into negotiations . . . on the restoration of normal relations between the two countries."

Further news will be reported in next week's 'Militant.'

reciprocal withdrawal of China from Vietnam and Vietnam from Kampuchea, as demanded by Carter in a major policy speech on February 20.

• The beefing up of U.S. military force in the area. The Pentagon has been pouring arms into Bangkok, both to aid the Thai regime and as a conduit to the rightist forces in Kampuchea and Laos. In addition, a U.S. naval task force, armed with nuclear weapons, was dispatched to the waters off the Vietnamese coast.

On March 4 the *New York Times* revealed the startling news that it had not previously seen fit to print: "Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher said last week that the United States learned from Mr. Teng during his visit of China's plans to attack Vietnam."

Imperialist fears

So long as the present government remains in power in Kampuchea, and in particular, so long as the working masses of Kampuchea see before them the possibility of linking up their destiny with that of the Vietnamese workers state, then there is no guarantee of preserving the capitalist stability of the region—regardless of Hanoi's intentions.

That is why every diplomatic formula promoted by the imperialists insists on Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea.

That is why the entire capitalist press has had a virtual blackout on news about what is happening in Kampuchea, in particular, the impact that the fall of the Pol Pot regime has had on the peasants and working people.

That is also why the capitalist media have said virtually nothing about Washington's military reinforcement



U.S. Treasury Secretary Blumenthal with Chinese Finance Minister Chang. Washington promised Peking bureaucrats trade and aid in return for their services in attacking Vietnam.

of the Thai regime, and its funneling of arms to Kampuchean and Laotian rightists via Bangkok.

Ideological offensive

As part of their cover-up of the counterrevolutionary social nature of their diplomatic formulas, the capitalist press all over the world has campaigned to divert attention from the real source of the present war: the drive by the imperialists to assure capitalist stability in Southeast Asia, and Peking's agreement to take military action on their behalf in return for economic aid.

They rule out, as if it should be obvious to all, the possibility that class interests—in particular, the interests of the imperialists—are at the root of the conflict.

As André Fontaine said mockingly in the French daily *Le Monde*, "Could some brilliant debater demonstrate that the Sino-Vietnam war is explained by the class struggle?"

As their alternative to a class analysis, the bourgeois pundits have offered three main explanations for the cause of the war.

1. The need to assert a kind of big power "machismo." *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield, noting what Nixon had said when he launched the 1970 invasion of Cambodia—that the U.S. could not appear to be a "pitiful, helpless giant"—advanced the thesis that "something of the same kind of concern with what nations, or their leaders, think of as honor seems to have been on Peking's mind last week when it attacked Vietnam."

2. Nationalism. This is probably the most common theme advanced in the bourgeois media throughout the world.

The German magazine *Der Spiegel* asserts that when "the Reds" get into power they "very soon become flaming patriots, mostly at the expense of neighboring countries. . . ."

The *New York Times* editors said the conflict "provides the final proof that no ideology makes men immune to ethnic and racial strife, or aggression

and chauvinism. . . . Ugly nationalism has triumphed once again in the human family."

3. The war is fundamentally a reflection of the Sino-Soviet or Sino-Vietnam disputes, which are themselves simply struggles over spheres of influence.

It can be observed that each of these theories leaves out of account the role of imperialism.

Three invalid arguments

None of the theories being promoted in the bourgeois media are valid.

1. Big power "machismo." This is no explanation at all, although it does appeal to facile modes of thought.

Many individuals, including highly placed ones, do decide their *personal* actions out of motives of honor or prestige. But the characteristic of *government action*, irrespective of class nature or political shade, is cool-headed planning and forethought. Miscalculation may occur, but actions are taken on the basis of what is believed to be in the best interests of the social class or stratum that dominates the government.

Neither Hanoi nor Peking acted blindly, irrationally, or precipitously. If it is maintained that they offended one another's honor, the question remains: *Why* did the one act to offend the other, and *why* was umbrage taken? In other words, what material interests were involved?

2. Nationalism. This argument explains nothing either.

There is no evidence that the masses of Chinese and Vietnamese people are consumed by hatred for each other today (much less that there has existed a constant ancient hatred that has passed down through the ages). For the past twenty-five years, in fact, there has been no sign of serious tension along the border.

As for the masses of Vietnamese and Kampuchean people, for most of the past twenty-five years their determination to throw off the yoke of imperialism often expressed itself in nationalist pride directed against the oppressors. At the same time they

exhibited a remarkable spirit of fraternity toward each other, as they joined together in a common struggle.

So what explains the chauvinistic declarations of the governments involved?

Insofar as nationalism is a motivation, it is the nationalism not of the masses, but of the governing regimes that conceive of their own interests as those of the entire nation and thus present their policies in a chauvinistic guise. But once this is recognized as a guise, the question arises again: What are the material interests of the social strata that control the governments?

3. The Sino-Soviet or Sino-Vietnam conflict. This argument has the seeming merit of explaining the conflict in terms of a clash of interests. But in actuality the argument does not explain anything. For, what exactly are the clashing interests? In particular, what accounts for a war in which conquest of territory or direct economic control is not at issue?

Yes, the class struggle

In fact, only a class analysis can explain the war between China and Vietnam and the preceding action by Hanoi in toppling the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea.

The point of departure for Marxists is recognition that big historical events, such as wars, are rooted in the class struggle, the sometimes camouflaged, sometimes open, struggle between the capitalists, in particular the imperialists, on the one hand, and the workers and their allies among the oppressed masses on the other. The privileged bureaucracies that exist in the workers movement, whether on a party, trade-union, or governmental level, act as transmission belts for imperialist pressure in this titanic struggle.

In the current conflict this is illustrated in two key ways:

1. *The role of imperialism.* U.S. imperialism suffered a defeat in Vietnam in 1975, but it has not walked away from the class struggle in Southeast Asia—any more than it can at home. The imperialists, albeit from a position of greater weakness on a world scale, are striving to assert their material interests against the toiling masses of the region.

So, while the workers and peasants of Vietnam have been suffering as a result of severe economic difficulties created by the devastation of war and horrendous monsoons and floods in 1977 and 1978, the imperialists have been stepping up their economic pressure. Japan and Australia cut off their aid, and Sweden, the main source of aid from the capitalist countries, threatened to do likewise. (The U.S. and New Zealand have never offered aid for reconstruction.)

Domestic considerations in the U.S. make direct military intervention difficult for Washington at this time, so it encouraged Peking to act on its behalf. At the same time, the U.S. ruling class has been mounting a two-pronged campaign aimed at the American working people—an economic offensive to drive down the standard of living, and a political offensive designed to drum up support for Washington's foreign policy.

2. *The role of Peking and Hanoi.* These governments are controlled by privileged bureaucratic castes. Unlike the imperialists, however, they are not driven by internal forces to accumulate, or conquer territory, and to exploit the workers of other countries. To the contrary, it is against their interests to have to take responsibility for the development of the productive forces of a larger territory. These castes seek stability above all, so that their privileges in the area of consumption can be assured.

of Vietnam

But at the same time China and Vietnam are workers states, constantly subject to imperialist pressure and the pressure of the workers at home, against both of which the bureaucracies must defend themselves.

Under imperialist pressure, the castes compete with each other for stable relations with imperialism to allow economic growth and for economic aid—both needed to stave off popular dissent.

In summary form, these two factors provide the key to explaining the current conflict—and the preceding Moscow-Peking and Moscow-Belgrade conflicts as well.

Vietnam under pressure

With the Vietnamese workers state under increasing imperialist pressure, Hanoi was finally compelled to respond in self-defense by toppling the hostile, capitalist, and increasingly proimperialist Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. Peking, offered the prospect of large-scale economic aid from the imperialists, fulfilled its part of the bargain by invading Vietnam to try and pressure Hanoi to get out of Kampuchea.

Hanoi is acting out of motives of self-preservation, not in order to promote revolutionary change. It is noteworthy that its propaganda directed towards China is devoid of appeals to working-class internationalism, while in Kampuchea it does not call on the working masses to make a social revolution. But the Hanoi bureaucracy had to defend itself because the Vietnamese revolution was under attack from imperialism. And the toppling of the Pol Pot regime cannot help but encourage the Kampuchean masses to press their own independent interests.

From the class point of view, it is clear that the pious call by the capitalist world's diplomats for reciprocal withdrawal and a negotiated settlement in Kampuchea is in the interests of imperialism above all.

Moscow's response

If under pressure Hanoi is compelled to get out of Kampuchea, and if it agrees to a capitalist coalition government and a Geneva-type settlement similar to those it accepted in the past, this would be a setback to the working people.

As for Moscow, its reaction to the war was expressed by Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko on February 26. "The Chinese leaders," he said, "are striving with particular eagerness to set the Soviet Union and the United States at loggerheads. The development of Soviet-American relations is being obstructed under their influence. . . ."

Washington—the strongest, most

brutal, most aggressive imperialist power in the world—is presented as a helpless, misguided tool of the Peking Stalinists!

While supplying Hanoi militarily, Moscow has been notorious in the past for its stinginess and for the strings attached to its aid. It must be assumed that this is being repeated. And, as in the past, Moscow is undoubtedly pressuring Hanoi to accept a Geneva-type solution.

A particularly unsavory characteristic of Moscow's response is the racist anti-Chinese campaign being whipped up in the media in the Soviet Union.

Of all the workers states, only revolutionary Cuba has responded in the spirit of working-class internationalism. Havana has continued to stress Washington's role in Peking's invasion of Vietnam and the imperialists' objective of surrounding Vietnam with hostile regimes and of restoring a pro-Washington regime in Kampuchea.

In response to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's despicable statements about the Cubans "swashbuckling unchecked in Africa," Cuban government officials announced their readiness to help defend Vietnam militarily. "If Vietnam asks us to intervene, we will send troops," Cuban embassy officials confirmed in Mexico.

It is that same spirit of international solidarity and hostility to imperialism that guides revolutionary Marxists.

The central focus of our concerns is to expose and counter the imperialist drive to shore up and extend its power in Southeast Asia.

This necessitates exposure and rejection of their drive to force Vietnam out of Kampuchea.

It means rejection of the propaganda designed to portray the workers states as a source of war and imperialism as a source of peace and stability in the world.

Marxist demands

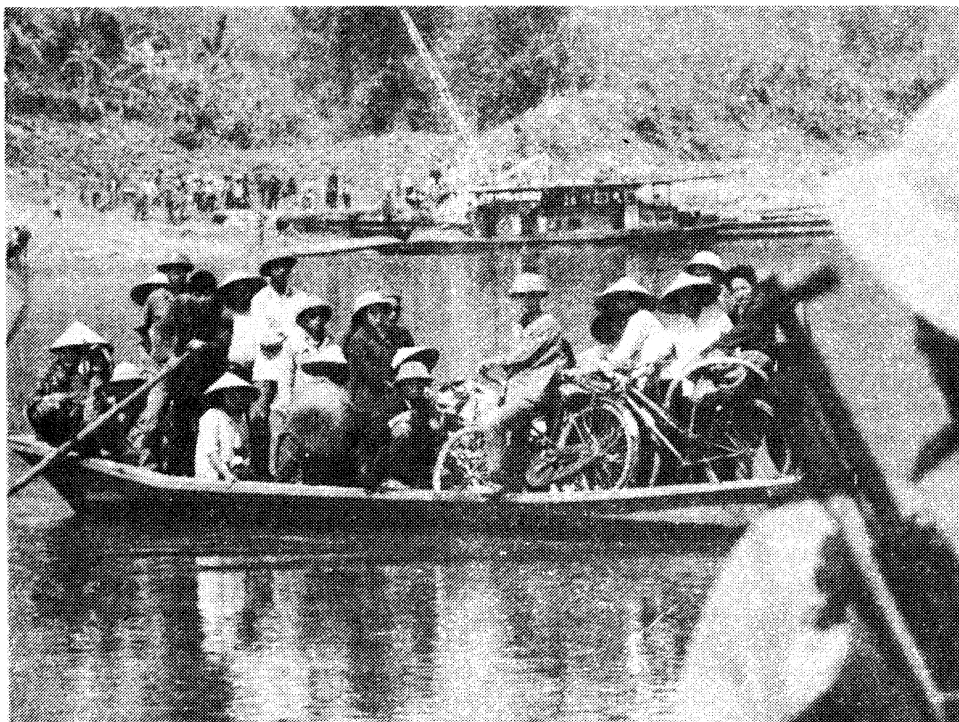
The revolutionary Marxist slogans remain:

Hands off Vietnam! Stop the imperialist campaign against the Vietnamese revolution! For massive economic aid to rebuild Indochina—no strings attached! Solidarity with the workers, peasants, and students of Kampuchea, Laos and Thailand in their struggle against imperialist domination!

Within that framework, we demand: Chinese troops out of Vietnam now! No forced negotiations while Chinese troops are still in Vietnam! No forced Geneva conference deals!

And we call upon the Soviet Union to act in the Cuban spirit of international solidarity and give the Vietnamese whatever military supplies they need—with no strings attached!

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*



Vietnamese refugees fleeing border area.

Wisc. governor calls for outlawing abortion

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE—Abortion rights in Wisconsin have come under increasing attack since Gov. Lee Dreyfus took office in January.

In his "State of the State" address, Dreyfus focused on a proposal for a national constitutional convention to outlaw abortion. He said that if the state legislature calls for such a constitutional convention, "that action alone will justify the entire existence of this legislative session."

He has also threatened to abolish the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, an advisory group that is supposed to promote women's rights. Dreyfus claims the commission is too politicized and has remarked that as far as he is concerned, the commission could "croak."

Since the commission does not have legislative or executive power, its elimination would mainly be a symbolic attack against women. But this threat does indicate Dreyfus's desire to carve out a niche for himself as a leader of the opposition to women's rights.

These attacks by Dreyfus help create an atmosphere in which other opponents of women's rights feel they can carry out violent and criminal attacks with impunity.

An example of this occurred recently. On January 22 Sue Hagen, co-

ordinator of the Milwaukee National Organization for Women's Reproductive Rights Task Force, was interviewed on local television at a picket line outside an anti-abortion meeting.

A few days later she received an obscene antiwoman letter containing a death threat.

Because of the serious threats in the hate letter, Hagen appealed to her union for support. Hagen is a member of Allied Industrial Workers Local 806 at Caterpillar Tractor Company.

At its February 11 local meeting, she urged the union to go on record against this death threat in order to defend free speech rights of all members of the union.

After some discussion, the meeting unanimously passed a resolution stating that "the Caterpillar bargaining unit of AIW Local 806 defends the right of women to work at Caterpillar free from sexual harassment and intimidation, and the right of union members to speak out on issues of public concern."

Members of Milwaukee NOW have also lent their support and are discussing how best to respond to this and other attacks on women's rights.

There is a growing feeling that NOW must respond visibly, in the streets, to the antiwoman offensive.

African solidarity notes

Iran breaks with South Africa: No oil exports

On March 4, Iran broke political, economic, diplomatic, and military relations with the racist regime of South Africa. Solidarity with the freedom struggle of the Black African masses has been a hallmark of the Iranian revolution.

The new government in Tehran cited the apartheid policies of racial separation and subjugation as the reason for breaking with South Africa.

This action follows the curtailment of oil exports to South Africa. Before the shah was overthrown, South Africa received 90 percent of its oil from Iran.

William and Mary students withdrew funds

Members of the South Africa Divestment Committee at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, marched to the United Virginia Bank February 28.

Twenty-eight students withdrew accounts to protest the bank's policy of investing college endowment funds in U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa.

The bank's investment firm, Capitoline Investment Services, manages one-half of the college's endowment—of which \$600,000 is invested in South Africa.

Indiana U. students picket trustees

More than sixty students picketed the Indiana University (IU) board of trustees meeting at the IU-Indianapolis campus March 3.

Organized by the Indianapolis South Africa Committee, the students demanded that the IU trustees divest \$1.5 million of university funds in corporations doing business in South Africa.

After the picket, the statewide Indiana Southern Africa Coalition met and planned activities for the national week of coordinated anti-apartheid actions April 4-11. For more information, call (812) 357-6734.

Anti-apartheid group at U. of New Orleans

Students and campus organizations formed the Anti-Apartheid Coalition at the University of New Orleans (UNO). The coalition is demanding that the UNO administration close its accounts with the First National Bank of Commerce.

The bank is a stockholder in the Private Export Funding Corporation, which has loaned \$175.8 million to South Africa.

. . . and at the London School of Economics

Six students at the London School of Economics have been on a two-week hunger strike for divestment. The students are protesting over the school's holdings in South Africa.

—Osborne Hart

3,500 rally in Newport News

'The union is here and we intend to stay'

By Omari Musa

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—“Solidarity Forever” played over the Hampton Coliseum loudspeakers as 3,500 unionists gathered here March 2 in support of striking steelworkers in their battle against the Tenneco-owned Newport News shipyard.

The rally and march that followed were called by the AFL-CIO. This was the second big event in as many weeks expressing the labor movement's support to the strikers.

The rally marked the thirty-first day of the strike for Local 8888, which seeks union recognition for the 17,500 production and maintenance workers at the yard. Its sister Local 8417, representing 1,200 marine designers, has been on strike for twenty-three months.

USWA President Lloyd McBride declared amid cheers that “we're going to win this strike.”

His remarks were intended to counter the company's claim that 60 percent of the workers at the shipyard were crossing picket lines and that the Steelworkers were losing.

“We are going to meet Tenneco at the bargaining table,” McBride emphasized.

“And one of the influences that will bring this about is the full and unqualified support of the USWA and all its resources—let there be no question about that.”

“The entire labor movement identifies with you. You have the support of millions who believe in your cause,” he concluded.

The audience rose and chanted what has become the Steelworkers' battlecry, “Eighty-eight, eighty-eight, close the gate.”

USWA District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher received cheers when he denounced the alliance between anti-union politicians and Tenneco.

“Despite their efforts,” he said, “the United Steelworkers of America and the trade-union movement are in Newport News, and we intend to stay here.”

“This company, with the willing aid

of Governor Dalton, is using city and state police in a shocking and undisguised attempt to break this strike,” Thrasher continued.

“They've endeavored to do this by hiding behind the so-called state right-to-work law. But I remind you today that strikers' rights have been consistently violated by the state and city police.”

“Armored cars, police dogs, and four-foot riot clubs in the hands of state troopers are not going to break this strike.”

“Striking members of 8888 and 8417 are determined to have their union and bring Tenneco to the bargaining table to secure industrial democracy that has too long been denied them.”

“Newport News is a testing place,” Thrasher concluded. “It is the center of challenge to the great social forces represented by this union against that giant law violator, Tenneco.”

Solidarity with the striking Steelworkers was the theme expressed by officials representing many other unions attending the rally.

Pat Greathouse, a United Auto Workers vice-president, told the audience, “Today is your day. You're engaged in a fight to win the rights of organized labor not only in Newport News and the South, but throughout the United States.”

“Our international union will do anything we are asked to do by the Steelworkers union.”

The fighting spirit and determination of the strikers and other unionists who came to support them were clearly shown at the march that followed the rally.

The marchers, at least half of whom were Black workers, began at the Fiftieth Street gate and proceeded to Thirty-second Street.

All the way they chanted, “Eighty-eight, eighty-eight busting loose,” “Eighty-eight, eighty-eight, close the gate,” and “Eighty-eight, Eighty-eight on strike” to the rhythm of drums and other percussion instruments.

Many out-of-town unionists sported



Steelworkers, Machinists, Teamsters, and many other unionists joined striking shipyard workers March 2.

Militant/Eric Simpson

Local 8888 placards as well as those of their own locals.

Machinists, Teamsters, Communications Workers, and workers in the construction trades proudly displayed their signs.

A contingent of more than 200 Steelworkers from District 31 rode buses for nineteen hours all the way from Chicago and Gary, Indiana. They were loudly cheered as they joined the march.

Baltimore Steelworkers hung a banner from one of their buses supporting their striking sisters and brothers. Steelworkers from Pittsburgh were also there.

Tommy Holland, a thirteen-year veteran at the Newport News yard, told the *Militant*, “Other workers coming in makes you feel strong. This is new to everybody, and it's good.”

The spirits of the marchers were so high that at Thirty-second Street many turned around and marched back to the Fiftieth Street gate, greeting scabs crossing the picket line with, “Scabs can't build no ships!”

Discipline and determination characterized the marchers' action.

Virginia state troopers with riot clubs, Newport News cops, and cops on loan from nearby Portsmouth and Virginia Beach for \$7.50 an hour were out in large numbers.

At the Thirty-seventh Street gate, troopers used dogs to clear a path for the scabs. This was the first time since the early days of the strike that the four-legged dogs had been brought out.

The marchers responded to this provocation with the angry chant, “Dalton boys, go home.”

Another example of the marchers' discipline occurred when a small group of right-wingers entered the march carrying a Confederate flag. They were simply ignored.

Jesse Smith, a riveter and member of Local 8888, captured the enthusiasm of the strikers for the day's events.

“The march and rally are going to help us,” he said. “It's great that other workers came here to support us. It shows we're together.”

That solidarity and the will to act on it were expressed by many visiting unionists as well.

“Botch” Wilcher and Dave Randolph from USWA Local 1066 in Gary told the *Militant* the Newport News strikers “have a lot of heart.”

They added, “If we're needed again, we'll be back.”

Labor officials pledge support



Militant/Omari Musa

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The realization is spreading throughout the labor movement that the strike here is a battle with stakes for all working people. One sign of this was the number of top union officials who joined in the rally.

Along with nearly all the top officers of the United Steelworkers and Vice-president Pat Greathouse of the United Auto Workers, these included:

J.C. Turner, president, Operating Engineers; Larry Hogan, international representative, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; George Kourpias, executive assistant

to the president, International Association of Machinists; and Ken Blaylock, president, American Federation of Government Employees.

Other unions represented included American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Bakery, Confectionary, and Tobacco Workers; Painters; Boilermakers; Newspaper Guild; Plate Glass Workers; International Wood Workers of America; United Paper Workers Union; American Federation of Teachers; National Maritime Union; Letter Carriers; Newport News, Norfolk, and Portsmouth central labor councils; and Virginia state AFL-CIO. —O.M.

Militant sales

By Andrea Baron

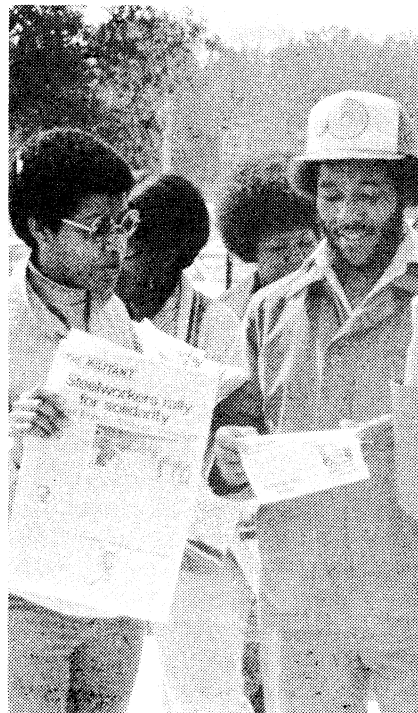
NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—“People kept coming up to me and asking to see the paper. Everyone was impressed with the great coverage of the strike.”

That's how Nancy Schwab of Washington, D.C., summed up the response to the *Militant* by striking Steelworkers and their supporters. At the March 2 strike support rally here Schwab sold more than forty papers.

She was part of a team of nearly thirty socialists from New York, Newark, Baltimore, Washington, Atlanta, and Chicago who came to show their support for the Newport News strikers.

The socialists sold more than 250 copies of the *Militant* and 30 subscriptions. Fifteen demonstrators bought sets of two pamphlets from Pathfinder Press on the Weber case and the coal strike.

Since the strike began, socialists from Boston, Pittsburgh and Raleigh—as well as the other cities listed above—have been on *Militant* sales teams in Newport News. So far, these teams have sold more than 1,000 single copies and 100 subscriptions.



Militant/Omari Musa

Shipyard strike firm despite court ruling

By Shelley Kramer

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—If you took Tenneco's word for it—on TV, radio, and in the local press—you'd expect to see striking Steelworkers throwing in the towel.

But, as one picket put it, "If you take Tenneco's word for anything, you're a fool."

Tenneco has seized on a March 2 ruling by the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court in Richmond to try to get a back-to-work panic going. The court upheld one of Tenneco's charges against the union—charges the company is using to try to overturn the Steelworkers' representation election victory in January 1978.

The court tossed the case back to the National Labor Relations Board for yet another hearing.

Picketing shipyard workers, members of USWA Local 8888, show no sign of falling for the company's propaganda. By union count, some 70 percent of the yard's production and maintenance work force is still honoring picket lines.

"We didn't expect much from the court," one striker told the *Militant*. "What counts is sticking together out here on the picket lines."

"You should have seen us on Monday," said striker Larry Childress. "We had more people out here picketing than on any Monday since the strike began."

Over at Local 8888 office, Steelworkers spokesperson Bill Edwards called the court's decision a "dirty trick."

"They just passed the decision back to the NLRB, where it could be appealed again," he explained. "What Tenneco wants is to drive these poor people back into the yard. And everyone in the business establishment here is cooperating."

Tenneco has plenty to spend on publicity—and plenty of well-connected friends to make sure their lies are aired.

"Channel 3, the most popular station in town, has refused to sell us spots," Edwards complained. "They say we're 'too controversial,' but they carried the

company's ads for weeks."

"The owner of the *Daily Press* owns stock in the shipyard," a picketing woman welder had told us earlier. "So everything in the *Press* is for the shipyard. All they do is lie, lie, lie."

Steelworkers are answering Tenneco's lies in their weekly strike bulletin, daily radio broadcasts, and two new prime-time TV spots.

Strikers say that they're inspired by the support they have received, especially the big union solidarity marches and rallies of the past two weeks.

"It really made me feel great," one picket said. "All of us, linking arms, parading down the streets. That's our answer to Tenneco, to the court, and to the NLRB."

Pittsburgh rally set

An emergency support rally for striking Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, will be held in Pittsburgh March 19.

The solidarity activity was initiated by the Labor History Colloquium at the University of Pittsburgh.

Speakers will include a representative from the Newport News strike; Henry Dropkin, international vice-president, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Daniel Marguriet, president, District 6 of the United Electrical Workers; and a representative of District 5 of the United Mine Workers.

Other speakers are Bob Pitts, chairperson, Labor and Industry Board, Pittsburgh NAACP; David Montgomery, professor of labor history, University of Pittsburgh; and a representative of the National Organization for Women.

The rally will be March 19, 7:30 p.m., University of Pittsburgh, Clapp Hall, Room L-9.

Socialist candidate joins march

By Shelley Kramer

Like hundreds of steelworkers from across the country, Andrew Pulley—a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066 in Gary, Indiana—came to Newport News March 2 to show his support for the striking shipyard workers.

Pulley stood apart from his union brothers and sisters in one respect only. As the Socialist Workers Party nominee for mayor of Chicago, he was the only candidate for public office to join the strikers' march and rally.

Pulley made the trip, he says, "to show my support as a steelworker and as a socialist candidate."

"By seeing what's happening firsthand, I can get out the word in my local and more effectively campaign on behalf of the strikers throughout Chicago."

The spirit of the Newport News strikers, Pulley said, "their chants, their songs, their militancy really made me eager to get some solidarity activity started at home."

"Our District [31] sent six busloads down, including District Director James Balanoff," Pulley said. "This just shows the kind of turnout we can get if we hold a support rally in Chicago."

What most impressed Pulley about the day's events?

"Seeing Black and white

workers—sitting together at the coliseum, marching side by side, standing up to the cops together," Pulley answered. "Right here in Virginia, in what was once the capital of the Confederacy."

The basis for such unity, Pulley said, was laid by the gains of the civil rights movement. "And we'll be seeing a lot more of the same—Black workers fighting for our rights as part of the labor movement."

Sitting at the rally in Newport News, Pulley said, he noticed the strikers' desire to take on the politicians who have betrayed them in their fight for a union.

"When District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher threatened to 'settle our differences with the politicians at the ballot box,' cheers filled the hall."

"But replacing one big-business-controlled politician with another is never going to settle anything. The labor movement's differences are really with the Democratic and Republican parties, the two capitalist parties."

"The way for working people to really settle the score in politics is to use our union power, the power we see in Newport News, to build a labor party that speaks and fights for our needs."

"In Newport News today, you can feel the working class beginning to radicalize," Pulley concluded. "You can see the wave of our future."

Emergency campaign

Marroquin defense wins Texas backing

By Roger Rudenstein

While defense activists across the country are organizing an emergency support campaign, Héctor Marroquín is on the road, taking his appeal for political asylum to as many areas as possible before his deportation hearing.

The hearing is set for April 3 in Houston. Marroquín is a socialist and union activist who fled to this country after Mexican cops falsely accused him of terrorism and subversion. If deported, he faces imprisonment, torture, and even death.

"The case is picking up a lot of steam," he told me on a recent stop in New York City. "Many more people are helping with the work of the defense committee."

In Houston, Marroquín said, he met with eleven steelworkers from Hughes Tool Company, one of the largest plants in the area.

"They wanted to know what they could do to help win support for my right to asylum. They decided to take materials to their co-workers, talk with them about the case, and try to get their union local to adopt a resolution."

Marroquín was in Texas to help kick off a drive to mobilize people to come to Houston for the deportation hearing. He will return to Texas March 23 for another statewide tour.

In San Antonio, Marroquín had been scheduled to speak at the University of Texas. Eighty people turned out. Unfortunately, his plane was delayed by fog, and he arrived late.

"Nevertheless," Marroquín said, "more than forty students waited for an hour and a half to talk with me about the case."

The San Antonio defense committee

chapter also organized a community meeting that raised \$120.

"Another change I've noticed since my tour last fall," Marroquín said, "is a greater interest by the news media."

He was interviewed in Dallas by *El Sol de Tejas*, a Spanish-language paper with a circulation of more than 130,000. He was also interviewed by major dailies in Houston, San Antonio, and Dallas.

Raising money is a big objective of the emergency campaign. More than \$15,000 is required by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee nationally to cover legal costs, fly witnesses to Houston to testify, and put out frequent press releases, newsletters, and other materials.

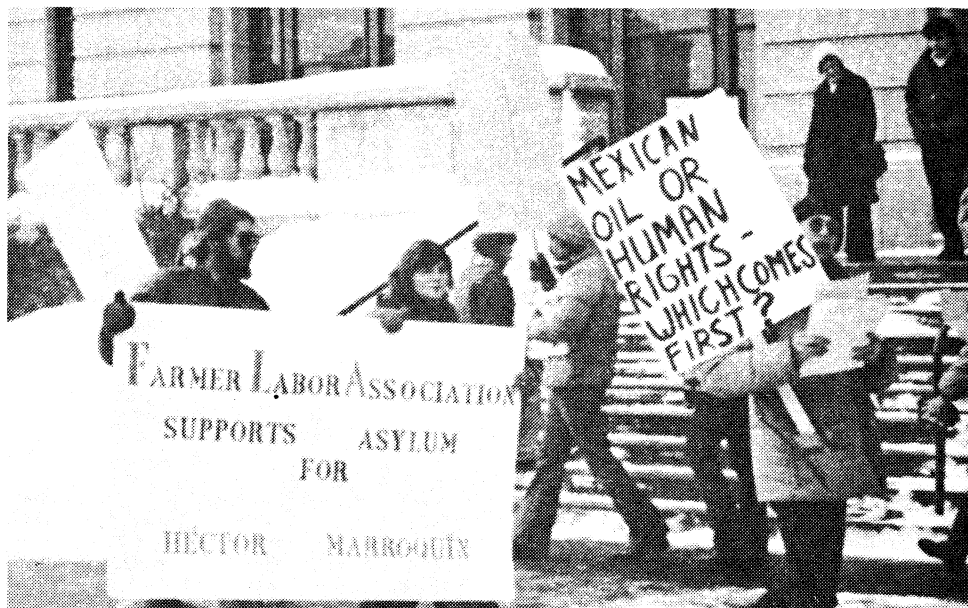
"In Texas, groups of my supporters are planning benefits, cocktail parties, dances, or receptions," Marroquín said. "In San Antonio the defense committee is organizing a walk-a-thon, as well as a cocktail party. They're going to invite everybody—Chicano organizations, the National Education Association, and others—to help build it."

"They're also seeking individual contributions and putting out fund-raising mailings."

Raising money is easy, Marroquín explained, because of the wide publicity the case has now gotten and the support from unionists, Black and Hispanic leaders, feminists, civil libertarians, and others.

"The opportunities to involve many types of people in the defense committee are almost limitless," he said. "This can be done whether I'm on tour in a city or not."

"I'm looking forward to seeing many supporters, especially from Texas, in Houston on April 3."



Picket line in Duluth, Minnesota, last month demanded political asylum for Marroquín.

Help save his life

Your help is needed in the emergency campaign to save Héctor Marroquín's life. You can:

- Organize activities to coincide with the beginning of Marroquín's deportation hearing on April 3. These could include picket lines at Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) offices, news conferences, and fund-raising benefits.

- Donate to the defense and help raise money. Funds are urgently needed to fly witnesses to the hearing and to pay for expanded publicity. Send to Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

- Come to Houston. Demonstrations and other defense activities are

planned for the week of the hearing.

- Send a protest letter or telegram to Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536, and a copy to the defense committee.

- Distribute brochures, pamphlets, posters, buttons, and other materials on Marroquín's case. These are available in bulk from the defense committee.

- Hear Marroquín speak on his struggle for justice. He will be on tour in these areas:

Washington	March 9
Detroit	11-13
Chicago	14-16
Los Angeles/	17-20
San Diego	
San Francisco Bay Area	21-22

Workers lose in Cleveland tax hike

By Joanna Misnick

CLEVELAND—When working people are swindled into voting to increase their payroll tax by 50 percent and the mayor says it's a victory over the corporations, you know something funny is going on.

That's what happened here in voting February 27. By a margin of more than two-to-one, voters in this working-class city approved a measure to hike the city's payroll tax from 1 percent to 1.5 percent.

This regressive measure will soak Cleveland workers for an extra \$25 million a year. It doesn't take a cent from the profits of banks and industry.

By a slightly smaller margin the voters turned down a proposal to sell a city-owned power system that supplies electricity to 20 percent of Cleveland residents.

The municipal plant is supposed to hold down the rates of the city's principal supplier of power, Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company. But it doesn't. The rates keep going up and up.

Smokescreen

The debate over whether to sell Muny Light was used by Democratic Mayor Dennis Kucinich as a smoke-screen to put over the payroll tax hike demanded by the bankers. Kucinich has cultivated the image of being a "people's mayor fighting corporate domination."

The principal union officials, tied hand and foot to the Democratic Party, have helped the mayor put over this fraudulent image. They also helped campaign for the tax hike.

The stage was set for the tax increase by a city financial "crisis"—deliberately created by the bankers when they refused to refinance a \$15 million loan last December, forcing the city to "default" on the payment then due.

Kucinich, like other Democratic and Republican officeholders across the country, responded by threatening mass layoffs of city workers and a further slashing of essential social services.

The only way for the city to begin meeting its debts, the bankers declared, was to hike the payroll tax. The

mayor and his supporters agreed.

Then, to muddy over his complicity with the bankers on this soak-the-workers plan, Kucinich raised a big hue and cry about "saving" Muny Light, a move that solves nothing for working people.

Kucinich's pretense of campaigning against the "greedy corporate special interests" enabled the corporations to ram through the tax hike that voters had rejected four times in the past decade.

By focusing public attention on Muny Light, the mayor diverted attention from the basic question in the city "crisis": Why should the workers foot the burden of the alleged city deficit, when it could easily be paid from the huge profits of the industrialists and financiers?

Socialist campaign

Thabo Ntweng, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, has been the only political figure to zero in on this.

He declared that "saving" Muny Light was a fake issue and that the labor movement should have opposed the payroll tax hike. City financing, he insisted, should come from the coffers of the banks and corporations.

Commenting on the voting results, Ntweng said, "Working people were trapped in this election. They were told that they had to choose either higher taxes or city layoffs and service cut-backs."

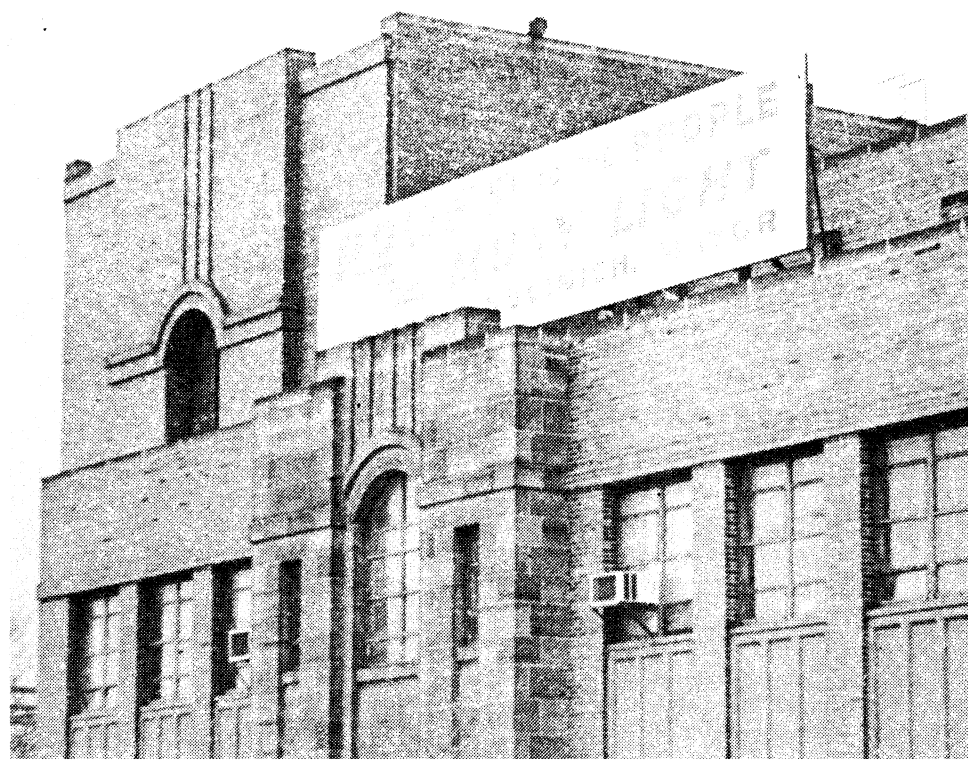
"The worst thing," he added, "is that they were told this by the leadership of the labor movement, which lined up with the Democratic Party city administration in endorsing the tax hike."

A member of United Auto Workers Local 217, Ntweng sharply criticized the political stance of the union tops.

"They're busy painting Kucinich as the working-class savior," he said. "But on the shop floor, the day after voting, the feeling was different. People were angry about having been blackmailed."

"There is the feeling," Ntweng continued, "that they'll be back to ask for more if we don't do something about it."

"People who have that concern are dead right," he added. "When you start



Militant/Dick Roberts

Rhetoric about 'saving' Muny Light was used to divert voters from real issues

paying blackmail, the demands keep escalating."

He noted that the banks and the business executives are pushing for a state takeover of city finances. Such a move would have only one purpose—to further trim the city budget by scraping more social services.

"The bankers want it both ways," he said. "They want the people to pay more taxes and get less services. That's to guarantee there's plenty for them."

Labor action

"The way to fight this," Ntweng declared, "is for labor to get into politics on its own."

"People are looking for a way to fight against these corporate ripoffs," he said, "including at the ballot box. Thousands thought by voting to 'save' Muny Light they were voting against the banks and C&E."

"But there is no way to vote against the corporations within the confines of the two-party system, including the rigged 'lesser evil' referenda these capitalist politicians offer us."

"When I launched my campaign for

mayor at the time of the default," the socialist continued, "I called for a grass-roots conference of the unions and Black and community groups to discuss solutions to the Cleveland crisis that would benefit us, not the profiteers. We still need such a conference."

"The race for mayor has moved to center stage," he noted. "Just think what we could do to turn this situation around if labor and its allies ran their own candidate for mayor—against both the Democrats and Republicans. They could campaign to open the books of the banks and utilities, stop the rate-gouging, and put the tax burden on the rich, not on workers."

"We've had enough of politicians who claim to represent working people but do the dirty work for the bankers. That's what we get every time from the Republicans and Democrats. That's why working people need their own political party."

"With a labor party, using labor's power," the socialist candidate declared, "working people in Cleveland could start the ball rolling and set an example of how to fight back."

Demand gov't action in Denver radiation crisis

By Sue Adley and Orlando Martínez

DENVER—Harold Sudmeyer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, has called on the federal government to provide free lifetime medical care for everyone exposed to radiation from the eighteen recently discovered radium-contaminated sites here.

"Employees whose health has suffered, workers laid off because their job site has been closed, or people whose homes or water supply have been contaminated should not have to suffer financially," Sudmeyer said.

"Any workers laid off should be compensated by the government at union wages and trained for new jobs if necessary," the socialist candidate went on.

The first uranium ore dump was discovered by chance February 14, just two miles from downtown Denver and next to a heavily traveled street, under what is now a brick company. Radiation there is three times the federally allowed maximum, which is dangerously high to start with.

Meanwhile, seventeen more dumps have been located in Denver and nearby Boulder. One is at a busy intersection.

Radium causes cancer, especially bone cancer, and can cause genetic

and birth defects.

One contaminated area is along railroad tracks in west Denver. "I think the railroad is putting their profits over our safety," railroad switchperson Silvia Zapata told the *Militant*. "They're always saying 'safety first.' Will they put safety first now and shut down Rice Yard?"

The full story isn't known yet on the effects of the radiation. As of March 1, two weeks after the discovery, only five of a hundred workers at tainted sites had been examined. Results of tests for external radiation exposure and chromosome damage were still unavailable.

Owners of contaminated property will have to pay for the cleanup themselves, according to Al Hazle of the Colorado Health Department. "By right of possession, it's their material," he said.

No one knows how many homes may have been built on or with contaminated materials. In addition, no one knows if ground water supplies have been affected.

One site, found accidentally, is under a two-block stretch of pavement in the densely populated Capitol Hill area of Denver. The health department is trying to figure out whether the paving asphalt was made out of contaminated material.

"If we found two just by accident, you wonder what we'd find if we went out looking at random," an official told the *Denver Post*.

"The money for the cleanup and proper medical care for the people affected by radiation should come from the federal war budget," candidate Sudmeyer said. "One Trident submarine costs \$1.7 billion. That could pay for all this many times over."

Sudmeyer said the discovery of the radium dumps shows the necessity of shutting down all nuclear power plants

and dismantling the entire nuclear weapons stockpile.

"There is no 'safe' level of exposure to radiation," he explained.

"Think how the problem here is multiplied by the many uranium mines and mills, nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants around the country. Then add the hazards of transporting radioactive materials and disposing of nuclear wastes," Sudmeyer said.

Sudmeyer is using his campaign to publicize an April 28 demonstration calling for shutting down the nearby Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant.

Help get it around

Socialist Workers Party candidates have proposed an "Emergency Bill to Provide Jobs for All." You can help distribute this bill and the accompanying article, which explains the causes and solutions to unemployment, by ordering copies (2½ cents each, 2 cents each for 1,000 or more) from the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



What choice in Chicago mayoral race?

By Bobbie Bagel

CHICAGO—The news media here have portrayed the defeat of Mayor Michael Bilandic in the Democratic primary February 27 as nothing short of earth shattering.

For the first time in forty-eight years, the official candidate of the Democratic machine lost the election.

Chicagoans had poured out to the polls in numbers that exceeded by 10 percentage points the average since 1955.

Postelection surveys showed all kinds of reasons why people voted for the winner, Jane Byrne. Some voted for her because they loved former Mayor Richard Daley. Some because they hated Daley. Some thought she was a real independent, a rebel. Many thought that anyone was better than Bilandic.

"I'm a Democrat," Byrne declared. "I believe in the Democratic Party. And I believe the Democratic Party will come out of this better and stronger than it ever was."

That summed up the real meaning of her victory for the more than 400,000 Blacks, women, young people and others who tried to register their protest against city hall policies by voting for Byrne.

The lives of working people in Chicago will not change for the better in the slightest because Byrne beat Bilandic.

Socialist alternative

The general election for mayor is April 3, but as far as the news media are concerned, the election may as well have ended with the Democratic primary.

Immediately after the primary election Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, released a statement demanding news coverage for his campaign.

"It's time that the people of Chicago know that there is an alternative on the ballot in this race," Pulley said. The Democratic and Republican candidates represent big business and the bankers, and "my campaign represents the interests of working people and of Blacks and *latinos* in this city."

Pulley challenged the other two candidates to debate the issues that they successfully avoided in the primary campaigns—school desegregation, affirmative action, women's rights, and unemployment.

The only thing Byrne wanted to talk about during the primary campaign, Pulley told the *Militant*, "was that she, not Bilandic, was the real political heir of former Mayor Richard Daley."

In 1968, Daley had appointed her as commissioner of consumer sales, weights, and measures. In 1971, he made Byrne a Democratic Party committeewoman, and in 1974, a cochairperson of the Cook County Democratic Party.

Fourteen months ago Bilandic fired Byrne because, for her own reasons, she exposed a price-fixing scheme between the city and taxi companies.

In her campaign to win the Democratic primary, Byrne put publicity spots on the radio featuring tapes of Daley praising her abilities and her unwavering loyalty to him.

Bilandic still got the routine endorsement of all the major news media, union officials, and even the majority of Black community organizations.

But anger at city hall's treatment of working people had built up among voters over the years. The big snow was the last straw. Six weeks after the January blizzard, many streets and sidewalks were still buried. In some areas—especially in the Black community—there were no trains, no buses, and no garbage collections.

Voters took it out on city hall by handing Byrne 51 percent of the Democratic primary votes.



Democratic primary winner Jane Byrne (top) boasts of being former Mayor Daley's real political heir. SWP mayoral contender Andrew Pulley (below, right) believes it's time the union movement ran its own independent candidates against both big-business parties.

Just two days after the election the regular Democratic Party forces began to express support for Byrne.

And she moved quickly to mend her fences with them by meeting with the city's prominent business executives.

"The voters were back where they started from," notes Pulley.

A political consultant firm that surveyed voters as they were leaving the polls estimated that Byrne got 53 percent of her votes from women.

"Many women's rights supporters pulled the lever for Byrne," says Pulley. "But she never once spoke out in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment—and Illinois is an unrattified state."

The *New York Times* reports that after the election when reporters called her office to ask what her stand on the ERA is "no one . . . could say whether she was for or against it."

She also won 67 percent of the Black vote. "Unlike my campaign, which

was and continues to be outspoken in support of Black rights," Pulley says, "Byrne has said nothing about racist attacks against Blacks in the Marquette Park area."

"She has given strong support in the past to the antibusing forces in the city. And throughout her campaign, she made no statement on school desegregation—in this, the most segregated city in the country."

'No assurance of change'

Black columnist Vernon Jarrett wrote in the *Chicago Tribune* after the election, "I hope the Byrne supporters in the Black community will stop celebrating for a while, and recognize that just as they had no assurances of fundamental change before her election, they have none the morning after. . . ."

"I'm tendering the following recommendation to Chicago Blacks: throughout the city there should be neighbor-

hood meetings and assemblies designed to assess the political situation in the wake of the Byrne shocker."

Pulley wholeheartedly agrees with that recommendation.

"That is exactly the kind of discussion that is needed in the Black community, and in the labor movement as well," Pulley says.

"We need to assess a political situation where the only way working people in Chicago can see to express their disgust with the racist, anti-women's rights, antilabor Bilandic administration is to vote for an equally racist, anti-women's rights, antilabor Democrat."

"It's the same in every other city and state in the country," Pulley went on. "In most places it's the Democrats and Republicans—both parties of big business—that people get to 'choose' between. In Chicago, it's between the Democrats and the Democrats. But it all means more of the same for Blacks, women, and other working people."

Three days after the election, Pulley, a Black steelworker, traveled to Newport News, Virginia, to join a march and rally in support of striking shipyard workers.

Labor's political power

"The march was half Black, as is the work force at the shipyard," he explained. "And it brought home to me the power that the labor movement along with the Black community really have when we're out in the streets demanding our rights, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties."

"That kind of working-class power is what Black community meetings and union meetings should be discussing here in Chicago. The labor movement could be running its own candidates for public office. The unions could build a party based on that power."

"We need a labor party made up of fighting unionists like those on strike in Newport News and like the 200 steelworkers from the Chicago area who rode on buses all the way to Virginia to show their support for the strike there."

Pulley and his supporters are redoubling their efforts to reach Chicagoans before April 3. They're calling up radio talk shows and distributing literature on street corners, at plant gates, at railyards, and on campuses.

Their message is that there is no political difference between Bilandic, Byrne, and Republican Wallace Johnson. If working people want to cast a vote against the machine on election day, they should vote Socialist Workers.

Pucinski's probe: Would Pulley 'step down'?

CHICAGO—Two days after the primary election here, the Socialist Workers Party downtown campaign headquarters received a surprising phone call. It was from Alderman Roman Pucinski, one of the top Democratic machine politicians in the city.

As campaign director, I took the call. Pucinski inquired about our mayoral candidate Andrew Pulley: What did he do for a living? What were his political positions? Had he ever been on the ballot before?

Pucinski asked why we didn't get much news coverage for our campaign. I replied that it was because Democratic politicians like himself had control over and the only access to the media.

We talked for about twenty-five minutes until he finally got around to asking if the Socialist Workers Party had considered running a "stronger" candidate in light of Jane

Byrne's victory in the Democratic primary.

I answered that we believe Pulley is extremely well qualified to represent the SWP in the interest of working people.

Pulley is a steelworker, I told him, an activist in his union. He has been a leader in the Black community struggle for school busing and against racist attacks. He was an active antiwar GI during the Vietnam War. He ran for vice-president of the United States in 1972 on the SWP ticket.

How much more qualified can you get?

Pucinski asked if I would like to discuss the matter further over coffee. I said no, but that I would send him a packet of campaign literature if he wanted more information.

On the 10 o'clock TV news that night, it was reported that one "wild" idea was thrown out in a

closed session of the Democratic Party Central Committee. The idea was to ask Andrew Pulley if he would step down to allow a well-known machine personality to use his ballot slot.

Pulley held a news conference March 3 to answer Pucinski's probe. "My supporters worked hard collecting over 27,500 signatures to get on the ballot," he said. "The machine has always used restrictive legislation to keep socialists and others with independent points of view off the ballot, and now they're caught in their own trap."

"We represent the real alternative in this election."

Pulley's statement was picked up by the major radio and local TV stations and the two daily papers.

Pucinski admitted to reporters that he had called the SWP campaign headquarters but denied any ulterior motives.

—B.B.

Unionizing drive projected

UFW holds Texas organizing convention

By Bruce Kimball

SAN JUAN, Texas—"En Texas—si se puede!" ("In Texas—it can be done!")

This was the banner welcoming more than 800 delegates and observers to the First Organizing Convention in Texas of the United Farm Workers of America.

Held February 25 in this Rio Grande Valley town a few miles from the Mexican border, the convention was chaired by UFW President César Chávez.

The convention represented for the UFW its first major organizing move outside of California since it decided some five years ago to focus its efforts in that state.

At the convention, it was reported that there were 350 delegates representing forty UFW organizing committees around Texas, as well as in northern Mexico, where people commute into Texas to work in the fields.

Chávez paid tribute to Rufino Contreras, the UFW member murdered by a foreman in the California lettuce strike.

He spoke of the gains won by the UFW for California farm workers, declaring, "And this is what we want in Texas."

This is certainly what Texas farm workers want and need. Frequently interrupting Chávez's speech with applause and chanting, they showed their enthusiasm for this prospect.

Texas farm workers, almost all Chicano and *mexicano*, are among the

most exploited laborers in this country, and the victims of virulent racism as well.

The median family income for a field-worker family of six is \$3,390 a year.

The minimum wage for farm workers in Texas is a miserable \$1.40 an hour. And there are undocumented workers from Mexico who sometimes wind up with less.

El cortito, the back-breaking short-handled hoe used to speed up production, is still in widespread use. (In California, a campaign by the UFW won adoption of a state regulation banning it.)

Most Texas farm workers live in unincorporated rural communities called *colonias*. One-third of these *colonias* have no water system. Many lack sewers, gas lines and paved streets.

To deal with exploitation and oppression on this scale will require a major organizational drive by the UFW and immense aid from other unions and community supporters.

At this point, the UFW does not plan a drive of this scope. At a news conference during the convention, Chávez said it would be two or three years before the union could even consider strike action.

At present the union has several thousand members in the state and holds no contracts.

However, resolutions adopted by the convention could open the way for the kind of statewide drive that is necessary.

Resolutions called for increasing the number of union organizing centers. At present the only one is here in San Juan.

Among the other areas proposed for establishment of union headquarters was Reynosa, Mexico, where more than 6,000 workers live, who commute into Texas. Other centers were proposed for West Texas and for other areas of the Rio Grande Valley.

Important strength can be given to the organizing drive if the UFW seeks the backing of the Texas Farm Workers.

Led by Antonio Orendain, the TFW grew out of initial UFW organizing efforts in Texas some years back.

Since then the TFW has led a number of militant strikes and has worked for state legislation establish-

ing the right of union organization for field hands.

Functioning with meager resources in a "right to work" state with powerful growers and politicians arrayed against them, the TFW has fought an uphill struggle. But the national resources and support commanded by the UFW could make a decisive change in the picture here.

At the news conference during the convention, a Dallas reporter quoted Orendain as saying he was ready to cooperate with the UFW in the organizing drive. The reporter asked Chávez where he stood on this.

Chávez replied that he would be happy to sit down with representatives of the TFW to discuss joint activity.

A high point of the gathering was a rally by a hundred members of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee. FLOC is based in Ohio, where it recently led a strike of tomato pickers. Many of its members are migrant workers who live in Texas during the winter.

Their rally and the UFW convention were addressed by Baldimar Velásquez, president of FLOC. The organization is presently seeking to promote a boycott of Campbell's and Libby's, the principal buyers of Ohio's tomato crop.

The convention unanimously approved a resolution declaring solidarity with FLOC. Further resolutions called for solidarity with embattled farm workers in California, Arizona, and Florida.



CESAR CHAVEZ

Militant/Howard Petrick

Set national antinuclear march on Washington

By Arnold Weissberg

WASHINGTON—A broadly representative gathering here of the anti-nuclear power and anti-nuclear weapons movement has called a national march on Washington for April 26, 1980.

The action will cap major protests across the country against nuclear power and weapons this spring and next fall.

Representatives of some thirty-four groups were at the one-day gathering March 3. Besides a host of local organizations such as the Clamshell Alliance, Palmetto Alliance, and Bailly Alliance, the Mobilization for Survival, War Resisters League, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Supporters of Silkwood, and Union of Concerned Scientists sent representatives.

There was unanimous support from the seventy-five activists present for

the proposal by Terry Provance of the American Friends Service Committee for the April date.

An alternative time for the action—early March—was suggested as a way of influencing Democratic and Republican politicians running in the presidential primaries and choosing candidates to support.

Peter Franchot, representing the Union of Concerned Scientists, countered the idea. Franchot said marching to influence politicians was "setting your sights too low." The movement must appeal to the American people to win, Franchot said.

"We shouldn't be using this movement to support different candidates," agreed Jean Savage of the New York City Shad Alliance. "They all make promises, and we know how little *that* means."

Both components of the anti-nuclear

movement—the anti-nuclear power groups and the anti-nuclear weapons groups—had previously proposed a march on Washington.

A national anti-nuclear power conference last summer in Louisville approved a series of protest actions to culminate in a march on Washington either in the fall of 1979 or the spring of 1980. At its national conference a month later in Des Moines, the Mobilization for Survival, a national organization that focuses mainly on opposition to nuclear weapons, also called for a national march and for consultation with the anti-nuclear power groups on the date.

The April 1980 proposal was the result of a unity meeting last December.

Guy Chichester, a founder of the Clamshell Alliance, described the action proposal as "a unifying action. Nuclear power touches every life. The

march can bring together a broad spectrum of interests," he said.

After a lengthy discussion, the meeting agreed that the general theme for the action would be "March for a non-nuclear world." Several other proposals, including that the theme be "For a nuclear moratorium," were rejected.

Advocates of the nuclear moratorium, which would halt production of new nuclear weapons but leave untouched existing nuclear weapons stockpiles, called their proposal "more practical."

However, Ed Josephson of the New York University Shad Alliance noted that the moratorium motion was not necessarily practical. "Simplest is better," Josephson said, advocating a "No nukes" demand.

A follow-up meeting to discuss plans for the action has been set for June 16-17 in Washington, D.C.

...Iran

Continued from page 5

brothers died in guerrilla combat against the shah's army.

A railroad worker and two auto workers also planned to speak to explain why they had just joined the SWP.

But before the meeting could progress, the disrupters rushed in again, this time attacking the literature table and tearing up pamphlets. Participants in the meeting had already purchased \$500 worth of Trotskyist literature when the attack began.

The goons also moved toward the stairway, intending to tear down the SWP's banners that hung from the balcony. These banners declared the SWP's support for the workers, peasants, oppressed nationalities, and women of Iran. One read: "Build the committees of workers and soldiers; the soviet of the toilers; forward to the Constituent Assembly!"

At the stairway the provocateurs bared switchblades and chains. But

the monitors of the meeting foiled their attempt to start a fight. They explained that disruption of political meetings was a SAVAK technique that could only hurt the workers movement. This had an impact on many of the attackers in the rear, who drew back.

Worker condemns attack

Meanwhile, an Azerbaijani worker took the podium to denounce the disruption. He explained he had come to the meeting to hear about socialism and how workers could build soviets. He said every group had the democratic right to present its ideas.

The disruption continued, but the armed thugs were unable to provoke the fight they wanted. At 5 p.m. the organizers of the meeting announced it would be impossible to continue without violence and urged everyone to leave.

People left the gymnasium, but hundreds gathered outside to continue the political discussion.

All three Tehran dailies covered the story the next day. Reporters from the Paris *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* also

attended the meeting.

The bourgeois press in Iran has tried to portray the disruption as an inevitable fight between political groups, thus creating the pretext for the government to ban meetings because they "lead to violence." The Polytechnic administration announced the day after the attack on the SWP that no more political meetings could take place on campus.

Workers demand discussion

But suppression of political discussion and political parties—particularly workers parties—is the exact opposite of what the Iranian masses are fighting for today. Having thrown out the shah and his censors with their bare hands, the Iranian people are not about to tolerate new attacks on democracy.

There is an explosion of political discussion in every sector of the population. SWP members report selling as many as 120 copies an hour of the Trotskyist newspaper *Kargar* (Worker). They also report that since the attack on their meeting a discussion about

Trotskyism has begun on all the campuses.

It's in this context that the Bazargan government still refuses to legalize political parties and is postponing the election of a constituent assembly. Bazargan is well aware that his proposed referendum—"Do you want a monarchy or an Islamic Republic?"—is growing more and more unpopular. Workers are looking for genuine political alternatives—and parties—that represent their interests.

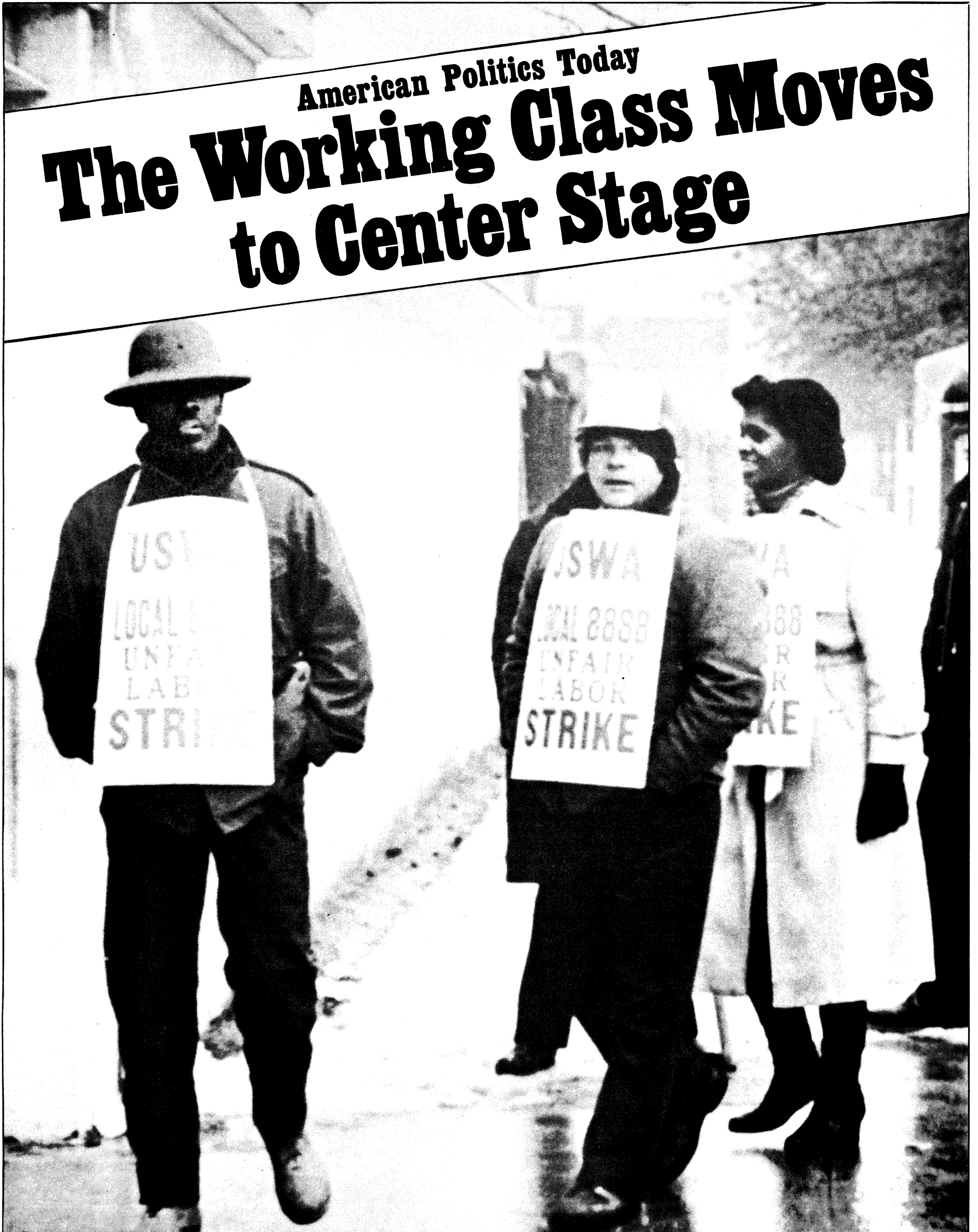
The SWP is demanding that the government guarantee the right of all political parties to freedom of expression and activity. It calls on Bazargan to release the SAVAK files seized during the insurrection. These files should be made public, the socialists explain, so working people can see the truth about SAVAK's slanders and disruptive methods.

The next public meeting of the SWP will take place in several weeks. In the meantime, Trotskyists are circulating petitions in support of the SWP's democratic rights and contacting supporters to turn out for the next SWP rally.

international **socialist** review

American Politics Today

The Working Class Moves to Center Stage



THE MONTH IN REVIEW

March 8: Defend Abortion Rights!

March 8 is International Women's Day, when women celebrate the struggle that won the right to vote, and protest today's sexual discrimination.

This year, the International Campaign for Abortion Rights has also declared March 31 an international day of action around women's right to choose.

It is fitting that abortion should be a central focus of internationally coordinated actions. Abortion is a need that knows no national boundaries.

It is a right being challenged at this moment in the United States. There has been an unbroken series of restrictions on abortion rights since the June 1977 Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of the Hyde amendment. This law allows the federal government to refuse to pay for abortions of women otherwise eligible for subsidized medical care.

The immediate victims of the Hyde amendment were poor women. Blacks and other oppressed national minorities were hit hard.

The ban on Medicaid funds forced some women to resort to back-alley or self-induced abortions. It wasn't very long before the Hyde amendment claimed its first life: twenty-seven-year-old Rosie Jimenez, who died after a forty-dollar butcher job because Medicaid would not pay for her abortion.

When Congress wrote into law the notion that abortion was somehow different from any other medical procedure, it opened the door for restrictions on every woman's right to choose.

Strict regulations on when and where abortions could be done, prosecution of doctors conducting late abortions, and cutoff of funds forced clinics to close and hospitals to refuse to provide abortion facilities.

Extreme anti-abortion ordinances were passed in a number of areas. Anti-abortion thugs, calling themselves "right-to-lifers," created an atmosphere of violence and intimidation at clinics, terrorizing both staff workers and patients. These enemies of women pressed ahead with a scheme to convoke a constitutional convention that would grant to a fertilized ovum the full citizenship rights denied many living people in the United States today.

Will this drive be successful? Are American women going to lose everything the abortion rights struggle won?

To answer this question, we must take a careful look at three different forces: the opponents of abortion rights, the leaders of

the organized pro-choice movement, and the masses of American women.

The anti-abortionists—led by Carter, Congress, and the courts—are deadly serious about taking away the right to abortion if they can get away with it. Making abortion a crime once again would represent a tremendous advance in their offensive against women's rights, Black rights, and the standard of living of all working people.

The leaders of pro-choice groups such as the National Organization for Women and the National Abortion Rights Action League are unfortunately not organizing the counter-mobilization that is needed to defend legal abortion.

Some maintain, for example, that the liberal Democratic Party wing of the government will stick up for women on the question of abortion. Prominent figures in the women's movement such as Gloria Steinem are looking toward Sen. Edward Kennedy as an alternative to Carter in 1980.

Feminists oriented toward Democratic Party politics sometimes raise the idea that the abortion issue should be set aside temporarily in order to concentrate on a more "important" or "winnable" demand such as the Equal Rights Amendment.

This is a dangerous strategy, because defeats around abortion—even partial defeats—set back the struggle for women's rights on every front, including the fight for ratification of the ERA.

NOW President Eleanor Smeal recently proposed putting aside the issue of abortion for another reason—to see if it was possible for pro- and anti-abortion leaders to carry out a dialogue around less controversial matters.

It is simply an illusion to think the abortion issue will be resolved by reasoning with people who put the well-being of fetuses above that of living women. This is a *battle*, demanding decisive action by the majority in favor of legal abortion.

There is also a tendency within the women's movement to bend to the idea that abortion is really a moral question rather than a political one.

This is revealed in remarks—by *defenders* of legal abortion—about the abortion "problem," about the "emotional trauma" of the abortion patient, about abortion being a "bad alternative," about the goal of eventually making abortion completely unnecessary.

"Neither pro-abortion nor anti-abortion, just pro-choice," reads the masthead of the NARAL newsletter.

"No woman ever *wants* to have an abortion," supporters of legal abortion will insist over and over.

Certainly no woman ever wants to have an abortion until she is pregnant. But confronted with unwanted pregnancies, literally millions of women want very much to have abortions. They don't think of abortion as a bad alternative but as their best or only alternative.

Abortions can certainly involve emotional trauma when they are performed under dan-

gerous, illegal, or humiliating conditions.

But the growth of the feminist movement and the legalization of abortion represented a wonderful psychological liberation for women. Any bending to the idea that abortion is somehow morally questionable just holds women back from breaking down the wall of guilt, shame, and secrecy that always surrounded abortion.

If the rulers of the United States want to recriminalize abortion and if the recognized leaders of the pro-choice movement are not putting up the necessary fight, then is the loss of legal abortion inevitable?

It is not inevitable, because masses of women are convinced that abortion is their right, and because of the combative attitudes that prevail today among women and their allies in the class struggle.

Women are not simply going to wake up one morning and find themselves back in the pre-1973 days of illegal, dangerous, exorbitant, and guilt-ridden abortions. That would be a defeat on a different scale from the setbacks suffered so far. It would be a major blow to the women's rights movement and to working people in the United States. It could only happen if the upsurge of women's liberation sentiment that began in 1969 had been halted and turned back.

Is that the reality in the United States today? No. Women's determination to win equality is greater, not less, today than it was in 1973 when the ruling class was forced to grant the concession of legal abortion.

The 100,000 women and men who marched in Washington last July 9 have not been defeated. The outpouring of sentiment that won extension of the ERA deadline was hardly a sign of demoralization.

The women unionists who were inspired by striking miners last spring; those who are today walking the picket lines in Newport News, Virginia; the women who drove tractors and campers into Washington with other farmers in February—they are not about to throw in the towel.

Women are fighting every attempt to drive them out of the work force and back into the home, and they have relegated the notion that women work for "pin money" to the garbage heap where it belongs. What's more, they are battling their way into higher-paying industrial jobs.

The battle over legal abortion is not finished, and defeat is far from inevitable. Defenders of abortion rights need to start acting like the majority they are.

The forces that in 1978 began to be mobilized around the ERA—women, the labor movement, and the oppressed nationalities—need to unite in defense of legal abortions.

The March 8 and March 31 actions, and those that will surely follow, can begin to tap this sentiment and mobilize the powerful allies of the feminist movement. If that course is followed, legal abortion will be safeguarded, and the setbacks suffered so far turned around.

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American Politics Today

The Working Class Moves to Center Stage

By Jack Barnes

What's behind the attacks on working people today? How are these attacks being carried out and how can they be combated? How is the labor movement changing? What did the 1978 elections show? How should revolutionary socialists respond to the heating up of the class struggle today and prepare for the battles ahead?

These were some of the questions discussed by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in his report for the Political Committee to the SWP National Committee meeting last December. The National Committee, elected by delegates at party conventions, is the SWP's highest decision-making body between conventions.

This month's 'International Socialist Review' publishes the edited text of Barnes's report, together with his summary remarks at the end of the National Committee discussion. The report and summary were adopted by unanimous vote.

An upcoming issue of the 'Militant' will include a special feature article by Frank Lovell on the National Committee's discussion of the labor party question.

The economic situation that existed 113 years ago throughout the industrial world would have sounded familiar to workers today.

There was downward pressure on real wages. Rampant inflation was threatening. There were cutbacks, and wage guidelines were being proposed. The stock argument given for not increasing wages was that it would be self-defeating. Any increase in wages would simply drive up prices, force down other wages, and price the higher-paid workers out of the labor market.

These arguments were picked up by some leaders of the workers movement of that time—even some leaders of the First International. This provoked Karl Marx to say something about this line of argument. And so, in 1865, he gave an address to the General Council of the First International, later published under the title, *Value, Price and Profit*.

Yes, Marx said, it is true that the general tendency of capitalist production—despite periods of prosperity—"is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages, or to push the value of labor more or less to its minimum limit."

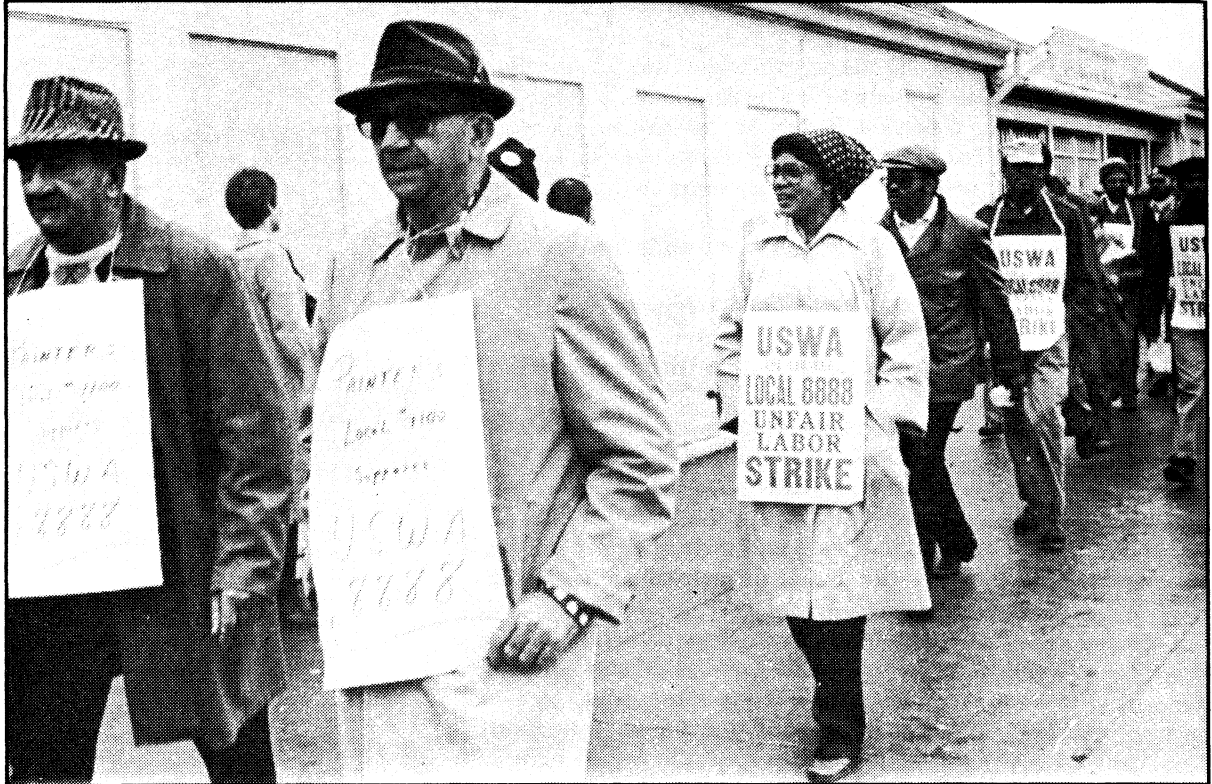
But does this mean, he asked, "that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital and abandon their attempt at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement?" If they did so, says Marx, "they would be degraded to one level mass of broken down wretches past salvation."

But the workers don't respond that way, Marx says. Regardless of what anyone tells them, they refuse to buckle under in a cowardly way in their everyday conflict with capital.

In fact, Marx says, under these conditions, the workers begin "unavoidable guerrilla fights" against the encroachments by the employers.

That's what is happening in this country right now. We have entered a period in the United States where the class war, because of the class-collaborationist default of the labor bureaucracy, is being fought in guerrilla struggles in factory after factory. You could say that what is taking place is urban guerrilla warfare for an extended period. And, judging from the reports from Canada and Mexico, we should add that it is on a continental scale.

That is what we have: guerrilla warfare by the workers, defensive struggles, not politically led, not consciously organized, not carried out in a coordinated way.



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt
On the picket line in Newport News, Virginia. 'We're in a period where struggles are not only being prepared—they are going on right now.'

And it is a great harbinger of what is coming—struggles that will be more conscious, more political, and more effective.

The Great Coal Strike of 1978

When the national committee met in February of this year, the miners' strike was on. We had an initial discussion about that strike, assessed its significance and outlined our response.

Looking back on the miners' strike now, we can see the importance of it in a more complete way. We should begin our discussion here with that strike, because it set the political framework for what has happened since.

It was correct to say that the mine strike was the most important battle of labor since the showdown in the General Motors strike in 1946. There is no doubt about that now.

What happened in the miners' struggle affected the relationship of class forces in this country. It shed light on the patterns of struggle that are coming—in industry and in the country as a whole. It illuminated the changing relationship of forces between the ruling class, the labor bureaucracy, and the workers. And that is at the heart of all politics in this country.

The strike deeply affected the ruling class and the way they view their tactical problems. It profoundly affected the working class and its allies, changing the way they look at themselves and at each other.

I think it also affected the revolutionary party. It sharpened our view of politics in this country today. And it showed once more how a party can act decisively, even when it is very small, in a way that can begin affecting much larger forces—providing you are in the strategically decisive arenas of action.

What happened in the miners' strike? After thirty years of less direct confrontations—masked and deflected by the red tape of the arbitration machinery, injunctions, and grievance procedures, mediated and muted by the bureaucracy—this time the struggle very quickly became an undisguised battle between the employers and the government on one side, and the coal miners on the other. It was a naked conflict, with the normal mask stripped away, with the

national union officials often on the sidelines.

The ruling class decided it was going to try to take back some gains previously won by the miners and—most importantly—open a mortal wound in the UMWA in the process. First, it was going to take back certain social benefits that had been won in bloody battle, especially the miners' health-care plan.

Second, it was going to try to deal some blows to the idea the miners had got hold of, that they had a right to democracy—a right to run their own union and to use that democratic control to protect their own life and limbs. The rulers wanted to squelch the growing tendency of the miners to think they have a right to vote on their contracts, to read and study what is in them before they vote, and the right to shut down mines if they are unsafe.

One coal operator, Charles Johnson from West Virginia, stated the bosses' views plainly: "Democracy will destroy unionism; none of the major unions that are well run have any democracy."

Third, they wanted to take advantage of weaknesses built into some of the gains miners had consolidated over the years. There is a flaw in the social benefits codified in the UMWA and virtually all other union contracts. The miners' health care and pension plans were tied directly to the profits of the coal operators. These programs were dependent not on the wealth of the country—the wealth that the working class produces and that by all rights should be used for health care, decent retirement income, and other human needs. They were not part of expanded Social Security guarantees for the working class.

Instead, these benefits were made dependent on the economic well-being of the employers—on how much coal was produced. So that when the employers claim they can't afford to cover the costs, the benefits can disappear in a puff of smoke.

Finally, the ruling class wanted to increase the proportion of coal produced in non-union mines. The bosses have already made substantial inroads on union mining. They wanted to drive that forward.

The Gamble That Failed

These were the objectives the employers were after. But the miners had different ideas, and they didn't just lie down and take it. They fought back. And because they fought back, the employers finally had to resort to direct political orders. In doing so, they took a big gamble.

The rulers estimated the class relationship of forces. Then Carter's advisers—who are told by finance capital what to do—told the president what to do. Then Carter announced their decision: to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act and order the miners back to work. This, said Carter, was "the law."

But this was a gamble that failed.

You remember what happened. Our friend the attorney general, Mr. Contempt-of-Court Bell himself, and the whole Justice Department, got together and sent out hundreds of U.S. marshals with these injunctions all printed up. They were supposed to read them in the coal fields everywhere and serve them on local union officials.

The miners got these pieces of paper, and they laughed.

Suddenly all the myths about law, authority, power, disappeared for several weeks. A common attitude was that it was an interesting piece of paper, but that the little fellow should come down from Washington and mine some coal himself to see what it's like.

That was it. That was what happened to "the law."

It was similar to what just happened in Britain, with the Ford auto workers telling Prime Minister Callaghan what to do with his 5 percent wage controls.

This is what always happens in the class struggle when it reaches a certain stage. The more conscious the leadership is, the more rapidly the ranks learn that "the law" is nothing but a tool of the bosses and their government. Its only power is the degree of your illusions that it must be respected.

The Teamsters in Local 544 in Minneapolis used to get injunctions by the bushel in the 1930s. It wasn't unusual for some judge in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area to send an injunction over to the union hall in multiple copies telling the Teamsters they weren't allowed to do something or other. It was the law, they said.

The Teamsters took the injunctions, put them in the toilet, and used them appropriately. Farrell [Dobbs] says sometimes the supply would last for weeks.

When this consciousness about the function of "laws" begins to develop, it is a problem for the ruling class. They are dependent on the illusion that "the law" is neutral in the class struggle. They count on their laws being accepted and feared by the workers. Their greatest fear is that the workers will discover that the only real law is: you take whatever you're big enough to take.

The miners conducted their struggle in a militant and determined manner, and there was a standoff. The coal operators had to settle for less than they wanted. The miners prevented them from taking what they had gone after.

But the bosses' offensive in the coal fields has not stopped. They are still pressing, probing to see what they can get. They are pushing hard on the "productivity" front. They are chopping away at health care. They are using incentive schemes. And they are trying to increase the percentage of non-union coal, primarily by opening new non-union mines and blocking UMWA organizing efforts.

Impact of Miners' Strike

The impact of the miners' struggle on the working class in this country was tremendous—maybe more than we absorbed at the time. You can see it today—many months after the strike—every time a major conflict breaks out.

Whenever workers think about striking, you hear statements like, "If the miners can do it, we can do it." "We ought to do it like the miners." "The miners showed how it could be done." The railroad strikers this fall were inspired to do what the UMWA strikers had done. It came up around the postal workers' rejection of their national contract offer in August.

When the Volkswagen workers in New Stanton, Pennsylvania—where they make the VW Rabbits—decided there would be no bunny if they got no money, their slogan was, "Do it like the miners." The independent owner-operators in the FASH strike, too. And the Safeway strikers in California—they would have liked to be able to "do it like the miners."

When the workers are able to hold off and to some degree outflank the union bureaucracy like the miners did, to prevent them from scuttling their struggles, there are successes.

When the workers can't do that, as in the Safeway strike, there are setbacks.

The impact of the miners' strike went beyond

the working class, beyond the union movement. Others were encouraged, even if they were not totally conscious of how or why, by the capacity of a section of the labor movement to stand up to the rulers' offensive—to use union power to defend themselves.

For instance, the massive July 9 march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment was bigger and broader than it would have been if the miners had been defeated last spring. We're convinced of that. Because the political atmosphere in this country changed. The actions that took place around a variety of questions last spring reflected the changing moods. It all contributed to making the July 9 action a massive success.

American Labor: A Political Prisoner

It is useful to step back and look at the meaning of the developing patterns that the miners' strike highlights.

We have often talked about the long period of capitalist expansion in the years following World War II. We saw the acceleration of capital accumulation, the prolonged boom years, the role the Korean War, the cold war, the Vietnam War, played in this. This was the objective foundation for the course of political life and the development of the class struggle in the postwar era.

But to understand what is going on now in the labor movement, and what we can do about it, we have to examine the entire web of institutions that serve the employers and the government—a web they consciously wove more and more tightly over the past thirty years. We have to look at how class collaboration has been structured and codified. Because what the workers are running up against and trying to tear apart today is the bulwark carefully prepared over thirty years by the employers and their government, who knew this day would eventually come.

World War II

To understand this we have to think back to the situation right before, during, and after World War II.

The massive upsurge that led to the formation of the CIO in the second half of the 1930s never went beyond the trade-union level to encroach on the bourgeoisie's monopoly of political parties and political power. The class-collaborationist concept that labor's strategic goal must be to fight for reforms within the framework of bourgeois politics was never successfully challenged.

As the rulers of American capitalism prepared to lead the workers into the holocaust of another world war, they knew they would need a more and more solidly entrenched bureaucracy in the labor movement to guarantee class peace at home.

They made concessions to the bureaucracy, such as granting "maintenance of membership" clauses in contracts. This institutionalized dues checkoff and the union shop. In effect, the bosses gave the bureaucracy a guaranteed income. In return, the bureaucracy lined up dutifully in support of the war effort, and promoted the fake "equality of sacrifice" line of the Roosevelt administration.

The ruling class rewarded their labor lieutenants by integrating them into the government war-time boards. This gave the "representatives of labor" only one power, of course—the power to go back to the workers and tell them what "we"—that is, the bosses—had decided.

It was through steps like this that the bureaucracy became entrenched as an alien class force sitting on the potential power of the labor movement. Once again it was shown that union democracy and imperialist war are incompatible.

After a couple years of the capitalist war's toll on life, limb, real wages and working conditions, an elemental explosion erupted. The most powerfully organized sectors of the American working class, starting with the miners in 1943, led the struggle for big wage increases to make up for wages lost during the war years. This upsurge later drew in the GIs still in uniform, returning veterans, and the Black population. This 1943-1946 upsurge represented the continuity of the struggles that had built the industrial union organization in the 1934-37 years.

But there was also a discontinuity. Unlike the years before the war, the CIO was now firmly

saddled with a bureaucratic misleadership, institutionalized in power through the class-collaborationist practices implemented during the war. This entrenched CIO misleadership was a new obstacle for the industrial working class.

Postwar Standoff

The showdown after World War II resulted in a standoff. The employers were not able to realize their desire to break the strong industrial unions. On the other hand, the ranks of labor were unable to break through the straitjacket of class-collaborationist misleadership. The needs of labor continued to be subordinated to the interests of the employers' two-party system.

It was following this standoff that the existing pattern of class-collaborationist relations and methods was established.

Yearly wage increases—sometimes substantial ones—began to be won in the best-organized industries. This was the carrot. This was to give the workers the illusion that their problems could be solved with their current leadership, that is, the bureaucracy, and through its methods. That their problems could be solved within the framework of capitalist politics.

But in exchange for the yearly round of wage increases, other things were progressively given away. Contracts were lengthened from one year to two, three, and even five. But the escalator clauses that were negotiated dropped steadily behind the actual cost of living. By the mid-1960s even most of the fake escalator clauses had been given up.

What began to be called fringe benefits came into being. These were a two-edged sword. Health plans and pension plans were under company control and tied to company profits. They were based on individual seniority. They were used by the capitalist rulers as a reason why the government did not have to take care of these elementary social needs for the working class. They were used as an excuse by the labor bureaucracy not to wage a political fight for such government programs.

In exchange for these things—the wage increases and so-called fringe benefits—union control over the pace and conditions of work was gradually demolished.

Speedup and Forced Overtime

Slowly but surely, speedup was imposed in an unprecedented way in the post-World War II era. It became a debilitating fact of life. Productivity plans and incentive-pay plans became the norm.

For all practical purposes, in industry the forty-hour workweek was lost. Forced overtime became the norm. Plants going round the clock didn't need three shifts. They would hire two shifts, with employees working ten or eleven hours.

The unions themselves became more and more stratified and divided. Whole sections of the membership no longer had full union protection. There was not only discrimination against the oppressed nationalities and women, but longer periods of probation began to be negotiated. Permanent part-time workers were introduced. The result was large number of second-class workers with few benefits and rights, and the erosion of working conditions for all.

The idea of letting the company employ fewer and fewer workers, while giving a little more to those who remain—the line of the bureaucracy—began to be accepted to some degree by a layer of relatively better-off workers.

The different international unions were sealed off from each other. The idea that responding to threats against another union was a legitimate and necessary concern for all union members began to be undermined.

Even locals within the same international were insulated from one another. Your local business was the extent of your business. The international was supposed to take care of every other local. You didn't go to each other for help or support. Every battle became more and more provincial, more and more narrow.

Rights of union locals were eroded. Everything was dependent on the international.

Workers were increasingly driven to look to individual solutions. Mind your own business. Work a lot of overtime to make ends meet.

Then more and more, families had to start relying on two paychecks.

Class collaboration became institutionalized, packaged in miles and miles of red tape. Arbitration became the norm—a part of everyday life on the job. Multi-year contracts became the rule. The

'Our goal is to unleash the power of labor. By advocating proletarian methods of struggle, mass action. By fighting for a democratic labor movement, so that the power of the ranks can be unchained. By building a labor party based on these unions.'

right to vote on contracts was whittled away. Even the right to see the provisions in the contract that governed your life became less and less common.

It seemed that to deal with grievances you didn't need a committeeman or steward, you needed a lawyer. Everything was written in "legalese" and tied up in juridical knots.

The union bureaucracy was deathly afraid of using union power to solve a problem. It was inconceivable to them that the ranks of the union could discuss, decide, and act. Instead, everything was channeled through the legal machinery. You had to use "fact-finding," arbitration, seven steps of processing grievances—each one more and more removed from the power of the ranks.

Even the idea of organizing the unorganized was transformed into reliance on the National Labor Relations Board and its rules.

This all got incorporated into antilabor state and federal legislation, too—for example, the Taft-Hartley Act. The rulers were not able to challenge the right to strike head-on. That would have meant a premature, and as yet unnecessary, showdown with the American labor movement. So they did everything possible to put limits on the right to strike without outlawing strikes directly.

Strike actions democratically decided on by workers were increasingly branded "wildcat strikes" by the employers, the union bureaucracy, and the capitalist newspapers. They promoted the idea that if you didn't get "authorization" from the international, your strike, wasn't a strike—it was a "wildcat." A strike's "legality" was determined by the employers' government, not by the union's membership.

Injunctions became standard. The right to picket was eroded. This didn't seem all that important at the time, because powerful unions in big strikes needed only token pickets to close down a plant. But it was part of the process. On the day a strike was called, it became routine for some local judge to issue an injunction restricting the number of pickets, or the number of entrances you could picket. And public opinion was molded to make this seem just normal "law and order." Simply the way things were done.

'Our Hands Are Tied'

The goal of this entire web of relations was to entrap the labor movement in a maze of class collaboration, legal machinery, red tape, court rulings, and laws and regulations. One result is the decline in the percentage of the working class that is unionized. The concept of the labor movement as a social movement, with a perspective of winning over and supporting the allies of labor, has been lost. The entire labor movement has been weakened.

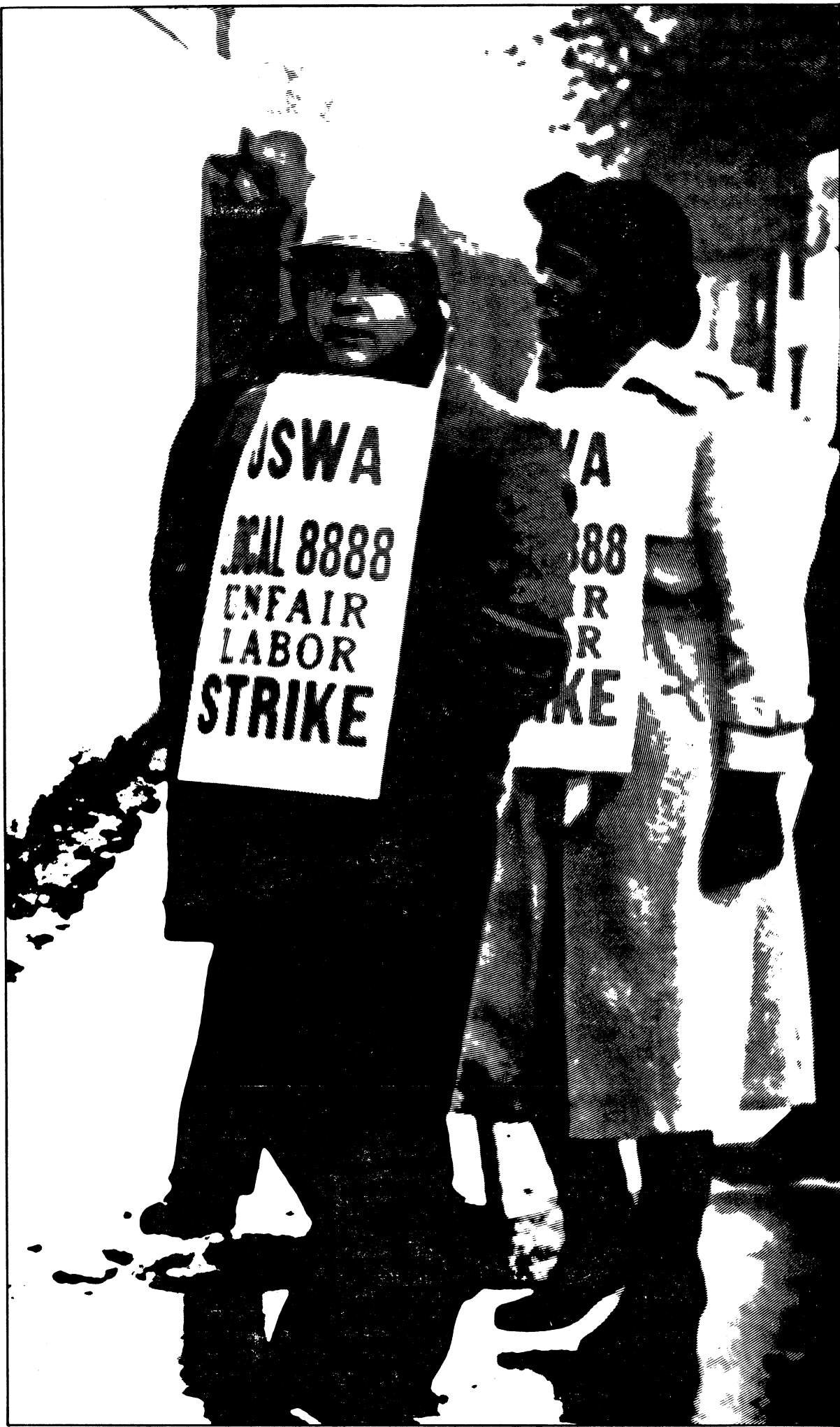
But we have not seen the defeat of the unions. Not at all. The rulers weren't ready to take that on.

We've ended up with a labor movement infested with lawyers and bureaucrats. It's like a house infested with termites, eating away at and weakening the foundations. They stall, stall, stall—never act.

They avoid showdowns, using phrases like, "Our hands are tied." You get an impression of labor officials walking around with their hands tied with rope behind their backs. They check with the lawyers, who read them laws and regulations and tell them, "Well, justice is on our side, brothers and sisters, but our hands are tied. You can't do anything about it."

Over the years, the American working class became a political prisoner, incarcerated in the antilabor legislation and class-collaborationist institutions. The workers were held in check by the housebroken labor bureaucracy, which the employers relied on more and more to do the job for them.

When the ruling-class offensive began early in this decade, it built on the foundations that had been prepared for thirty years. They did not begin by seeking a direct confrontation with



Militant/John Cobey

workers in basic industry. Although ultimately, that's where they must drive the working class back if they are to increase the rate of exploitation.

Rulers' Offensive and the Response

But that's not how they started. Rather, the rulers began with a political offensive—using the courts, the Congress, and the White House—aimed at softening up the labor movement.

We have seen the results of this offensive all across the country: reducing social services;

driving down the quality of life, the standard of living; chopping away at what we consider our rights to medical care, a secure retirement, a chance for young people to go to college; driving down the expectations of working people.

We have seen the capitalists and their ideologues foster all kinds of myths: unions are responsible for inflation; foreign workers are to blame for unemployment; there are limited resources, so we all must get by with less.

At the same time, they are doing all they can to deepen the divisions within the working class, to make workers less able to fight back. In every way, shape, and form, they try to drive down the value of labor power through these methods.

But all this is preliminary skirmishing, preparation for the showdown. It does not remove the



110-day coal strike of 1978. 'The miners told the little fellow in Washington to come down and mine some coal himself to see what it felt like.'

necessity for the employing class to move directly against the industrial working class, those whose labor is the source of their wealth.

That is why showdowns are inevitable. The ruling class can solve the crisis it faces in only one way: by driving back Teamsters, auto workers, steelworkers, miners, electrical workers, railroad workers. It has to force them back in direct confrontations. This doesn't mean it will slow down the other aspects of the offensive. There is no limit to what the rulers will take; they'll take whatever they can. But they cannot stop there.

Guns But No Butter

There is another side to this offensive—the extreme pessimism about the future conveyed in the propaganda campaign by the ruling class. They say it will take seven years to slow down inflation. There will be high unemployment for a decade. There can be no butter, just guns.

We should be alert to something here. Whenever an imperialist ruling class starts talking about guns and not butter they are not just thinking about economics. They plan to use the guns, and they have to convince the workers it's necessary for defense of "our" interests. The workers must also accept some "common sacrifices," that is, austerity.

One of the biggest problems facing the rulers in this country is the antiwar attitude of the workers who fought imperialism's war in Vietnam for a decade, then got the austerity offensive as a thank you. This deep-seated suspicion is a state of consciousness the rulers are determined to reverse—because they know they must be able to directly use American military power.

They must do this not because of the strength of world imperialism but because of its weakness, the shift in the world relationship of class forces against them.

There is no power other than Washington that can try to police the world for private property. They will look for any opportunity to make gains on this political front, and they'll fool a lot of the left as they do it. While we say no to the guns and yes to the butter, we should be conscious about what they're up to.

Contrast the ruling class's pessimism to the political rhetoric of the 1960s. The whole Johnson era was built around the theme that we can fight the war in Vietnam and build a Great Society at home simultaneously. Of course, this wasn't totally true, but it was true to a certain degree. They never built a Great Society, but they both fought the war in Vietnam and had a ten-year, virtually uninterrupted expansion in the 1960s.

Of course, this had nothing to do with Johnson's so-called Great Society programs, which gave jobs only to government bureaucrats and poverty agencies. Whatever gains workers got stemmed from their own struggles and the prolonged expansion of American capitalism.

There was a great increase in the number of jobs. It was one of the few times in history when job opportunities changed for the better for Black workers, other oppressed nationalities, and women. It was real, even though it was limited.

With the 1970s, all of that has been reversed. Black family income as a percentage of white family income has declined since 1970, reversing gains of the 1960s. And the regression has been even sharper since the 1974-75 depression, with the cutbacks. In 1975, Black unemployment was 1.7 times the rate for whites. Today, in the middle of the recovery, it is 2.3 times the rate for whites.

Today there is no pretense by the Carter Administration that there can be a Great Society and a war simultaneously. Today there is not even a pretense that there can be an increase in the war budget without a decrease in spending for social programs, which already fall far short of basic human needs.

The ruling class reeks of pessimism. They cannot solve their problems or ours. They tell us that every day in every way.

Social & Political Ferment

But this generates something else. Workers begin wondering, "What is to blame for this? What should be done to resolve this crisis? And by whom?" Pessimism about the prospects for a decent standard of living is not the best advertisement for capitalism over a long period. It makes people start to look for alternative solutions.

And so we see a trend growing among rebel workers. We saw it among the miners, and we see it all over.

To hell with the rules. To hell with the laws. To hell with the arbitrators, the injunctions, the grievance procedures, the whole works. The only important thing is to break through all this and get back some of what we are losing.

But how? Who can help us? Who are our friends, and who are our enemies?

These are the questions. This is the social and political ferment that is brewing on one side of the class war.

Bureaucrats' Dilemma

From the bureaucrats' side, different questions are being raised. Recently, [UAW President] Douglas Fraser complained that the bosses are waging a "one-sided class war" against the working class. Actually, as we saw in the mine strike, the labor fakers aren't so concerned about a one-sided class war—the bosses coming down on the workers. What they really can't deal with is a two-sided class war in which the workers get in a few licks for their side.

That is what happened to [UMWA President] Arnold Miller. In a one-sided class war, the labor misleaders can cry crocodile tears while they hog-tie the unions and maneuver to prevent the workers from using their power. But Miller got caught right in the middle of a two-sided class war, and he had no room for maneuver.

Now Fraser is warning the rulers that they shouldn't turn him into another Arnold Miller.

Fraser is no fool. He doesn't intend to be another Miller. So he called his "coalition of coalitions" meeting in Detroit this fall.

In essence, what Fraser told the employers of this country was, "You're putting us between a rock and a hard place. We cannot maintain control over the ranks, we cannot maintain

stability in the work force if you put us up against the wall. In fact, we may not even be able to maintain ourselves in office unless there is some give, some flexibility on your part. We have to be able to give our members something."

Of course, Fraser's rhetoric about "class war" has a dual effect on the workers. To some degree, it gets mistaken for a welcome change of attitude and a tougher stance by the bureaucracy. On the other hand, it legitimizes discussion of what measures should be taken to respond to the one-sided offensive of the capitalists.

That aspect of workers' response is a real opening for those of us in the labor movement who have an entirely different perspective from Fraser's.

1978 Elections: Victory in Missouri

In the context of this deepening class polarization, what was the most important aspect of the elections this fall? The Stalinist *Daily World* said the most important thing was that Miriam Balanoff got elected as a Democrat to the state assembly in Illinois. We don't have the same opinion. It's worth noting, but it isn't progressive in any sense.

Nor was the important thing the low turnout. During the entire election period, we were swamped with the pundits' moaning about the small percentage of Americans going to vote. Newspaper after newspaper, commentator after commentator would put on long faces. Too few citizens are voting, they complained. And the trend to a smaller percentage of the electorate seems confirmed.

But this is not a decisive factor. The vote was not qualitatively lower this year than in the recent past. It is not unusual in this country for members of Congress to be elected with only a third of the electorate in their district voting. That's not what worries the ruling class.

Two-party System

There is something else that worries them, however. And that is any signs of a breakdown in the two-party system. The two-party system is the heart of their political control. It is an institutionalized, permanent political mechanism that has worked well for them for decades and decades.

The two parties. You can switch your vote from one to the other when you get really fed up. Politicians can even slide back and forth between them. But there are always the two parties.

The rulers are worried about the fact that the number of people who don't consider themselves tied to either one of the two parties is growing. The majority of people who register no longer register Democrat. Republicans don't get even a quarter of the voters to register Republican. Independent registration is the highest it's ever been.

That bothers the rulers, because the vise of the two-party system begins to slip, although this doesn't yet find any expression in an independent working-class alternative at the polls.

Another theme of the bourgeois commentators, especially the liberals—and this was echoed ad nauseum by the labor fakers and the reformists—was that big business was pouring vast quantities of money, through their political action committees, into the Republican machine in order to destroy the Democrats. This is pure hokum. After the election, the *Wall Street Journal* published the figures on the money given by all the corporate political action committees. Fifty-seven percent of the money they gave was to Democratic candidates. Eighty-nine percent of all the contributions went to incumbents.

Their method is quite straight-forward. They give money to those in office. They buy and use the ruling-class parties. That is exactly what they have always done.

None of these aspects about which the capitalist press wrote so much was the most important thing that happened in these elections.

Class Vote in Missouri

The most significant thing was what happened in Missouri, where a referendum on a so-called right-to-work law was decisively and resoundingly defeated by a margin of sixty to forty. This was an important development. In a country where class lines and class politics are almost

never reflected in a clear way at the polls, there was a real class polarization in Missouri in this election.

And a striking thing occurred. Far from a low turnout, there was a record vote in Missouri. It was the highest statewide vote in a non-presidential election in forty-four years. The workers turned out in record numbers to smash the attempt of the ruling class to ram through a new right-to-work law. The stakes in this campaign were very high. The rulers were on a drive to begin moving up from the South into the Midwest with their union-busting right-to-work laws.

Defeating this measure was seen as crucial by the workers of Missouri. In fact, a very unusual thing happened: the total vote on the right-to-work measure was *higher* than the total vote for the two capitalist candidates for governor. Forty thousand people came out to vote against the right-to-work bill and went home without voting for any of the candidates.

The Missouri referendum was not a move by some fringe of extreme right-wingers. This was a concerted nationwide effort, planned and carried out by the ruling class as a whole. Every element in the ruling class more or less openly backed the attempt to get the right-to-work law placed on the ballot and passed in Missouri.

At the last minute, when it became clear to everyone that this effort was going to be swept aside, some liberal candidates expressed doubts about it, so they wouldn't suffer the same fate as the right-to-work measure. But this was incidental.

The drive was explained openly in the financial sections of the big-business press. *It was an open, planned, well-financed drive by the ruling class as a whole. Just as in the miners' strike, the rulers took a gamble, made a move, and were decisively beaten back by the labor movement.*

Why Labor Won

This was not because the labor movement in Missouri has a better leadership than the labor movement in other parts of the country. The labor misleaders showed all the typical flaws. They responded late to this challenge. They were afraid to organize the counter campaign in a way that would really mobilize the ranks. They used their typical, ineffective bureaucratic mode of organizing. This is the way they do everything. Don't hold your breath waiting for that to change.

But in spite of that, Missouri workers understood the stakes involved. And they were stronger than the obstacles placed in front of them.

An important factor in the Missouri victory was the role played by the allies of the working class, and what this showed about the level of consciousness among whole layers of working people. There was a realization that Black people, women, working farmers, students, and wage workers have a common stake in the fight on some big issues. This was a striking thing.

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, went to Missouri to speak out as a women's liberationist on the need to defeat the right-to-work law. She held a news conference that got big publicity there.

The Black organizations—as is often true on class questions affecting working people—were the most progressive. Black newspapers, Black community organizations, Black ministers, all different sections of the Black population, came out forcefully against the measure. And the Black working-class districts voted by a whopping 93 percent against the law.

The rulers also suffered a rebuff in their phony appeal to working farmers as fellow businessmen, who had a common interest with the employers rather than with their fellow producers in the labor movement. A surprising number of working farmers—who correctly sense they're also exploited by capital—voted against the right-to-work law. The American Agriculture Movement and National Farmers Organization campaigned against it.

The same was true with the students, especially toward the end of the campaign.

Labor publications like the UAW's *Solidarity* and other union papers reported with great glee, and almost with surprise, on the number and range of people who turned out to fight against right-to-work—and how they joined together and how they defeated it. This convergence of forces led by labor was what smashed the offensive.

Finally, the Missouri campaign exposed the real meaning of the bosses' so-called Southern

Strategy. There is a Southern Strategy: a conscious attempt by the ruling class to prevent the organization of the South, to take advantage of the open-shop conditions there.

But there is another side to this Southern Strategy, which has always been its most important side. And that is to move southern conditions north, west, and east. That is the real Southern Strategy. They want to expand the reactionary, divisive, racist, right-to-work legacy, born of the counterrevolutionary overthrow of Reconstruction 100 years ago, into the North, into the Midwest, into the West.

And that perspective was dealt a blow in Missouri.

Briggs Amendment

There were some other important issues that came up in the elections, such as the antigay Briggs Amendment in California, which was also soundly defeated. We should take note of the difference between this and the Missouri right-to-work issue. Because the Briggs Amendment fits into a different category altogether.

The first difference is that the Briggs Amendment did not represent a general, organized drive by the ruling class. It was a minority effort more dominated by extreme right-wingers. From the beginning, important sections of the ruling class



From left: Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters; Leonard Woodcock, former UAW president; Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union; AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Lane Kirkland; AFL-CIO President George Meany; and former Steelworkers President I.W. Abel. During and after World War II, bureaucrats such as these consolidated their stranglehold on American industrial unions.

were against it. They viewed it as inopportune, as an extreme move that went too far and would cause more problems for them than it would solve. This is the opposite from what they set out to do in Missouri.

The second difference is that the labor movement did not play a decisive role in the defeat of the Briggs Amendment. It is true that sections of the labor movement were actively opposed to Briggs. And that was a step forward. Representatives of the teachers union, for example, went on television to explain, from the standpoint of labor as a whole, why this antigay measure, like any offensive against the right of a section of the population, would hurt labor and the working class as a whole. They did an effective job.

But the *Militant* was wrong when it said in an editorial after the election that the labor movement was "key to defeating Briggs." The word "key" was inaccurate. It just didn't happen that way. Labor did not ramrod the defeat of the amendment, as it did in Missouri.

Of course, our general approach was correct. We campaigned to defeat Briggs, and we explained that this reactionary measure cut into democratic rights, union rights, the rights of working people in general. And we pointed out that the victory of Briggs would have been a reactionary blow against all the exploited and oppressed.

1978 Elections: Referenda Frauds

Another aspect of the 1978 elections that we should analyze is how the rulers are using ballot measures—initiatives and referenda—in their lesser-evil game.

In their political offensive, I pointed out earlier, they are making use of the courts, the Congress, and the White House—in other words, the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of the capitalist government. But we should add a fourth one: the ballot. They also use the ballot to institutionalize class collaborationism, primarily through the fact that we have to choose between two capitalist parties. That is the heart and soul of voting in America.

But they are making increasing use of the ballot in a second way. More and more they are using referenda and initiatives. This is one of the ways they foster interest in the elections, when the average reaction is indifference because there is no choice between the two turkeys put up by the Democrats and Republicans.

These referenda are being touted in the bourgeois press as expressions of "direct democracy." This is a fake and a fraud. There is no direct democracy involved under the capitalist system. You vote on a referendum or initiative, and then the capitalist courts and legislatures and executives interpret, modify, and implement or not, as they see fit. There is nothing more democratic about this procedure than about capitalist elections in general.

The rulers have been making increasing use of these measures for their own purposes. Histori-

cally, of course, the right to have referenda and initiatives on the ballot was a progressive reform, supported and fought for by the labor movement and working farmers. It is a conquest we defend and even on occasion make use of—such as when we have helped put child-care and antiwar referenda on the ballot.

But like many institutions that were progressive in their origins, the rulers take hold of them and turn them to their own uses. That is what they are doing today.

Rizzo Campaign

One way they are used is to mask the monopoly that the ruling class maintains on politics. A blatant example of this was the Rizzo campaign in Philadelphia. Mayor Rizzo had become so hated, the methods of his administration had become so notorious, that the great majority of the ruling class—plus his Democratic machine—decided to get rid of him.

With the aid of every labor faker, every liberal, and almost every radical in Philadelphia, they managed to divert attention away from the burning question of Rizzoism and the manner in which the Democratic Party under Rizzo served the interests of the ruling class. Instead, they focused everyone's eyes on a ballot initiative to remove the limitation on how many consecutive terms a mayor can hold office. All the big questions—especially the central question in every election: which class shall rule—were dissolved behind the masquerade of this exercise in "direct democracy."

This kind of electoral politics is as much lesser-evilism as voting for a Democrat or a Republican. And it has an even more nefarious side to it. These measures are presented by the liberals, by the more conscious labor bureaucrats, and by many radicals, as being more "relevant" to the working class than choosing between the Demo-

crats and Republicans. They are palmed off as a way that working people can really make decisions on important questions that affect their lives, as a way to really exercise "popular control" over government policy.

Taxes and the Elections

This becomes a particularly vicious trap in relation to taxes. There is more and more of a tendency for the rulers to cook up ballot questions that give you the "right to decide" what percentage of your income they will take away in taxes. Later, if they decide that you didn't vote for a high enough tax, the city council or state legislature will simply impose some other tax.

There has never been a better time for us to explain in popular terms the Marxist position on taxes. We tend to overcomplicate the question.

We should explain clearly that one of the advantages of a workers government is that, right off the bat, there will be so much less waste, so much less government bureaucracy, an end to the war budget, that the entire tax burden will be drastically reduced.

Marx wrote that the Paris Commune "made that catchword of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditures—the standing army and state functionarism."

We only have to look ninety miles away, to Cuba. Here is a poor country, blockaded by U.S. imperialism, that provides far superior social services without taxing working people.

A workers government in this country would accomplish the same thing immediately. A bourgeois government never will.

But under capitalism, we are in favor of taxes. The socialist movement has traditionally been in favor of taxes, because we are in favor of public expenditures. We are in favor of public schools, public libraries, public transportation, public health. We want more and better health workers, librarians, schoolteachers, transport workers, maintenance workers, and a lot more workers providing social services we need.

In fact, the social services that we have today are the result of struggles by workers to wrest them from the capitalists. We had to fight for the right to public education, and we still don't have real public education available to all through the university level.

The rulers didn't just give us libraries out of the goodness of their hearts. In fact they are trying to take them away. During the depression of the 1930s they left the libraries open, so if you couldn't work you could at least read a little bit. Now, they open them at 11:00 and close them at 3:00 in the afternoon—on the days they are open.

They didn't give us public transportation. We had to fight for what little we have. They have given us virtually no public-health services.

The victories our class has won in establishing these services are a major conquest.

The services we have today amount to a raise in the standard of living and an improvement in the real conditions of life for the working class. They are part of the real wages, the social wages, of the working class. And employment of workers to perform these services is one of the pressures keeping down the size of the industrial reserve army, which is also to our advantage.

In a workers state, the number of people employed in providing public social services will increase tremendously.

Who Pays?

The question is how to pay for this under capitalism. What class shall bear the burden of these necessary social expenditures? Here is where the fakery comes in.

The capitalist politicians have enacted an endless maze of different taxes, tax laws, exemptions, and preferences. There are the capital gains taxes, sales taxes, different kinds of property taxes, different rates on different taxes. Anyone who can understand or follow it all is better than I am, or wasting their time, or probably both. Because the whole thing is a total fraud.

There is no change necessary in the basic position on taxes taken in the *Communist Manifesto*. There Marx and Engels proposed a progressive, or graduated, income tax. They thought this over and, in the final draft, they included an adjective; they advocated a *heavy* progressive income tax.

Now, what does this mean? Exactly where is the cut-off point? How do you balance the percentages?



Real event of 1978 elections was ruling class drive to impose union-busting 'right to work' law in Missouri and successful labor campaign to defeat the measure.

It's very simple. What Marx and Engels meant was that the capitalists should pay taxes and the workers should not. That is our proposal. We are against any taxation of any kind on workers. The capitalists should pay all the taxes.

The tax structure should be simplified, too. There need be no property taxes. No capital gains taxes. No withholding taxes. No sales taxes (which are the most reactionary and regressive of all).

All taxes are paid out of one source—income. What is a "property" tax? Did you ever see a capitalist pick up a piece of his factory and carry it down to the tax assessor? The capitalists, like the worker who owns a home, pay property taxes out of their income. We're for simplifying the whole thing. We're for taxing the capitalists' income enough to meet all the basic social expenditures that society needs.

And we are against workers paying any taxes.

We have often discussed how to popularize this. Should we say no taxes on incomes below \$20,000? Or \$25,000? Or whatever? Maybe the best way to popularize it is just to say straight out: People who work for a living shouldn't pay taxes. We work hard enough for our money, and we get little enough as it is. Capitalists, who get billions and billions in income—whether they keep it in the form of capital or some other form—should pay the taxes.

Don't forget one final thing, and the most fundamental. Where does all this income originate? It comes from labor. All the income for all the classes comes from value you produce. So in discussing the tax question, you have to start there.

Tax Referenda Swindles

Now, on top of all of the other confusion generated by the capitalists to cover up the true nature of the tax structure, we are seeing these referenda put on the ballot. The great majority of them are simply heads-they-win-tails-we-lose propositions.

What really happens is that under the guise of letting people decide, the measure just covers up the fact that it is the ruling class, through their legislatures and courts, who decide the tax structure in this country. They just let you choose between taxing yourselves more or giving up some social "frill" like public education.

In Toledo, Ohio, the city government is proposing to give a tax reduction to a big corporation on the promise it will build a new plant and hire more workers. Whole sections of the labor bureaucracy, including the UAW, are going along with this. If that's the way to do it—to boost the bosses' profits so he might hire more workers—we should all just lay down and do what Marx warned us against. We should quit striking, quit fighting for anything. Just boost the profits of the corporation, and that will solve the problem.

Now in Cleveland, that great "populist" Mayor Dennis Kucinich is going to save the city by letting us vote on whether or not we want to increase our income taxes by 50 percent. If we don't vote for that, they'll find some other way to make us pay, that's for sure. Increased taxes will be imposed anyway.

These referenda and initiatives are being used today to fool working people, even those who are against voting for Democrats and Republicans. And the rulers are thinking out more ways to use this ballot device.

Just last week, John Loeb, Jr.—who happens to be one of the wealthiest investment bankers in

the country—made a public announcement that he is going to personally start a campaign to establish the right of voters in the state of New York to put initiatives and referenda on the ballot. He said "people don't feel they have a real vote in their government." He noted that only 37 percent of the eligible voters in the state turned out for the last election. They don't feel that choosing between the two capitalist parties is enough.

Therefore, the magnate said, he would put his own family money in the project. When questioned by reporters, according to the *New York Times*, "Mr. Loeb denied that his project was aimed at facilitating a tax-cutting referendum in the state. . . ." These are the kinds of people who are pushing, for their own reasons, the use of these referenda.

Black and Chicano Political Action

The elections also registered some significant setbacks for independent Black and Chicano political action. This continues a trend that has been going on for some time. It was illustrated in the races in Mississippi and in Texas.

In Mississippi, Charles Evers—the brother of the assassinated 1960s civil rights leader Medgar Evers—campaigns against the nominees of the Democratic and Republican parties. But it is wrong to refer to his campaign as an independent campaign or to say that this campaign represented a break with the twin capitalist parties that perpetuate racism. The evidence is to the contrary.

It is not enough just to note that Evers did not run as either a Democrat or Republican. Because the political content of his campaign was in no way a break from capitalist politics. Nor did it represent, even in a distorted or partial way, the interests of oppressed Blacks or the working class in Mississippi. Evers attacked busing, lambasted "welfare cheats," and came out in support of "right to work" laws and prayers in public schools. We don't know all his positions. But we don't need to know anything more.

Far from being a campaign that expressed the interests of Blacks or other working people in Mississippi, this campaign was an obstacle to charting a political course that could organize the working people of Mississippi to stand up to the employers' austerity offensive and ideological pressure.

Of course, many Black people voted for him despite these reactionary stands. But that doesn't change the character of his campaign. It simply points to the fact that faced with a choice between a Black and a white candidate, neither of whom has a clear program to advance the class struggle, most members of the oppressed nationalities who vote will vote to increase the number of Blacks in public office and hope for the best.

But from all capitalist politicians we'll all get the worst.

Program is Decisive

Evers's sizable vote doesn't show any motion toward independent Black political action. What the Evers campaign does show is something quite different. It reveals the decisiveness of program on the electoral front. Independence is a

programmatic question, that is, a class question. Of course, in some cases this can be largely implicit to begin with. The Freedom Now Party that developed in Michigan in 1964 didn't have a full-blown program for the transformation of society, although the program it did have was in the interests of Blacks and all workers. The decisive thing was the direction of motion. We supported the FNP as a working-class break from the capitalist parties by a segment of the oppressed Black population.

But as the pressure mounts to break out of the framework of capitalist politics, the rulers are going to make more and more of an effort to come up with safety valves that keep the exploited and oppressed stuck in lesser-evilism. If necessary, they will increase the number of Black candidates running. They will find this woman to run, that young person, this "populist," that gay person, this "environmentalist." They will even start running some "socialist" Democrats. Just as long as they don't break out of the framework of capitalist politics, but instead serve as a way of sucking people back in.

That is how the capitalist press used the Evers campaign. It was used consciously throughout the South to bolster the rulers' propaganda about the need to cut social expenditures by eliminating busing, that is, to roll back desegregation; to pass right-to-work laws so there can be "freedom of choice"; and to make other reactionary moves. All of this was strengthened by the Evers campaign, which the southern bourgeois press said proved "all the people" wanted restriction on "out-of-control social spending."

Texas Raza Unida Party

This election also registered another stage in the crisis of political perspectives facing the Texas Raza Unida Party. The RUP this year lost the automatic statewide ballot spot it had won in 1974, getting only 2 percent of the vote for governor, compared to more than 7 percent four years ago.

The way many RUP leaders are explaining these losses is more indicative of the party's crisis than the low vote itself. The old "balance of power" idea is cropping up again—as it has before in the RUP. Since the Republican gubernatorial candidate beat the Democrat by a very small margin, this argument goes, the RUP showed it could swing the balance of power—even though it's now getting fewer votes.

From that flows the wrong idea that the Democrats and Republicans are going to be somehow more responsive to Chicano demands.

But this mistakes the electoral shell game for real politics. Power has nothing to do with who wins or loses in capitalist elections. If you think so, you start playing their game—which is what they want. And far from being more responsive to Chicano needs, they become simply a little more responsive to the potential corruptibility of a few Chicano politicians.

The fact is that far from having the balance of power, the Raza Unida Party—as reflected in this election—is getting weaker. The question of political program and perspective—not personalities or tactical errors—underlies this decline.

The RUP has accomplished an important thing over the past eight years. Whatever its shortcomings, it has been a working-class alternative to the big-business parties in Texas, and we've correctly supported the RUP in that effort.

But whether the party will continue to register setbacks or find a way forward will depend on whether it comes to grips with the question of

program. That is, which side is it on in the class struggle.

A level of political understanding that was sufficient to get Chicano militants started in the right direction a decade ago is less and less sufficient to orient them today and keep them on the rails politically.

Class Alternative

Because of the intensifying pressures of the rulers' offensive, because of the way issues are being posed now by all the capitalist politicians—the need to present a clear class alternative is crucial. Only a working-class program can answer to the social and economic problems that bear down the hardest on the most oppressed sections of our class.

Without clarity on program today, it is harder and harder to offer the Black or Chicano communities any perspective of independent political action.

A big factor in understanding why this is true is recognition of the changes we talked about earlier. Today the gap is closing between the radicalism and combativity of the labor movement as a whole, and the level of political consciousness in the Black and Chicano communities.

Not that the gap has been closed. But think back to the 1950s, with the rise of the civil rights movement. Compare the consciousness and the readiness for political action—even if not on the electoral front—of the Black community and the labor movement then. In those days, the labor movement was almost totally dominated by the most reactionary political positions of the Meany leadership.

But a great deal has changed in the labor movement in the past several years. The growing class consciousness among many white workers narrows the gap with their Black co-workers. There's more and more understanding of the need for class solidarity, solidarity with the struggles of labor's allies, the need for independent class political action.

Labor Mov't Today: Change is the Key

Change. That is the key to everything. The whole working class is different today than it was a few years ago. And becoming more different every day, at a faster pace.

Contrast the response in the labor movement to the Drake Koka tour this fall to what it would have been two or three years ago.

Or the reaction to the Weber affirmative-action case.

Or the fact that District 31 of the Steelworkers union voted recently to oppose construction of a nuclear power plant.

Or the successes of our Louisville branch in getting union locals to speak out against the gas-grenade attack on a socialist election rally there last month.

Or the response we've gotten in the unions to our campaign to win political asylum for our comrade Héctor Marroquín.

Or the attitude of the chemical workers at the Cyanamid plant in New Jersey. They're on strike not only against Carter's wage guidelines. They also want to open the company's books, because they believe that they and their community are

being poisoned by Cyanamid.

Or the recent endorsement of an abortion rights action by the official New Jersey state women's council of the United Auto Workers.

These are changes. And that's what we must absorb.

When we try to capture these things at a gathering like this, what we're getting is more like snapshots than a moving picture. We're thinking about examples that illustrate changes that have already taken place. And in doing that each time we're a little behind. We're talking about things that happened a week ago, two weeks ago, one or two months ago.

The entire working class is being affected by the rulers' offensive. Everyone is responding more in the ways that were revealed in Missouri, in the "do it like the miners" spirit. Let me cite another example, possibly the most important.

Newport News

Do you know what the largest local in the United Steelworkers union is? If someone had asked me a few days ago, I would have guessed one of the locals at Bethlehem's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore, or at the big U.S. Steel Works in Gary.

But I would have been wrong. The largest one may well turn out to be Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia. More than 14,000 workers have already signed up with that local, which is organized in the country's biggest shipyard. In January 1978, after years of struggle against Tenneco, these workers won a union representation election there.

The employers tried every dirty trick to keep the union out. They disobeyed federal orders, broke federal laws, and everything else. But they couldn't stop it. The steelworkers won.

Now Tenneco has gone to court to overturn the election. What do they charge? That the steelworkers used "racial appeals" to win support in the shipyard, where the work force is heavily Black.

The company is refusing to bargain with Local 8888. So a few days ago, 7,500 union members got together in the big Hampton Roads Coliseum and voted to strike sometime after the New Year.

What will actually happen remains to be seen. But what this shows about the changes in the work force is significant.

The victories of the civil rights movement over the past decade and a half have increased the confidence of Black workers, and the changes in the country have increased the class consciousness of all the workers. It means something for organizing other shipyards in the South, and for other organizing drives in the South.

The battle in Newport News will test the leadership gestating in the ranks of the Steelworkers union. It will test the Lloyd McBride administration. It will test the entire labor movement's ability to mount a real solidarity campaign to win.

This could be to the next wave of strikes—and certainly to the South—what the miners' strike was a year ago. It has that potential.

These are the kinds of things we have to keep our eyes on. The changes.

Bureaucracy Feels Squeeze

That's why Fraser called his "coalition of coalitions" conference. That's why he went to the Democratic Midterm Conference in Memphis a month later to try to get Carter to give him some more cover, some more maneuvering room.

Listen to what *Washington Post* columnist



Militant/Andy Rose

At 'coalition of coalitions' meeting, UAW President Douglas Fraser, flanked by NAACP President Benjamin Hooks, NOW President Eleanor Smeal, and UFW President César Chávez, appealed for end to 'one-sided class war' against workers. But Fraser plans no change in his collaboration with employers such as GM Chairman Thomas Murphy, (left).

David Broder had to say this fall about why Fraser called the Detroit meeting: "As some of his associates tell the story, what prompted Fraser's action was a meeting last summer of his union's political-education directors. They came together to make plans for the 1978 campaign."

Fraser was frightened by what he heard, Broder says. "But the message they brought him was blunt: Forget it. The workers have decided that politics is a con game, and they won't be suckered with the same exhortations that have worked in the past. They followed the union's lead and helped elect Jimmy Carter and a heavily Democratic Congress in 1976."

"But they don't believe their lives are any better—or that they are closer to a 'fair share' of the benefits of this society."

So what did Fraser come up with in Detroit? Talk about "transforming the Democratic Party into a genuinely progressive people's party." That's all he and his breed of so-called social unionists have to offer.

And these pressures from the ranks of labor also explain why [International Association of Machinists President William] Winpisinger is going around saying that Carter's got to be dumped in 1980.

These union bureaucrats see the changes, too, but from their own standpoint. They see that it's harder as each month passes to keep the ranks in line. And that means trouble for them not too far down the road.

Social and Political Action

As the employers' offensive bears down on the workers, as the unions and their allies try to respond, the need for the labor movement to think socially and act politically is pushed increasingly to the fore.

We said that without the victory by the miners last winter, there wouldn't have been the massive march on Washington for the ERA several months later.

But something else has to be said. If 100,000 women's rights supporters hadn't responded to NOW's call for that march, a lot of other things wouldn't have happened the way they have since then.

Those demonstrators did something very important. *They took something back from the government.* The rulers of this country had already decided in their great majority that they didn't have to extend the deadline for the ERA. So they weren't going to.

But that march made the capitalist politicians reverse gears. That victory was wrested from them.

These changes clarify what we mean about the need for proletarian leadership of the women's movement, the Black movement, the Chicano movement. This is not just a matter of recognizing that these forces would be better off, and more effective, with such a leadership.

It is a *precondition for winning* even today's struggles, for advancing in any significant way. That *requires* motion toward proletarian methods of struggle, proletarian perspectives, and genuine alliances that mobilize the power of the ranks of the labor movement and other sections of the oppressed.

Actually, this is just another way of approaching what we were talking about earlier around the Evers campaign and the crisis of perspectives of the Raza Unida Party.

There was an article in the December *NOW-New Jersey Newsbreaks* about NOW's participation in Fraser's Detroit conference. The author says that NOW went to discuss how to fight the common enemy. That's good. We're in favor of that. But it raises another question: Who is the common enemy?

We know who Fraser's main enemy is. He's worried about the workers in the auto plants. They're his biggest problem. Fraser can holler and scream at the employers. That doesn't bother them, so long as they're confident they can use him to help whip auto workers into line.

Ally With Whom?

Who are labor's allies? And who in the labor movement are the allies of the oppressed?

When sections of the Black and Chicano movements or of the women's movement turn to the labor movement—or when a wing of the labor movement turns toward some section of the oppressed—who are they turning toward?

There are two entirely different ways to do it.

One move is toward the class-collaborationist program and perspectives of the current union

leaderships, the bureaucracy.

The other is toward the membership and its needs. Toward class-struggle politics. That's what we're interested in.

In talking about what we want to see happen in the women's movement, the Black movement, the Chicano movement, we've sometimes used the term "class-struggle left wing." But I've come to the conclusion it's not a very good use of that term. It hides more than it reveals.

We are trying to build a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement. We want to see the unions transformed into revolutionary unions. We're aiming for a revolutionary labor movement that can be the basis for a working-class political party that will fight for power in this country. That's our goal.

Our goal is to unleash the power of labor. By advocating proletarian methods of struggle, mass action. By fighting for a democratic labor movement, so that the power of the ranks can be unchained. By building a labor party based on these unions.

The bosses and bureaucrats have taken those conquests away from the labor movement, and they'll fight to keep things that way.

Class Perspective

But we're not seeking to turn organizations such as NOW or the NAACP into trade unions or into a militant wing of the trade unions. We're fighting to turn them into consistent, uncompromising fighters for women's rights, for Black and Chicano rights. Consistent, uncompromising feminists. Consistent, uncompromising Black and Chicano nationalists. That's what we demand of the leaders of these movements.



BRIAN WEBER. His challenge to affirmative action underscores the real meaning and importance of labor solidarity.

But their program and understanding must be in tune with the times in order to serve the needs of those they pretend to represent. These organizations are entering a stage where their right to exist in the eyes of the oppressed will depend on their ability to link up with the class-struggle needs of the working class. To the extent they are capable of this, they will draw more workers into their ranks and this will further transform their character, leadership, and effectiveness. Fighting any form of discrimination against Black, Chicano, or female workers becomes the biggest test.

From this viewpoint, affirmative action—the fight for *special* measures to combat inequality on the job, in the schools, in housing, in employment, in the unions—becomes more important than ever today. Things like the Weber case go right to the center of the needs of the oppressed and exploited and underscore the real meaning and importance of labor solidarity.

Weber is important for these social movements and those they represent, of course. But also in our fight to bridge all the divisions fostered by the employers, so that the unions can be turned into fighting instruments for our class and all its allies.

Broadening Political Scope

This doesn't mean that we think the women's movement or the Black movement should narrow their scope politically. To the contrary, they must widen their scope. We've got to talk politics, in the broadest sense, in these organizations. In times like these, there's no other choice.

When there's an election, for example, social-

ists in NOW should encourage chapters to hold candidates' nights that include socialist candidates. We want NOW chapters, and individual leaders and members of NOW, to endorse our election campaigns.

We want to talk about the labor party in these organizations. NOW should be for a labor party. This has nothing to do with calling on NOW to build a labor party, or raising it at inappropriate times as a substitute for proposals about what NOW should do next to win the ERA, abortion rights, fight sexual harassment on the job, or something else.

But consider this question. NOW leaders attend Fraser's conference in Detroit. Political action is what everyone there is discussing, formally and informally. The coming elections. The different candidates. How to approach politics. And Fraser's answer, of course, is to "reform" the Democratic Party.

But what would happen if socialists were there? What if some rank-and-file delegations were allowed to attend one of these conferences? Things like that will begin to happen; it's built into the changing times.

What would we propose to a delegation of NOW members? What would we urge them to discuss with delegates from the UAW?

Of course, we'd say that regardless of differences on politics, we all have to support each other's struggles. We've got to get out and march, build strike solidarity, walk the picket lines, and so on.

But we'd also want those NOW delegates to say: "You've got to quit voting for those Democrats and Republicans. They're the parties controlled by the employers, by the sexists, by the

racists, by the oppressors who live off the profits of your labor."

And the UAW delegates would say, "Well, what do you think we should do about it? If we don't vote for them, what should we do?"

What's our answer? "You should form a party. The labor movement should form a party. A party that would fight for all of us. And you should—and can—do it now."

Lobbying

In organizations such as NOW, we have to be able to explain that lobbying is not just a less-effective tactic; it's a *wrong* tactic. Lobbying doesn't accomplish *little*; it's not even neutral. It is harmful. It is counterproductive because it diverts energies from useful activity.

This is not playing with words. If people go to demonstrate in Washington, and as part of that they raise some hell in the hallways of Congress, and get on television, that's good. That's not lobbying; it's a form of publicizing our demands.

But lobbying as a tactic simply institutionalizes the course of relying on bourgeois politicians. No bourgeois politician has *ever* done anything for any section of the working class because some lobbyist asked: "Would you do this? We want this," or demonstrated he or she was knowledgeable about the issues. That's not how the capitalist politicians make their decisions.

They look at power. That's how they decide things. There is no other way. There never has been in history. Nor will they ever do it any other way.

So these broad political questions—while not preconditions for common action, while maybe not at the center of a given movement at a given time—are more and more becoming questions that push their way to the top in every sector of the mass movement.

The fight to involve the working class more deeply in these struggles, in *leading these struggles*, is a fight not only to advance the labor movement. It's also a challenge to the capacity of the organizations of the oppressed—independent Chicano parties, women's organizations, Black organizations—to actually reach their goals. And winning those battles is what these movements will stand or fall on.

The test for any leader of NOW is whether or not her proposals and her actions advance the needs of women. And with the changes under way in this country today, only a leadership with a clear working-class perspective—that can fight for and win working women—can ensure those victories.

Swing to the Right?

We're about the only ones on the American left who totally reject the nonsense about the country moving right.

The "country's" not drifting to the right—there's a class polarization taking place within the country. There are signs of it every day. And the more you are part of the American industrial working class, the more you see it and understand it.

It's certainly true that the Democrats and Republicans are moving to the right. With their system in a deep crisis, capitalist politicians like Carter say things that Lyndon Johnson wouldn't have dreamed of saying a decade ago. And Carter will have to say more, and have to try to do more—economically, militarily, politically. Because the capitalists must continue their offensive against working people around the world; they have no choice. And while they can get important help from the labor bureaucracy at home, and Peking and Moscow abroad, they ultimately have to do the job themselves.

A Mayor Gibson in Newark, a Mayor Kucinich in Cleveland, a Mayor Young in Detroit, a "socialist" Congressman Dellums, may talk a bit more "left," but when push comes to shove, they are owned by the banks. They bring down the axe on schools, hospitals, jobs, raise taxes—whatever the bankers need.

So, yes, the capitalist politicians are moving to the right.

But the workers aren't. And neither are our allies. They're looking for action. They're looking for answers. And they're beginning to act—whether misled, partially led, or just on their own.

That's the guerrilla warfare we were talking about at the beginning. As more and more SWP members get into the steel plants, into the auto factories, into the mines and rail yards, we are learning this from our own experience.

It's what one steelworker official was referring to when he talked to the *Washington Post* about the shipyard workers in Newport News. "What a guy used to put up with in the '30s and '40s, the young guys today just aren't willing to put up



March of 100,000 for ERA July 9, 1978, wrested extension of ERA deadline from the government.

with," the official said.

And we could add that it doesn't just go for the guys.

Political Ferment

The impact of the economic squeeze coming out of the breakdowns and inflation of 1973 and 1974 is having a deep *political* impact on the ranks of the unions. And it's not pushing them to the right.

The Black, Chicano, and women's movements have had a deep *political* impact on the unions. So did the anti-Vietnam War movement. And the South Africa solidarity movement on the campuses is doing the same thing today.

The rise in the class struggle around the world—from Iran to southern Africa, from Nicaragua to West Europe—is affecting the working class. The world's toilers aren't just lying down and taking it from an all powerful capitalism. To the contrary. And there's no reason why American workers won't be affected by this, encouraged by it, and join in it.

On all these political and social questions, the

ferment in the ranks of labor is greater today than ever before. We see it in the sales of the *Militant* on the job and at plant gates. In the willingness to discuss, think, and act.

And the political vanguard in the labor movement, and in other social movements, more and more understands the importance of using union power to fight around all these questions.

This, not any move to the right, is symptomatic of what is happening in the American working class today.

Our Eyes Are On the Ranks

This brings us to the question of the leadership of the labor movement. Where do we look? Where will the necessary leaders come from?

We look to the ranks of the working class.

The situation is better there today than in decades. Workers are beginning to divide the bureaucrats, rather than be divided by the bureaucrats—which was the norm for thirty years. It's good to see that start happening. It's the process that Farrell [Dobbs] describes in his afterword to the Teamster series [the last chapter in *Teamster Bureaucracy*, see ad accompanying this article].

Of course, we never thought we'd find the leadership of the class struggle in the upper echelons of the labor officialdom. There'll be some surprises. An individual leader can make an unexpected move that will sound very radical. But just to salvage things, just to buy time. That's not what we have our eyes on. We're not looking there.

And we should be clear on something else, too. We're not looking to be secondary leaders or to the local aspiring union politicians either. One result of the process over the past thirty years that we describe earlier has been the corruption of the secondary leadership. If they're on good behavior, they come up for jobs in the international. Once again, there will be some individual local leaders who step forward. They'll be spokespeople. They'll move a bit to the left under certain conditions. But as a general phenomenon, that's not what we're talking about.

Our eyes are on the ranks. That's where the new leaders will come from. That's where the pressures are building up. That's where the process will begin—on a local level, in the ranks.

What we said earlier about the Black movement and the Chicano movement will certainly be true of the labor movement, too. Political program will be key in forging a new leadership, right from the beginning.

- Solidarity—both inside the class, and with our allies among all the oppressed.

- The fight for union democracy to use union power.

- Freeing the unions from the death-grip of the Democrats and Republicans, and putting them on the road of independent labor political action—the way to really organize solidarity.

Those questions will be at the center of pulling together a new leadership.

The Here and Now

There's another term that we've been using that I think we should drop—"preparatory period." It's true that the whole period we're going through is preparing us for the massive class combat where the question of which class shall govern will be posed.

But the term can also be misread. We're in a period where struggles are not only being prepared—they are going on right now, in the here and now.

We can't be waiting to find ways to build a new leadership. The new leadership of the working class is being constructed today. It's being forged in a thousand different ways through experience.

Any political current in the workers movement that intends to be a force as the struggles deepen has to be part of that process, a participant in it, composed in its great majority of industrial workers. That, by the way, is the key idea in the world political resolution that the whole Fourth International is now discussing.

The changes that have accumulated since 1975 are enough that we can say with confidence now that "preparatory period" is no longer the best term.

The here and now—being part of what is going on today—is what's crucial to us for tomorrow.

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Finally, we have to look at the role of the party in a new light.

We're still small. But as we learned from the antiwar movement, or from what we helped accomplish in the Boston busing fight, a party such as ours can do a great deal if it has the correct program and the political sense to know what to do next.

We're seeing that again under today's changing conditions. We saw it in the role we were able to play in helping to initiate solidarity with the coal miners last winter. In the role we've already played in bringing the *Weber* case to the attention of many unionists. And there will be many more such occasions. Through all of them we'll grow, attracting young workers to the ranks of the socialist movement.

Our party is proving beyond a shadow of a doubt that socialists can act openly as socialists in the unions and in every sector of the mass movement today. Not only that we *can* but that we *must*. Because all the questions facing the exploited and oppressed are political questions.

That's true of Carter's wage guidelines. Health care. The ERA. *Weber*. The Wilmington Ten. Gay rights. Solidarity with a strike in coal, or Canadian nickel workers. The massive war budget. Carter's threats against Black Africa, Cuba, the Arab masses, the Vietnamese. We talk about all these things on the job.

Our methods and our perspectives are different from those of the bureaucrats, and from those of even the most "progressive" secondary and local leaders. They are also different from those of the Stalinists and groups like the International Socialists. These groups don't function openly as socialists on the job; they're more "cool" about it. The International Socialists have gotten so "cool" that they even ditched their newspaper recently.

Someone was telling me the other day that a "cool" "socialist" steelworker who works alongside one of our members in Gary, Indiana, refers to him as that "crazy fellow who goes around selling the *Militant* all the time." Well, with more crazy people like that, we can turn the country upside down.

The workers in this country are not going to be sideline observers in the big events that are coming. The party that aims to lead these workers to power will be a party composed of and led by workers. Its leaders will be drawn from the women workers, the Black and Chicano workers, the militant, young, white workers whom we are meeting and working with today.

I was struck recently in reading an interview with two young rank-and-file leaders of the oil workers' strike in Iran. Responding angrily to the claim that the release of some political prisoners and other victories won during the early stages of the upsurge in that country proved that the shah was a "liberalizer," one of these young workers leaders told a U.S. reporter:

"We were suppressed for so many years, we suffered for so long that now we have burst. It was not the shah who liberalized, but we who grasped liberalization from him. We took it."

That spirit is not so different from the one that is beginning to percolate among the workers in this country today. It's the spirit out of which we will build this party.

Marx said that we should join the guerrilla army. We're doing that. We're joining that urban guerrilla movement. It's easy to do. You get a job in a plant. Then you're part of the guerrilla movement.

But like us, Marx knew that the guerrilla strategy was a losing strategy. And so, at the end of his remarks, he explained that workers don't dare become totally absorbed in the "unavoidable guerrilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachment of capital."

Why do the trade unions fail?

They fail because the independent power of the workers is not used. That enormous power is not unleashed. It is not organized consciously and used socially and politically.

They fail because they limit themselves to this guerrilla war against the effects of the existing social system, instead of fighting to change that system.

That's where our party and our program comes in. To transform the labor movement so that workers can use it as a political lever for their final emancipation and, as Marx explained, for the abolition of the wage system.

That's still the problem. That's still the task that lies before us.

Summary of Discussion

Several Canadian comrades passed me a note about the INCO nickel strike up there and the importance of building solidarity here among U.S. steelworkers and in the labor movement in general. We totally agree. I didn't mention it in the report, because Stu [Singer], who is in USWA Local 6115 on the Iron Range, is our expert on the INCO strike—not only in analysis but in participating in solidarity work. He is going to talk about it during the discussion under the organization report tomorrow.

Briggs Amendment

On the Briggs Amendment. We have basic agreement on evaluating the voting results, and what we should be saying in the *Militant*.

First, the Briggs initiative was not like Proposition 13, not like the Jarvis thing. Of course, Briggs and Jarvis are both linked to the political ultraright, with more ties to the future racists and fundamentalists than to the main currents of either the Democratic or Republican parties. But that doesn't tell us much about the propositions themselves.

What Jarvis did was to ride the current of the direct antilabor attack that the ruling class in its overwhelming majority is carrying out. He rode it. He put his demagoguery to work and helped engineer a defeat for our class. His success in doing that changed—if only for a while—the company he keeps, putting him in the good graces of Jerry Brown and a lot of other capitalist politicians.

This was not true of Briggs. Briggs began with the same hope. But not too far along the road, it became crystal clear that the majority of the ruling class did not want a showdown over this issue. It didn't make sense from their standpoint. Not that they support gay rights—they're not for any of our rights, and they must crack down on all rights. It had nothing to do with that.

Under today's political relationship of forces, the rulers thought the Briggs initiative was counterproductive. Now, what are today's conditions?

The conditions did have something to do with the differences today compared to what happened in Dade County in 1977, when the gay rights ordinance was defeated. The rulers drew some lessons from Dade County and the big gay rights demonstrations sparked by that defeat. And it's clear that the attitudes of the gay liberation movement and of other gay rights supporters in California and elsewhere were altered by the Dade County debacle.

Those who wanted to be cautious, to quietly lobby and not stir up the opposition, were set back, as Rich [Finkel] pointed out. Those who wanted to fight the reactionary antigay bigots got a boost. It's hard to weigh the exact impact of this change, but it certainly helped alter the political atmosphere around the fight for gay rights. And it was one of the things the ruling class weighed.

Briggs and 'Right to Work'

But this was totally different from what happened in Missouri around the right-to-work initiative—different from the standpoint of ruling-class policy. The right-to-work drive was not started by some marginal right-winger like Briggs. It was organized at the top levels of the ruling class on a national level. Their aim was to test the waters and see if they could drive through along their main line of attack against the entire American working class.

Here, the *Militant* did not strike the right balance during its preelection coverage. We were a little slow to pick up on the importance of the fight against the "right to work" initiative in Missouri and reflect that in our press. For a while a reader might have gotten the impression Briggs was more important than Missouri.

Now, does correctly relating to issues like the Briggs Amendment "complement" our turn into industry? I don't think "complement" is the right word. Because if our turn negates our unconditional support to democratic rights, if it doesn't include fighting for the rights of all the oppressed, then it is politically wrong. This is absolutely essential to a real political turn.

Our turn is to take our politics to our class *as part of our class*. That means workers explaining to workers why it is in the general interest of the

entire working class to fight for the rights of the oppressed.

On the question of labor's role in the defeat of the Briggs initiative: this is important, because it was quite different from what occurred in Missouri. Lew [Jones] brought this to our attention when he came to New York a few weeks ago. He spurred us to think this through. Lew objected to one word in the *Militant* editorial on Briggs—the word "key" in evaluating labor's contribution to the defeat of Briggs.

All the evidence is that this was not the case. There wasn't some big drive by labor that was "key" in defeating Briggs. The truth is that early in the game, the capitalist politicians made their views known, and they clearly weren't behind Briggs.

This shouldn't lead us to downplay the importance of what labor did accomplish in California. Let me just relate one experience. I saw a debate on the PBS station in New York between Briggs and a spokesperson for one of the two California teachers unions, the NEA, I believe. This woman made an excellent presentation for any worker, for any unionist, for any defender of democratic rights. She explained what was at stake in defeating the antigay measure, and she made Briggs look like a fool. What she had to say would have made good sense to any unionist watching it.

By saying that labor's role wasn't "key," we're not saying that labor's role was unimportant. We shouldn't miss the significance of the fact that every single union that took a position on Briggs came out *against* the initiative. That reflects something new. The capacity of sections of the labor movement to respond to these issues, the capacity of the unions to push forward articulate spokespeople to explain to the entire population why these issues are important—all this confirms our general assessment of the changes taking place in the working class.

Misjudge Real Situation

But we misjudge both sides of the real situation if we imply that Briggs spearheaded a real ruling-class drive, and that this was countered and defeated by a powerful mobilization of the labor movement and the gay movement. We would be less prepared for a real confrontation like that, should it occur. And we could overestimate the weight of the gay rights movement, which would lead us to make false tactical judgments in the future.

This has nothing to do with quiescence or relying on the ruling class. I thought Fred [Halstead's] election campaign statement on this in the *Militant* was excellent. Fred explained that any movement that fights for the oppressed, for working people, for democratic rights can lose even a sure thing if it relies on Democratic or Republican politicians. What we never do—no matter what the capitalists are saying or doing—is depend on them, depend on their good will. We *fight* for the correct position; we don't leave it up to the bourgeois politicians.

So for comrades across the country, I think we can now present an accurate picture of the character and scope of the forces behind the Briggs Amendment, and the character and scope of the forces in the fight against Briggs. This is important. To be wrong on this could lead us to a false estimate of the state of the class struggle, the current tactics of the ruling class, an overestimate of the strength of the gay rights movement, and cause us to veer away from the correct strategic line of march for labor and our party.

Affirmative Action and 'Weber'

I want to underline the importance of the *Weber* fight around affirmative action.

I very much agree with what Nat [Weinstein] said in the discussion. We can see the beginning of some consciousness among layers of the labor leadership who are white and among secondary leaders and worker militants, of what labor solidarity is. That's a big part of the significance of the *Weber* case. It says a lot about the changes in the labor movement.

If we didn't think this, we'd have to conclude that [USWA President] Lloyd McBride has suddenly become a big proponent of affirmative action and Black rights. But that won't wash. That's not how the McBride types look at questions of class and race. That's not how the USWA officialdom ended up formally on the right side of this affirmative-action case.

The McBride bureaucracy feels something from below, from the ranks. And they feel the pressure from the ruling class. They have to gauge how weak or how strong their union is. And what that means for them and their berth in life. We must assume that the initial organizing victory in Newport News and the possibility of facing a strike there has intruded into McBride's thinking on questions like *Weber*.

Omari [Musa] was right. In *Weber*, we have something that could be five, ten, twenty times bigger than the *Bakke* case. It goes right to the heart of class politics. We don't know yet how broad the movement around this can be. But the Supreme Court has agreed to hear the case, and that sets off a certain dynamic.

Mary-Alice [Waters] reminded me of something else that is important for us to absorb the meaning of. The American working class is more advanced, by far, on this question of affirmative action than workers anywhere else in the world. Affirmative action, as we understand the concept, is practically nonexistent in other advanced capitalist countries. There is no consciousness that fighting to increase the number of women or oppressed national minorities in industry strengthens the workers in their fight against the employers. As inadequate as the gains have been here, there's nothing like them in Canada, Europe, Australia, and Japan. The labor movement in other countries is just more backward on this question, more influenced by the racist and sexist ideas promoted by the rulers.

This is because of the vanguard role of the Black struggle in the United States and the impact of the radicalization that came before the period we're living through now. It's a precious conquest of the early stages of this radicalization. As a result, workers here have a potentially powerful weapon. Because affirmative action is solidarity. It is the strength our class needs to fight. And this concept already exists, is already part of this early stage of labor's fight for its emancipation.

We have to be able to explain this when we talk about the *Weber* case—how important this is for the strength of the whole class.

Black Party & Labor Party

Turning to the discussion we've had here on independent political action, on the Black party, the labor party, and so on.

A very important question is posed. Does the deepening interrelationship between the radicalization of the working class as a whole and the radicalization of the oppressed nationalities lessen the vanguard role of the Black population?

The answer is clearly no. Just the reverse. Because the fundamental issue that is posed—the need for the labor movement to think in broad social terms and fight in solidarity with all labor's allies—is at the center of the fight for independent working-class political action.

We can't be frozen into the idea that the only form of independent Black political action is a Black party along the lines of the Freedom Now Party, an independent Black candidate somewhere, or other things we've seen. Another form is the role Blacks can play as part of the vanguard fighting for a labor party. Another form is to help press forward demands that force the unions to think socially and act politically, demands that advance general thinking in the working class. All this becomes more and more true.

But we have to look at something else. The labor party slogan becomes more and more central today to expressing the idea of independent working-class political action. That doesn't mean we drop the Black party idea, or the Chicano party idea. In the name of an as yet nonexistent labor party we can't stop talking about, explaining the need for independent working-class political action in all possible forms.

Once a labor party does exist, we can decide other tactics. But none exists yet.

The labor party proposal is much more at the center of our fight for class political independence today than the Black party or the Chicano party. I leave aside here the case of Texas, how to combine our approaches to this question in that particular state, where a small independent Chicano party already exists.

Black Party Experiences

Pat [Wright] gave an excellent class on the Black party in Oberlin last August. Comrades should listen to it. She took the Black party—not

the abstract idea—but our actual experiences with Black parties and independent candidates, case by case. It has always been a very concrete question.

If I remember correctly, Elijah Muhammed and William Worthy first advanced the idea of a Black party, independent Black candidates, in the early 1960s. We read their thinking on it. We thought about it. We noted that Blacks are an overwhelming proletarian nationality. The idea fit right in with our understanding of the progressive thrust of Black nationalism. It fit right in with our idea of class political independence. So we developed our ideas on this and adopted a resolution at the 1963 convention. And the Freedom Now Party came along in Michigan right after that.

What we're saying now is two things.

First, today we have to put the labor party at the center of our propaganda as the most realistic vehicle to talk to militant workers, including Black workers or Chicano workers, about the fight for independent working-class political action. If we're going to talk to Black shipworkers in Newport News, it's more relevant today to talk to them about a labor party than a Black party. It makes more sense. It has more to do with independent Black political action.

We never saw the Black party as a step toward a Black nationalist organization or action. That is related, but it's also a separate question.



Fight for independent Black political action is bound up with struggle of Black workers to defend their rights and living standards.

We're certainly going to see independent Black movements and organizations. They are going to be a massive force. But we always thought a Black party would from the very beginning address itself to the need for alliances, and would rapidly include non-Black members.

Proletarian Composition

The Black party demand in this country is a very peculiar thing. I can't think of any other country in the world where we can call for a party like it based on an oppressed nationality.

The concept is indissolubly linked to the overwhelming proletarian composition of the Black and Chicano populations in the United States. It is a way of calling for working-class political independence in a country where there is an oppressed nationality that—way out ahead of the rest of the class—keeps posing the question of social and political action.

That's why we adopted the slogan in the early 1960s, and that's how we've always used it. It was a way of concretely explaining and advocating class political independence under the peculiar conditions that developed in this country over the past two decades.

In that framework, given the changes we've been talking about at this plenum, it's clear why we are emphasizing the labor party slogan today and deemphasizing the Black party slogan. Of course, we leave open special cases where it can still be a better way to explain what we're driving at.

Secondly, we're more and more convinced that

the only road to resolving the crisis of Black and Chicano political action lies through the American industrial working class. The turn is not just for us. We think every fighting organization in this country should make the turn. Unless you do what we're doing—getting the overwhelming majority of our members into industry—you are going to be disoriented politically.

In order to see the political challenges and opportunities today, in order to see the road ahead, you have to understand what's happening in the class struggle.

This is at the bottom of the crisis of perspectives facing the Raza Unida Party, for instance. This is what we must explain to the leaders and members of the Raza Unida Party whom we know and work with. We have to explain frankly and clearly that this is where they have to orient, or they will have no perspective to offer the masses of Chicano working people in Texas.

The Evers campaign also drove this point home. If ever there was a champion that pointed away from liberation for the Black population, it was the Evers campaign.

Narrowing Gap

As we discussed earlier, the gap between the radicalization among Black workers and the radicalization inside the rest of the working class has narrowed. That's not because Blacks have become less class conscious, but because whites have become more class conscious. That's the most positive thing in American politics.

The Black population has carried the U.S. class struggle on its back for twenty years. It started in the fifties with the rise of the civil rights movement, and that began to transform American society. It's taken us a long time to get to where we are now.

But now we're here. And that's a wonderful thing.

This is a new stage and a new opportunity for the Black movement and the Black proletariat to drive forward the struggle for socialism. We have to present the labor party idea with this in mind.

If you present the labor party idea to the shipyard workers in Virginia without it also sounding in part like a Black party, you're presenting the labor party wrong.

You have to explain it the way Frank [Lovell] did in the discussion—not a party that votes and chooses between candidates, but a party of active members who think, decide, and act 365 days a year. How can you present it to the American working class without explaining it this way? That's what we have to learn to do.

We never guaranteed there would be a Black party. We never guaranteed there would be a Chicano party. We still don't. We have no idea. We're not prophets. It all depends on the rise of working-class battles, the relationship among the nationalities in those battles, and other such questions.

What we want is mass, independent working-class political action—a break from the Democrats and Republicans. And the building of the Socialist Workers Party is part of that process.

I think it would be very helpful if we could get out an Education for Socialists bulletin collecting some of the material we published on the labor party question in earlier decades. And we need a pamphlet that explains the labor party perspective in a popular way.

Looking to the Ranks

Finally, the most important thing we've talked about is the "here and now." I think Mac [Warren] put it well when he pointed out that the ruling class sure doesn't think it's simply a preparatory period. That's a good point.

Even more important for us is the fact that a significant layer of our class *also* knows that this is not exactly a preparatory period. That's the heart of the matter.

That's where virtually every other radical group goes off the rails. They think it's important to get elected to union office, instead of organizing around ideas and actions among the ranks of the labor movement. That's like a decision to abandon the fight to be a revolutionary socialist in the unions.

That's why we stress the point that we can't have our eyes on the secondary leaders or the local leaders. We are looking to the ranks. And we function as open socialists.

The truth of the matter is that every single one

Continued on page ISR/14

You've wondered about it. How could society develop with a wealthy minority that controls things at the expense of the majority of working people? And what about the oppression of women? How did this happen? How can it be changed?

You'll get some answers, and a lot of inspiration, from *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*.

Based on Marx's method of analyzing history, and the works of nineteenth-century anthropologist Lewis Morgan, Frederick Engels

The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State

By Frederick Engels. Introduction by Evelyn Reed. New York. Pathfinder. 191 pp.

produced an excellent socialist analysis of the roots of class and sexual oppression.

An introduction by Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution* (also published by Pathfinder Press), updates the findings of Engels's historic work and confirms its applicability to today's struggles of working people against their oppressors, and particularly the fight of women for equality. Reed notes Engels's special sensitivity to women's oppression and encourages feminists to read the book as a means to "arm the movement theoretically [and] inspire it with confidence that liberation can be won."

Engels explains that society as we know it—class society—is not eternal or unchanging. It has evolved, existing for only a very short period of time in human evolution. It will only survive as long as the conditions that created it—private ownership of the means of production and the oppression and exploitation this requires—survive.

Questioning the anthropological findings up to his time, Lewis Morgan did extensive research to explain why and how present society evolved.

Engels, citing Morgan, explains the evolutionary process of humankind. From "savagery," to "barbarism," to "civilization." These terms were used to signify different levels of development of the productive forces and the changing social

Pathfinder's Choice for March

Origin of the Family, Private Property & the State

organization that accompanies them.

Savagery, by far the longest period of evolution, may have lasted 1 million years, 99 percent of human existence. During this period, gathering of food was carried out by all group members. Gathering provided the main food supplies, supplemented by hunting, which was generally carried out by men. Women maintained the home and raised the children.

Groups cooperated in the labor of providing food, shared the product of their labor, and lived together. Men and women had considerable latitude in choosing sexual partners. While men and women were equal partners in this primitive communistic society, women were held in special regard.

"That woman was the slave of man at the commencement of society is one of the most absurd notions that have come down to us," Engels said. "Woman occupied not only a free but also a highly respected position among all savages. . . ."

The next evolutionary stage, barbarism, lasted only a few thousand years. It was distinguished by the domestication of animals for food, the use of rudimentary tools and fire, and later the development of agriculture. As the social surplus began to grow beyond the needs of bare survival, social and economic differentiation and conflict increased, although the communal structure (common ownership of the means of production) was maintained.

Until the final stages of barbarism, women maintained their high position in society. Arthur Wright, a missionary among the "barbaric" tribes of the Seneca Iroquois, described a typical communal household:

"Usually the female portion ruled the house; the stores were in common; but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing. No matter how many children or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might at any time be ordered to pack up his blanket and budge. . . ."

The third evolutionary stage described by Engels is civilization. It evolved with the further development of productive capacity in both industry and agriculture. The growth of the surplus and deepening social divisions led to the ownership of the means of production by a small minority, who thus accumulated great wealth.

Along with this transformation came the destruction of communal life, the rise of ruling and oppressed classes, and the establishment of the state as a means of defending the property of the rich against the working people. The downfall of women, the establishment of patriarchy, the monogamous (for women only!) marriage, and the family as an institution were part of this process.

Inheritance of wealth, not a love-sex relationship, was the driving force behind the rise of monogamous marriage. And the domination of women by men went hand in hand with the exploitation of working people by the wealthy minority.

The transition to class society ("civilization") was historically progressive insofar as it vastly expanded human productive capacities. But it was made possible "by playing on the most sordid instincts and passions of man, and by developing them at the expense of all his other faculties," Engels said. "Naked greed has been the moving spirit of civilization from the first day of its existence to the present time; wealth, more wealth and wealth again; wealth, not of society, but of this shabby individ-

ual was its sole and determining aim."

Step by step, using the examples of the Athenians, the Romans, and the Germanic peoples, Engels traces the ascendancy of the state. From the accumulation of surplus wealth into the hands of a few, to the subjugation of those who produced the wealth—the working people—to the full trappings of the state with police, armed forces, and prisons.

Engels's book explodes the nonsense about the eternal nature of family, private property, and the state. He explains scientifically how civilized society developed. He forecasts the inevitable overturn of the existing society and the development of a new society—socialism:

"The society that will organize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers will put the whole machinery of the state where it will then belong: into the Museum of Antiquities, by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe."

Class society, as Reed points out in her introduction to this valuable book, is "a transitory phenomenon, the product of specific economic conditions at a certain stage of social evolution. It has been—and will be—only a brief interlude in the forward march of humankind. Through further evolution—and socialist revolution—this oppressive system and its degradation of women will be done away with."

—Priscilla Schenk

25% Discount Offer

Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State is available at a special discount rate of \$2.20. The regular price is \$2.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send check or money order or return this coupon to one of the socialist bookstores listed on page 31. Offer expires April 30.

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...workers

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of our opponents look to that layer, not to the ranks of labor. That's where the Communist Party looks. That's where the Maoists look. That's where the International Socialists look. The Social Democrats already look a little higher, but they don't ignore the secondary layers.

Deep in their heart of hearts, a lot of these petty-bourgeois radicals believe that Fraser and Winpisinger are to the left of the American workers. To you that sounds strange. It sounds like an abomination. Because you are workers who are thinking about strategy and tactics in the battles today and the battles ahead.

But petty-bourgeois radicals who come into the labor movement with a petty-bourgeois program, get superimpressed with various competing individual leaders, some more radical than others. It wasn't just the Cochranites in our own party who thought that the Reuther bureaucracy was miles to the left of the auto workers in the fifties. This

kind of idea comes up with every brand of petty-bourgeois political opponent today.

This is important to keep in mind. It helps to reinforce where we're looking, and the axis that we're on. It's all connected to the here and now. That's what we're after.

What's at stake is challenging the thirty-year web of class-collaborationist practices in the labor movement. Farrell calls it miles of red tape. He saw the genesis of a lot of it firsthand. You get a picture of miles of red tape being wound around the bodies of workers so they can't breathe and can't move.

What did Mac say? Even when a worker gets mad, what do they say to the steward? "File a grievance. File a grievance for me."

Think about that for a minute. Isn't that a hell of a state for the UAW to come to?

That's what is beginning to unravel. It will go far beyond what we're seeing now. When the workers very impolitely say, "Take the laws, take the papers, take the grievance machinery, and shove 'em."

Workers' real grievances are going to increase, and they will have to be fought out with strikes and picket lines against cops and company goons. Those kinds of struggles built the labor

movement, and they will come again. They will become the dominant forms of struggle, and the workers will have to cut through the red tape with a few strokes. All the stuff with the lawyers and arbitrators will fall by the wayside in combat, class combat.

That's when our class-struggle program will become clear to millions—solidarity in all its forms; union democracy; and a political organization of the class. We have the winning strategy.

We ought to take two votes.

One is on the motion from the outgoing Political Committee that "proposals for endorsement of or support for referenda, initiatives, and other similar ballot items be referred to the Political Committee by branches, locals, or districts in the same way that party endorsement for any non-party candidate is brought before the PC." This is important, because when any unit of the party commits itself on an issue like this, they're committing themselves on a general political question, and the whole party takes responsibility for it.

The second motion is to approve the general line of this report and summary.

...civil rights rally hits 'Weber' threat

Continued from back page

remains today, a laboratory technician. Media coverage on this point is quite bad," Sanderson said.

"I hear people say, 'When is Weber going to get his job back?'"

"The fact is, before this program, Kaiser hired skilled craftsmen off the streets. It was only after this agreement that Weber could get into such a program at all!

"And even if it was on the basis of strict seniority, Brian Weber couldn't get in for years."

If Weber wins, we lose

"So Brian Weber isn't losing anything. But if the Supreme Court rules in his favor, Black workers will lose a great deal.

"The Weber ruling is also a big threat to collective bargaining," Sanderson said.

"Unions negotiate into their contracts many controversial things. If this decision is sustained, it will be a threat to all types of bargaining.

"Weber is not only a danger to minorities and women, but to whites as trade unionists," he pointed out.

"I think there is an attempt on the part of the court to roll back the clock—to paraphrase the words of Jus-

tice Thurgood Marshall in his dissent on the *Bakke* case: 'to use an act intended to provide equal opportunity against the very people it was meant to protect.'

"I hope that day does not come to pass. I hope the court decides that the lower courts were mistaken, that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act means what it says, that it means to open the American economy to all people—regardless of race, regardless of sex, regardless of national origin.

"Rallies such as this—where information is imparted to people so you can talk to others about it—will be very important," Sanderson said.

A battle for labor

In a powerful presentation, Rev. Avery Alexander, a Louisiana state representative and retired longshoreman, addressed the issues at stake.

As a veteran of the labor movement, Alexander recalled the tough battles working people fought for their right to organize unions in Louisiana.

"Today it is necessary for workers to defeat Weber.

"Women in particular need affirmative action," he said, pointing to the large number of women who are the main wage-earners for their families.

Hitting at the myth of "reverse discrimination," Alexander declared, "I've been all around, and I've never found that since the civil rights movement there has been any discrimination whatsoever by Blacks and women against white men."

While the union agreement at Kaiser set aside 50 percent of the training positions for victims of discrimination, he noted, "It also set aside 50 percent for those who had all the advantages all along."

'A women's issue'

Sara Jeffries, vice-president of New Orleans National Organization for Women, spoke on behalf of NOW State Coordinator Rosie Roy.

"The notion is being perpetrated that while it's true that Blacks and women were once discriminated against, now that's all changed. That today women and Blacks get preferential treatment.

"There's a strong movement now afoot to take away our gains under the guise of correcting 'excesses.'

"The Weber case is a women's issue," she declared.

Rev. S.L. Harvey, president of the

Louisiana Southern Christian Leadership Conference, pledged his organization's full backing to the anti-Weber fight.

Gretchen Hollander, state director of the American Civil Liberties Union, told the rally that the ACLU has filed a court brief opposing the Weber ruling.

Lena Craig Stewart, secretary-treasurer of Hotel, Motel, Restaurant and Bartenders Employees Local 166, said her union had adopted a resolution against Weber.

"Many in our union are unskilled, but some get training that allows them to move into higher positions," the Black unionist said.

"Weber will be a setback to our people. Let's overturn the decision."

Connie Goodly, director of organization of the United Teachers of New Orleans, co-chaired the rally. Other speakers included Morris Jeff of the National Association of Black Social Workers.

Reverend Booker read solidarity messages to the rally from affirmative-action coalitions in Chicago and San Diego.

Machinists oppose 'Weber'

By Mark Friedman

SAN DIEGO—Machinists Local 685, together with Black and women's organizations in San Diego, has begun an educational campaign against the Weber decision and in support of affirmative action.

The 1,500-member local represents workers at SOLAR-International Harvester. It has discussed the case at union meetings, adopted a resolution against Weber, and published an article in its newsletter, *685News*.

"Weber vs. Kaiser Aluminum and United Steelworkers is shaping up as the biggest court battle yet over equal rights for Blacks, minorities, and women," the article states. "The Weber case challenges the right of unions to negotiate affirmative action programs to overcome employer discrimination in hiring and advancement. . . .


"The Weber ruling is an attack on the entire labor movement. An injury to one is an injury to all."

The local has also printed a fact

sheet on the issues at stake. It explains how "the companies profit from keeping workers divided and thereby driving down wages and working conditions for all. They are the only ones who stand to gain by pushing Blacks, women, and Chicanos down even further."

In a related development, the Labor/Community Affirmative Action Task Force has called a meeting on the Weber case for March 10 at the United Auto Workers hall, 2266 San Diego Avenue.

Initiators of the meeting include Charles Maudlin, president, IAM Local 685; Tom Johnson, president, San Diego NAACP; Ambrose Brodus, vice-president, Urban League; Estelle Ricketson, president, Coalition of Labor Union Women; Jesús Moreno, executive director, Chicano Federation; Rev. Robert Ard, president, Ministerial Alliance; Elizabeth Reed, southern California vice-president, Social Services Union Local 535; and Earl Davis, editor, *Voice News and Viewpoint*.



The Weber Case:

HELP GET OUT THE TRUTH

The Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action by Militant staff writer Andy Rose presents the real story behind Weber's assault on job rights. It takes up key issues posed by the case: so-called reverse discrimination against white males, seniority, and how the labor movement can win jobs and better conditions for all.

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...Alabama

Continued from back page

was alleged by prosecution witnesses.

Earlier plans for a SCLC-led march from Decatur to Cullman were canceled after the change of venue came through. Cullman and city officials had denied an SCLC request for a parade permit.

A similar march last fall was met by a large contingent of robed Klansmen. Police arrested Lowery, along with SCLC Southeast Regional Director John Nettles and Rev. R.D. Cotton-reader, SCLC project director in Cullman, and charged them with marching without a permit.

During February, there were several incidents involving the Klan. On February 11, more than 100 armed Klansmen watched as police arrested two Black men for picketing an A&P store as part of a civil rights protest. And on February 24, more than 150 armed Klansmen drove through the streets of Decatur.

During the past week, the Klan had been making threats against the planned march.

Lowery told the fifty Blacks assembled at the church that police had

informed them that "the Klan was gathering by the river." The SCLC president said that Blacks would not be intimidated by the Klan.

"If the Klan finds out that we can be intimidated, we're through," Lowery said.

"The people responsible for Klan terrorism in Decatur and Alabama as a whole are the police," he said. "It is they who refuse to arrest the Klan as terrorist lawbreakers. It is they who instead arrest and harass the peaceful people of Decatur. Their refusal to uphold the law has led to Klan violence."

Testifying on behalf of the defense motion for a change of venue, Black attorney Henry Mims said when he rode into Cullman for the trial, a car with whites pulled up beside him. They held up a sign that read, "Niggers Stink Like Dogs."

Linda Stiefelmeyer, reporter for a Cullman radio station, told the court that if the trial were held in Cullman, "there might be bloodshed outside the courtroom."

In the wake of the new ruling, Birmingham papers predicted heavy security would be needed for the trial there and speculated on the possibility of actions by Hines supporters and the

Klan moving to that city.

The Hines case has received wide notice in news media both locally and nationally. It has been compared with the Scottsboro case, a landmark frame-up of the 1930s in which a group of Alabama Blacks were charged with raping two white women.

A sign of growing support for Hines was a collection for the defendant in all Catholic churches in the diocese of northern Alabama in early February. Church officials made special mention of the need to safeguard the rights of retarded people, another aspect of the case that has received attention.



Decatur protesters demand justice for Tommy Lee Hines and end to Klan terror

Crimean Tatar sentenced

On March 6 a Soviet court reportedly sentenced Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev to four years' internal exile for "violating probation."

Dzhemilev has already served four prison terms because he champions the right of the Crimean Tatars to return to the Crimea, from which they were forcibly deported by Stalin in 1944. He was continually harassed by the Kremlin's police after he finished serving a two-and-one-half-year labor-camp term on charges of



MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV

"anti-Soviet activity" in December 1977.

On February 19, a delegation consisting of Daniel Berrigan, David McReynolds of the War Resisters League, Prof. Paul Siegel, and Marilyn Vogt presented a letter to the Soviet U.N. mission protesting Dzhemilev's February 7 arrest and demanding his release.

The letter to the Soviet mission was signed by Jules Feiffer, writer Grace Paley, Kate Millett, Leon Harris of the NAACP, Richard Falk of Princeton University, Ebal Ahmad of the Institute for Policy Studies, and George Novack of the Socialist Workers Party.

The delegation was received by a mission member who refused to identify himself, and who claimed ignorance of Dzhemilev's arrest. However, he declared, if the Tatar leader had been arrested, there must have been a good reason for it.

Although initially refusing the letter, the anonymous Soviet official finally relented and accepted it.

St. Louis teachers beat back-to-work move

Public school teachers in St. Louis mobilized February 28 to thwart a city government-sponsored "back to work" campaign aimed at breaking their seven-week-old strike.

More than half the 4,100 teachers turned out for picket duty at schools throughout the city. According to union strike captains, only 444 teachers and para-professionals crossed their lines. By day's end, not a single school had opened.

American Federation of Teachers Local 420 went on strike January 16 demanding a substantial pay increase, smaller class sizes, and daily preparation periods for elementary school teachers.

On February 23, the school board presented its "final offer"—a \$150 pay increase for the half-year.

"Under no circumstances will we go back to the class-

room until the issues are resolved to our satisfaction," Local 420 president Evelyn Battle told 2,300 cheering teachers at a February 27 rally.

Missouri governor Joseph Teasdale announced March 2 that he had "discovered" an additional \$1.4 million in state aid that supposedly would be available to fi-

nance a pay increase for teachers.

Helen Savio, a Local 420 executive board member, told the *Militant*, "What we need is to show those anti-union forces that tried to shove 'right to work' down our throats that we are determined to keep St. Louis a union town. This strike is a test for all of us."



ERA BOYCOTT OK'D

The National Organization for Women's boycott of states that have not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment was ruled legal February 21 by a federal judge in Kansas City.

The boycott had been challenged by the state of Missouri as violating antitrust laws.

Judge Elmo Hunter declared the boycott involved "political objectives," not commercial ones, and that the Sherman Antitrust Act did not apply.

NOW says that its boycott has cost Kansas City more than \$8 million in convention

business, and St. Louis about \$11 million.

FBI HEAD STILL SQUIRMING

FBI Director Griffin Bell has been twisting and squirming ever since a federal judge ordered him to turn over the files on eighteen informers who infiltrated the Socialist Workers Party.

About once a week he comes up with a new argument as to why informer files should never see the light of day. The latest, offered to a House committee February 28, is that

people in prison are using the Freedom of Information Act to learn the identity of informers who helped land them in jail.

He said 16 percent of Freedom of Information requests to the FBI come from prisoners.

While expressing pious concern for the safety of the informers, he conceded he knew of none that had been harmed as a result of disclosure. "But," he added, "absence of a victim does not lessen our concern."

How touching.

In the SWP case, Bell has risked contempt of court to avoid disclosure of files that would further reveal the extent to which the government's secret police have systematically trampled on the constitutional rights of dissidents in this

country.

To believe that he's concerned about the safety of his stool pigeons is like believing there's honor among thieves.

CARTER AND ARTIS FILE NEW APPEAL

A federal judge has ordered the New Jersey courts to allow Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis to appeal their murder conviction, based on evidence of racism and other jury misconduct at their second trial. The appeal was filed February 21.

A statement from an alternate juror, made public at the federal court hearing, told of racist remarks among jurors. John Adamo's statement also said that a court officer re-

ferred to Carter and Artis as "bastards."

In addition, jurors discussed a lie detector test that was never offered as evidence at the trial. Both defendants were alleged to have failed the test.

Carter, the former middleweight boxing champion and outspoken Black-rights advocate, and Artis were tried twice for the 1966 murders of three people in a Paterson, New Jersey bar. The prosecution's "evidence" consisted largely of the story of an admitted burglar who made a deal with the state for his testimony.

Carter and Artis have won international support in their fight against the racist frame-up. The NAACP is currently representing them in court.

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

UPSURGE IN PERU—A FIRSTHAND ACCOUNT. Speaker: Pedro Camejo, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Tues., Mar. 20, 7:30 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

RALLY TO DEFEND HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party; representative of NAACP; MEChA; others. Fri., Mar. 23, 7:30 p.m. ASU Memorial Union, Pinal

Room. Aup: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (602) 267-7410.

CALIFORNIA LONG BEACH

PICKET PROTESTING PRESENCE OF SEAL BEACH NAVAL WEAPONS CENTER RECRUITERS. Protest at Cal State Long Beach. Wed., Mar. 14, 11:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m. in front of CSULB administration building. Aup: CSULB Alliance for Survival. For more information call (213) 937-0240.

SAN JOSE

THE CURRENT UFW STRIKE. Speaker: Catarino Garza, correspondent for 'Perspectiva Mundial.' Sat., Mar. 17, 3 p.m. 942 E. Santa Clara. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO DENVER

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN IRAN? Speaker: Steve Marshall, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee. Fri., Mar. 16, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

WINE & CHEESE BENEFIT FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN. 'Amnesia,' twenty-minute film made in Mexico, will be shown. Sat., Mar. 24, 7:30 p.m. Colorado Migrant Council, 7905 W. 44th Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Aup: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (303) 534-8330.

FLORIDA MIAMI

REPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, recently returned from a tour of southern Africa. Mon., Mar. 19, 7:30 p.m. Florida Memorial College Teaching Auditorium, 15800 NW 42nd Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Viewpoint Speakers Bureau. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

REPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: Maceo Dixon. Tues., Mar. 20, 11 a.m. Miami Dade Community College, North Campus, Room 2147. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

WHICH WAY FOR BLACKS IN '79 MAYORAL ELECTION? Speakers: Lou

Palmer, journalist; E. Duke McNeil, former independent candidate for mayor; Lloyd Hogan, 'Metro News'; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., aldermanic candidate; Anna Langford, former alderwoman; Bob Lucas, convener of Concerned Citizens of Kenwood-Oakland. Fri., Mar. 23, 7:30 p.m. Operation PUSH Community Hall, 930 E. 50th St. Donation: \$1.00. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Andrew Pulley SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago; Maria Rivera, United Auto Workers Local 858. Sun., April 1, 7 p.m. Blue Gargoyles Youth Service Center, 5655 S. University Ave. 2nd fl. Donation: \$2. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

DESEGREGATION BY BUSING: HAS IT WORKED? Speakers: Lyman Johnson, member of Louisville Board of Education; Dennis Carmen, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Mar. 17, 4 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND THE 'WEBER' CASE. Speakers: Richard Bragg, education director, Baltimore NAACP; Barbara Bowman, Socialist Workers Party, chair of Women's Advisory Committee of USWA Local 2609. Sun., Mar. 11, 7:30 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MINNESOTA

MESABI IRON RANGE HOW TO STOP NUKES: LESSONS FROM THE ANTI-VIETNAM WAR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Fred Halstead, author of 'Out Now!'. Thurs., Mar. 16, 7 p.m. Carpenters Hall, 307 1st St. N., Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MINNEAPOLIS

VIETNAM—WHAT BROUGHT US HOME. Speakers: Fred Halstead, author of 'Out Now!'; Marv Davidov; Mulford Sibley; Bill Tilton. Fri., Mar. 16, 7:30 p.m. 320 Coffman Union, Univ. of Minn. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 825-6663 or 222-8929.

NEW JERSEY

THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM: THE CASE OF HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speaker: Barry Fatland, executive secretary of U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Fri., Mar. 16, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW PROVIDENCE

VETERANS PREFERENCE AND 'REVERSE DISCRIMINATION': WHAT'S AHEAD FOR WORKING WOMEN IN NEW JERSEY? Speakers: Nancy Stultz, state coordinator of NOW-N.J.; Chris Hildebrand, member of NOW, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Thurs., Mar. 15, 8 p.m. New Providence Library. Aup: Summit Area NOW. For more information call (201) 647-6841.

NEW YORK BROOKLYN

THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPYARD STRIKE: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT.

Forums on Indochina

ARIZONA PHOENIX

WHAT'S BEHIND CHINA'S INVASION OF VIETNAM? Speaker: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 16, 8 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

HANDS OFF VIETNAM! WHY PEKING INVASION AIDS WASHINGTON'S DRIVE AGAINST THE INDOCHINA REVOLUTION. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., Mar. 16, 7:30 p.m. People's College of Law Annex, 712 S. Grandview. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

NEW YORK NEW YORK

BEHIND PEKING'S INVASION OF

VIETNAM: WASHINGTON'S DRIVE AGAINST REVOLUTION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA.

Speaker: Gus Horowitz, Socialist Workers Party Political Committee. Sun., Mar. 11, 1 p.m. 116 W. 11th St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

OHIO CLEVELAND

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN INDOCHINA? Speaker to be announced. Sun., Mar. 18, 4 p.m. 13002 Kinsman. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

WHAT'S BEHIND CHINA'S INVASION OF VIETNAM? Speaker: Clemens Bak, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Mar. 18, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.



JUDGE BLOCKS STRIP-MINE LAW

Enforcement of the new federal regulations on strip mining have been blocked in parts of Virginia by a federal judge, who accepted coal company arguments that the new rules violate the Fifth Amendment.

A part of the 1977 law, recently put into effect after long delays, permits federal inspectors to shut down a strip-mine operation at once in cases of threats to public health or the environment.

A group of coal operators claim this violates the Fifth Amendment's declaration that no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law.

The operators never worried

Quote unquote

"We used to run this country. Now we don't even run our own embassy."

—A U.S. diplomat, on leaving Iran.

about the Constitution when killer floods swept through Appalachia after their strip mines had torn the land apart.

The federal government says it may appeal the decision. Meanwhile, coal operators in other parts of the country have also launched legal challenges to the long-overdue strip-mine law.

Blacks boycott racist store

By Nelson Blackstock

BIRMINGHAM—Blacks have been picketing an A&P store here since early February as part of a boycott aimed at ending racist abuses by store management.

The protest was sparked by a February 4 incident. The store manager and an off-duty city policeman working as a guard falsely accused a Black youth of shoplifting.

Even after Arthur Johnson produced a receipt for his purchase, they took him to the rear of the store, where the manager beat him before he was arrested. Blacks who regularly shop at the store say this is only the latest in a series of similar incidents.

On February 13, after the boycott was called and a picket line thrown up at the store, an off-duty cop working as a guard at a bank across the street suddenly attacked picketing Blacks.

Claiming that Arthur Johnson had made an offensive gesture, he was joined by other cops in arresting

Johnson, his mother, Annie Johnson, and Rev. T.S. Cooper of Operation Human Rights, the group leading the protests.

When a Black private security guard working for A&P criticized police action in a statement to the press, he was promptly fired.

Arthur and Annie Johnson were charged with disorderly conduct and interfering with a police officer.

On February 26 Arthur Johnson was convicted of the original shoplifting and resisting arrest charges and sentenced to thirty days in jail or a \$250 fine and one year probation. The conviction is being appealed.

Senseia Cancanja, a leader of the protest, told the *Militant* that the boycott has been almost totally effective. Demands include the dropping of all charges, a public apology by A&P management, an end to store hiring of off-duty cops, and the elimination of racist practices in the hiring and treatment of store employees.

Any more questions?—El Centro, California, Rotarians sat "spellbound," reports the *New York Times*, as the wife of a struck lettuce grower described the situation. "The strike is more than a labor dispute," she said. "It's a revolution." One grower, she said, asked a group of the mainly *mexicano* strikers, "If you don't want to work here, why don't you go back to your own country?" The reply: "This is going to be our country soon."

Balanced view—Former President Ford says he gets "a little upset with people who are highly critical of the shah." He said we should remember what the Iranian tyrant did to modernize the country. Of course. Also, Mussolini made the trains run on time and Hitler's gas chambers were the latest model.

Not guilty—Malcolm Forbes, publisher of *Forbes* magazine ("Capitalist Tool"), was born rich and is getting richer every day. He takes a dim view of people who feel guilty about their wealth. "No, no, no! I can never remember feeling guilty," he says. "I can remember," he adds, "feeling greedy."

Barefoot and pregnant—early—Harry Zain, an anti-abortion activist, urged the West Virginia legislature to reduce the female marriage age to twelve. "For a young girl," he said, "it is wrong for her to be in school when she wants to be a wife." Queried by legislators, he



Union Talk

Speedup at Dodge Truck

This week's column is by Tom Smith, a member of United Auto Workers Local 140 at Dodge Truck in Warren, Michigan.

DETROIT—Last fall Dodge trucks began rolling off the assembly lines at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant here.

For three years the company had been threatening to close down these antiquated and inefficient assembly operations. But a lucrative tax break, awarded by Coleman Young's Democratic city administration, convinced Chrysler to keep the plant open and convert it to light truck production.

This extortion cost working people in Detroit more than just hard-earned tax dollars.

Workers at Chrysler's two other truck plants paid the price of increased layoffs and attacks on their working conditions. Across the river in Windsor, Ontario, 900 workers lost their jobs when Chrysler closed their plant and moved its operations to Jefferson Avenue.

At the Warren Truck Assembly, where I work, 800 jobs out of 6,000 were eliminated through "attrition"—firings, quits, and the extensive use of summer help discharged in the fall.

Throughout the plant, lines were speeded up. On two operations in the welding department production was increased—from thirty-eight to forty-five pieces an hour in one, from forty-five to sixty-three in the other.

These increases of 15-30 percent compare with our annual "productivity raise" in wages of 3 percent.

Individual work loads were also increased by eliminating jobs and then forcing the remaining workers to divide the extra work.

In order to impose this speedup Chrysler began to aggressively enforce

new "rules of conduct." Workers were forbidden to sit down and rest when the line stopped—which meant standing nine hours a day, often six days a week. Newspapers were banned outside of cafeterias, and many workers were disciplined for minor "infractions" which were previously common practice.

The members of United Auto Workers Local 140 were outraged. More than 300 came to a union meeting in late September to discuss how to fight back. The greatest applause greeted one worker who said, "Chrysler acts as if this is Jackson Prison and we're the inmates."

The overriding sentiment at the meeting was to call a strike over this attack on our working conditions. At the least a special meeting of the entire local membership should have been called. Instead, the local leadership went into a "special conference" with management to resolve the dispute.

Negotiations dragged on through November, during which time management slacked off its harassment campaign. This tactical retreat—to stave off mounting protest—allowed Chrysler to push through its long-term objectives: speedup and job changes.

Our experience points to the importance of two issues in the upcoming 1979 contract negotiations.

First, the need to combat layoffs by fighting to end forced overtime and winning a shorter workweek for auto workers without a loss in pay.

Second, we have to make real our right to strike over health and safety or working conditions. Under our present interminable grievance procedure it takes forever for a local to secure strike sanction. This strengthens the company's ability to impose worse and worse conditions, like those we now have to put up with at Dodge Truck.

Speakers: Omari Musa, staff writer for the *'Militant'*; Harvey McArthur, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 16, 8 p.m. 841 Classon Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 783-2135.

LOWER MANHATTAN
GRAND OPENING OF NEW SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS. Accompanied by slide show of Iran during insurrection. Sat., Mar. 17, 7 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd fl. Ausp: SWP. Donation: \$2. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

PENNSYLVANIA
PITTSBURGH
WHICH WAY TO PEACE IN MIDEAST: A DEBATE. Speakers: Carl Gershman, chairman, Social Democrats USA; David Frankel, staff writer for the *'Militant'*. Thurs., Mar. 15, noon. Univ. of Pittsburgh Student Union Lower Lounge. Ausp: Student Gov't Board; Youth Institute for

Peace in the Middle East; Young Socialist Alliance.

REVOLUTION IN IRAN. Speaker: David Frankel, staff writer for the *'Militant'*. Fri., Mar. 16, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

TEXAS
DALLAS
WOMEN & LABOR HISTORY. Film: 'With Babies and Banners.' Fri., Mar. 16, 8 p.m. 5442 E. Grand. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

WASHINGTON
TACOMA
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY: ITS HISTORY AND MEANING FOR TODAY. Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, Socialist Workers Party, National Organization for Women. Sun., Mar. 11, 7 p.m. 1306 S. K Street. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

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Engels on Karl Marx

March 14 marks the ninety-sixth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx (1818-1883). To explain in a short essay the accomplishments and historic role of Marx—the originator of scientific socialism, founder of the First International, and preeminent analyst of the workings of the capitalist system—is virtually impossible. The best summary of Marx's life and work is undoubtedly that given by his lifelong collaborator and friend Frederick Engels in a speech at Marx's funeral. That speech, given March 17 in Highgate Cemetery in London, is reprinted below.

On the fourteenth of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in an armchair, peacefully gone to sleep—but forever.

An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the death of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history; he discovered the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, religion, art, etc.; and that therefore the production of the immediate material means of life and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the forms of government, the legal conceptions, the art and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which these things must therefore be explained, instead of vice versa as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist method of production and the bourgeois society that this method of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem in trying to solve which all previous investigators, both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one life-time. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated—and he investigated

very many fields, none of them superficially—in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

This was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced a quite other kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry and in the general course of history.

For example, he followed closely the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

For Marx was before all else a revolutionary.

His real mission in life was to contribute in one way or another to the overthrow of capitalist society and the forms of government which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the present-day proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, of the conditions under which it could win its freedom.

Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the *Paris Vorwärts* (1844), the *Brussels Deutsche Zeitung* (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), the *New York Tribune* (1852-61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in revolutionary clubs in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the International Workingmen's Association—this was indeed an achievement of which Marx might well have been proud, even if he had done nothing else.

And consequently Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his times.

Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. The bourgeoisie, whether conservative or extreme democrat, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him.

All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring them, answering only when necessity compelled him. And now he has died—beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have many opponents he has hardly one personal enemy.

His name and his work will endure through the ages!

Questions on Vietnam

First, keep up the extensive coverage of Iran. I wish the *Militant* was printed more than once a week!

Second, I'd like to see a major article on the Sears lawsuit and how governmental red tape is being used to avoid quotas for affirmative action. The historic responsibility for discrimination in hiring belongs to business, not government.

Third, it looks like the movement to call a constitutional convention for an amendment requiring a balanced budget is gaining strength. Whether or not such a convention is called, it's an issue that deserves a Marxist analysis.

Fourth, on your article by Steve Clark and Fred Feldman on Vietnam and Cambodia (February 23 *Militant*), I basically agree with the assessment, but I have a few questions.

Trotsky's view of a peasant red army colliding with the working class helps in understanding the reactionary role of the Khmer Rouge. But how or why are the Vietnamese Stalinists qualitatively different?

How did the Vietnamese Stalinists avoid coming under the sway of peasant forces? Are the Vietnamese Stalinists a working-class and not petty-bourgeois tendency within the workers movement?

D.B.

Chicago, Illinois

Likes nukes column

The addition to the *Militant* of the column "No Nukes!" was received with enthusiasm from Capital District activists.

It not only gives us the breadth of the movement, but keeps readers all over the country informed, a vital necessity in getting large numbers involved in the struggle.

I would suggest that, whenever possible, you list contact addresses and phone numbers.

Sam Chetta

Albany, New York

Partial victory?

The "African Solidarity Notes" column of the February 23 issue carried a very misleading sub-heading, "Partial victory at N.Y. seminary." In the brief article, it was reported that Union Theological Seminary in New York City had voted for partial divestment of its holdings in U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa.

The article continues by saying this was a concession to students demanding total divestment.

While the adoption of the Sullivan principles, as UTS did, is in response to pressure of organized students, it is not any kind of victory. As Osborne Hart wrote, these are phony principles that are used to divert the divestment movement.

Those of us who are active in the divestment movement do not consider the adoption of

the Sullivan principles as partial divestment, a victory, or even a partial victory. They do serve to organize more pressure to expose their phony nature, but place an even larger burden on anti-apartheid activists.

Bob Warren

Ann Arbor, Michigan

Reply on priorities

I hope A.R.Y.'s letter (March 2) will not persuade the *Militant* to further reduce the already inadequate space it devotes to "cultural" matters.

Far from being "nonessential," good articles on TV programs, books, movies, records, schools, science, etc., are indispensable for intelligent revolutionaries trying to win fellow workers away from the ideology of capitalism.

Why do you think the capitalists spend so many billions on cultural institutions to deepen and extend thought-control and conformity? Why should we assume that radicalizing workers are not interested in ideas, or are interested only in ideas restricted to their jobs, wages, and hours, etc.?

George Breitman

New York, New York

Oil workers walkout

There was an editorial change in my contribution to the "Union Talk" column in the February 23 *Militant*, which gives a wrong impression of the outcome of the recent ARCO refinery walkout that I was involved in.

After the walkout, the union membership as a whole—not "we"—voted to approve a supplemental contract. I and many other union members voted against that contract because we felt it did not satisfactorily cover local issues. We felt the negotiating committee could have better utilized the momentum set in motion by the walkout to settle more of the problems we continue to face at the plant.

Jana Pellusch

Houston, Texas

Safety vs. profits

The unfortunate death of another worker at the Seatrain Shipbuilding Corporation February 16 is another example of job safety versus profits. The lack of concern for safe working conditions caused Marshall, a leaderman for the shipfitters, to burn to death as a result of faulty equipment he was using.

Seatrain has been notorious for being one of the most hazardous shipyards in New York. Around the same time last year, there were several other workers who were killed because of gross negligence on the part of management.

When the workers begin to complain about such conditions, they are told to find an easier job, quit, or transfer to another area in the yard, and they are labeled as troublemakers.

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Management, on the other hand, reacts to these “accidents” at Seatrain by passing out a memorandum stating that employees are no longer allowed to have fires around their job site to keep warm. They are blaming the victim for the crime by not fixing the equipment that killed Marshall.

Workers at Seatrain should not be disheartened by these tragedies. The way to stop them is to organize and fight.

The coal miners fought long and hard for the right to strike over unsafe working conditions. Other industrial workers should take heed—they should not have to lose their lives because of greedy corporations.

*A Seatrain worker
New York, New York*

RCP disrupts sales

On January 27 sixteen members of the Revolutionary Communist Party disrupted sales of the *Militant* in San Jose. Two members of the Socialist Workers Party were selling the *Militant* and distributing literature at Fry's Food Store. The RCP members threatened them with physical violence if they did not leave.

The SWP members pointed out the necessity for free speech and the right to distribute literature within the workers movement.

This was met by jeers and taunts from the RCP members, who said we could not sell the *Militant* there or in any working-class area because the SWPers are “pigs” and “the *Militant* is a pig newspaper.”

Because we “have the wrong line,” the RCPers said, we “do not have the right to sell anywhere” and we “don't have the right to even speak to workers.”

The two *Militant* salespeople felt it was not possible to continue selling without fear of physical violence, and they left.

This kind of behavior by the RCP is more in character with bosses, strikebreakers, and right-wing anti-working-class groups. It does not belong inside the workers movement.

Today there are many political groups with periodicals and literature, each having their own political viewpoint. Working people should decide for themselves what literature they want to read and what political organization they want to join. This should not be decided for them by the RCP.

Limiting the breadth of facts and knowledge available to the public is a divisive tactic that only serves the interests of the ruling class.

*Kirsten Murati
Judi Stevens
San Jose, California*

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.

Just out from the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party is a new collection, ‘Background to “The Struggle for a Proletarian Party.”’ It includes letters, reports, and articles by James P. Cannon, Leon Trotsky, and others on the party's moves in the late 1930s to carry out a decisive reorientation toward the union movement.

This material is of special interest today because the SWP is undertaking a similar turn to meet the challenges of the sharpening class struggle in this country.

There are a number of major differences between the current turn and that of the 1930s.

In 1939 the working class had suffered enormous defeats on a world scale—especially in Europe with the triumph of fascism.

Today imperialism has been weakened, and workers around the world are scoring victories: the triumph of the Vietnamese people and the recent overthrow of the monarchy in Iran, to name just two. But imperialism's economic, military, and ideological drive to recoup its losses leads to strong pressures on radicals, underlining the necessity for a revolutionary party to be based in the industrial working class.

In 1939, political differences in the SWP erupted in a deepgoing factional struggle and a split that cost the party nearly half its membership.

Today the SWP is united behind a political program aimed at helping to lead the American working class in the big battles now occurring and the decisive confrontations that lie ahead. Assimilating the lessons of the factional struggle of 1939-40 has been part of the party's preparation for the new opportunities today.

The following are excerpts from an article by James P. Cannon, then national secretary of the SWP, that appears in the new publication. The article was written in June 1939 as part of a public discussion leading up to a party convention.

‘Background to “The Struggle for a Proletarian Party”’ is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 for \$1.75.

A revolutionary party begins with an idea, and the idea—that is, the program—becomes an all-conquering power capable of transforming society when it permeates the mass. The work of attracting the masses to the revolutionary program does not proceed along a straight line by the simple repetition of propaganda. If that were so, working class politicians would not be necessary. A good phonograph—or a sectarian, which is the same thing—would suffice. The struggle for the support of the majority of the working class, the prerequisite for the socialist victory, is an extremely complicated struggle, and one which,

moreover, is constantly changing and constantly imposing shifts in emphasis and different methods of work. It is necessary to keep a clear view of the goal, but that alone is not enough. The art of revolutionary politics consists in recognizing the most favorable immediate objective and of concentrating, according to the military motto, all forces on the point of attack. Only thus is it possible to move forward.

Our goal is and has been always the same—the winning over of the masses for the revolutionary struggle for power. It was the same in our formative years when we disregarded the “mass work” windbags, as later when we turned to broader fields of political activity and broke with the sectarians. If we say today, with at least the formal agreement of the whole party, that our work must now be concentrated directly on mass work, it is because the road has been cleared for such a turn.

The problem which presses hard today and will press harder tomorrow is to interpret and expound the program in such a way as to enable wider circles of workers, hitherto unacquainted with Marxist doctrine, to understand it and act upon it. That is an art which we must learn. We must put ourselves to school in the living movement of the workers. To do that we must get into it. In spite of everything the water remains the only place where one can learn to swim.

The workers' mass movement is the source of power, and also of compensating inspiration and enthusiasm for those revolutionary militants who intelligently participate in it. We will see it demonstrated once again at the convention—that those comrades who are learning by doing in the mass movement are the least tainted with pessimism and discouragement, that sickness of isolated, helpless, and hopeless people who contemplate life without living it and see the world mirrored by their own weakness.

The convention will do well to listen attentively to those comrades who come fresh from active participation in the recent class battles—the Briggs strike in Detroit, militant actions of the unemployed at Flint, the epic struggle of the seamen on the Pacific Coast, the magnificent campaign for the independent labor ticket in Minneapolis. The invincible power of the laboring masses in action communicates its enthusiasm and its confidence to its participants, and they, in turn, will help to communicate it to the convention of the party and determine its spirit and orientation.

Our road now points directly to the mass movement and to the recruiting of hundreds and thousands where once we counted our new adherents in ones and twos. If we have been suffering in a certain stagnation, which we do not conceal from ourselves or others, it is primarily because we have not yet made the necessary readjustment of our work to new times and new conditions. From all indications there is every reason to be confident that the convention will survey the situation realistically and give the signal for a speedier readjustment.

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Civil rights rally hits 'Weber' threat

Blacks, women, labor unite for job rights

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW ORLEANS—"The object here is to unite working-class people. Let's let them hear it loud and clear: Overturn the *Weber* decision!"

With these words, Rev. Isidore Booker opened a rally of nearly 200 people here March 4, called to defend the rights of Blacks, women, and the labor movement.

Booker is a leader of the New Orleans Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action, the group that sponsored the rally. He is also head of the United Steelworkers Local 13000 Civil Rights Committee and president of a local NAACP chapter.

Like the notorious *Bakke* decision before it, the *Weber* case is fast becoming a national confrontation between supporters and opponents of civil rights.

Brian Weber, a white lab technician for Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, is suing to overturn affirmative-action provisions in the Steelworkers union's contract with Kaiser.

First woman hired

Rudy Gordon, the first woman hired at the Kaiser Gramercy plant, told rally participants how with the aid of the union she fought the initial company attempts to drive her off the job.

She had just applied to get into the training program for skilled craft jobs—established in the 1974 union contract—when her foreman told her



Clockwise from top left: Rudy Gordon, Harold Sanderson, Ed Shanklin, Connie Goodly, Sara Jeffries, Rev. Avery Alexander.

that "somebody named Brian Weber had just filed suit and gotten it taken away."

Gordon got a standing ovation when she concluded, "I will be in that training program before the year is over, because Brian Weber will not win."

The false notion of "reverse discrimination"—the basis of both the *Bakke* and *Weber* cases—came under heavy fire from all the speakers.

"Reverse discrimination" is just as much a misnomer as "right to work," declared Ed Shanklin, an international

representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, referring to the anti-union laws in twenty southern and western states.

"For years and years Blacks were relegated to the dirtiest lowest-paying jobs," Shanklin said. "Then when they finally put a few Blacks in a training program, that's 'reverse discrimination.'"

"Before this thing is over, we're going to have to do like we used to do and hit the streets again."

Harold Sanderson from the international civil rights department of the United Steelworkers was the keynote speaker. "You're familiar with the pail *Bakke* has cast over the civil rights movement," he said. "Weber, however, is of more far-reaching importance."

Sanderson presented a careful picture of the facts in the *Weber* case.

"The union and the company entered into an agreement for training skilled craftspeople. It said that 50 percent would be minorities and women."

"Why did we enter into an agreement like that? Let's look at the facts and figures."

Facts behind case

"Kaiser had a Black work force of only 10 percent in an area where nearly 40 percent of the work force is Black."

The affirmative-action plan was part of the national USWA contract covering all Kaiser plants, the union spokesperson explained. Half the skilled-job training slots were to be reserved for minorities and women until minorities had the same proportion of craft jobs as their proportion in the area work force.

These goals ranged from 1 percent up to 39 percent in the case of Gramercy. The goal for women was 5 percent.

"To reach the goal of 39 percent minority craftspeople," Sanderson continued, "two separate seniority lists were established: one for whites, and the other for Blacks."

"From each group, the applicant with the most seniority would get in. The first group chosen was six whites and seven Blacks. That's when Weber filed his suit."

"Brian Weber was at the time, and

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Supreme Court hears case March 28

The U.S. Supreme Court has announced that it will hear arguments on the *Weber* case March 28.

The New Orleans Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action is planning a picket line March 24, four days before the Supreme Court hearing.

The committee also issued a statement urging others across the country to organize a united response to *Weber*.

"Through educationals, teach-ins, debates, and mass rallies we will make our voices heard," the committee statement declared. "The way to stop *Weber* and the lie of 'reverse discrimination' is to mobilize the greatest number of people possible, not only in New Orleans but around the entire country."

Harold Sanderson, who spoke at the New Orleans anti-*Weber* rally on behalf of the Steelworkers international union, told the *Militant* that

the USWA civil rights department has speakers available to explain the facts in the case.

To contact the civil rights department, write to United Steelworkers, 5 Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222, telephone (412) 562-2400.

The New Orleans committee can be contacted at 2803 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, New Orleans, Louisiana 70113, telephone (504) 522-9819.

Alabama Blacks defend frame-up victim

By Nelson Blackstock

DECATUR, Ala.—Supporters of Tommy Lee Hines gathered here March 3 to reaffirm their support of the young Black man against a crude racist frame-up. They also asserted their defiance of Ku Klux Klan terrorism.

A meeting at the First Baptist Church, followed by a gathering at the Montgomery County Courthouse, marked a victory in the case.

The previous day a Cullman County judge had granted a defense motion to move the trial from Cullman to Birmingham. Hines's attorney, U.W.

Clemmons, had argued that the sustained KKK campaign of fear and intimidation, combined with extensive prejudicial press coverage, made it impossible for Hines to get a fair trial in Cullman.

"Justice won a big victory yesterday," said Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), to those assembled in the church.

"I'm not saying that Tommy Lee Hines will get a fair trial in Birmingham—we don't know that—but we do know that he didn't get a fair trial in Cullman."

Last fall an all-white Cullman jury convicted Hines on trumped-up charges of raping a white woman. The case had earlier been moved to Cullman from Hines's home in Decatur, scene of the crimes police have sought to pin on Hines. The Klan terror campaign followed the case there.

Blacks constitute a much smaller part of the population in this mountainous northern section of Alabama than in the rest of the state. In Decatur they are 10 percent of the population. In Cullman County, site of the trial, Blacks constituted only 1 percent at the time of the last census.

Hines will now stand trial in Birmingham on two additional rape charges and a robbery charge. The earlier conviction is being appealed. Meanwhile, Hines is being held without bail in Kilby State Prison.

"This young man has been charged with a crime that he did not commit and that he could not commit," Lowery said.

A report on tests on Hines recently conducted while he was in prison confirmed defense testimony that the severely retarded Hines has a much lower mental age—4.8 years—than

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