

THE MILITANT

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

STEEL FIGHT BACK



Feb. 8 vote
only the
beginning

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BIG GAS COMPANIES HOLD NATION HOSTAGE

Carter says: 'Turn down the heat'

Socialists demand:
'Open the books of the energy trust'

In his "fireside chat" February 2, President Carter called on the American people to "sacrifice," "waste less energy," and turn down our thermostats. He declared that "the energy shortage is permanent" and blamed it on our failure "to take energy conservation seriously."

This is a lie. Working people are not to blame for this crisis and we should not have to pay for it. The heat shortage was deliberately created by the giant energy corporations. They want higher prices and will stop at nothing to get them.

The energy profiteers—Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, Mobil, and a handful of others—shed no tears if factories are closed and millions are thrown out of work.

They do not care if schools are shut down.

They do not care if the elderly, the sick, and the poor freeze.

They do not care if the burden of this shortage,

This statement was released February 3 by Catarino Garza, who recently announced his campaign as Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New York.

like all other crises, falls most heavily on Blacks and other oppressed national minorities.

They care for one thing only: profit.

The energy trust has conspired to curtail production and create an artificial shortage. With their hand on the throttle of natural gas production and shipment, they are holding the entire country hostage in the freezing winter to achieve their goal of higher prices and profits.

This emergency imperils the livelihood of millions. The government must act immediately to make gas available to disaster-struck areas. The profit demands of the monopolists should be brushed aside.

Vital information about this crisis is kept secret by the corporations and the government. How much gas is really available? What reserves are untapped? What is the real cost of producing this gas?

Carter piously urged the oil and gas companies to "be honest." But they are not honest! The only way to uncover the truth is to open the records of the energy corporations to public scrutiny so that committees of trade unionists and consumers can examine them.

We have a right to know. To know about the hidden reserves. About the secret plans to foster a shortage. About the payoffs to corrupt Democratic and Republican politicians. About the collusion of

government "regulatory agencies" with this swindle.

Neither the White House nor Congress has taken any action to protect working people. They accept the "right" of the energy corporations to their "business secrets." They agree that the "profit incentive" is the only way to increase gas supplies. Carter's emergency legislation adopted by Congress will only profit the corporations, allowing them to dole out gas to frozen cities at exorbitant prices. Meanwhile, they use the crisis to press for removal of air pollution controls.

Just days after taking office, the new Democratic administration has dramatically proved that it stands with big business, not with the working class. Workers cannot depend on either of the two parties of the employers, the Democrats or the Republicans.

To defend ourselves against this corporate assault, we need our own political party—a mass labor party based on a revitalized, fighting trade-union movement. A labor party would expose the energy trust and fight its profit-gouging schemes—not only in Congress but through mass mobilizations of workers. It would fight to open the books of the oil companies.

It would also fight to end private-profit rule over our vital natural resources. The energy industry should be nationalized. It should be run by and for working people. The energy corporations have demonstrated beyond any doubt their callous disregard for human needs.

They pollute our air and water.

They poison our seas with oil spills.

They destroy the land through strip-mining.

They endanger millions of lives with hazardous nuclear reactors.

Who can believe that the present winter heat shortage will be the last or the worst disaster the energy giants cause? It is a matter of pressing social need to end their stranglehold and put the entire energy industry under the democratic control of the working class.

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CONFERENCE ON GOVERNMENT SPYING: Representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, National Lawyers Guild, National Conference of Black Lawyers, Political Rights Defense Fund, and other civil liberties and political organizations met in Chicago January 20-23. They discussed the estimated thirty lawsuits around the country currently challenging illegal government surveillance and harassment. The conference also decided to establish a legal resources center to assist groups that want to initiate additional lawsuits of this kind.

CHILEAN TORTURER SENT PACKING: A State Department-sponsored tour for Lt. Col. Jaime Lavin Farina, a high official in the Chilean government, was cut short January 28. A San Francisco demonstration the week before had made public Lavin's record as a torturer for Chile's dictatorial junta. Lavin denied the accusation. But former Chilean Air Force Col. Rolando Miranda submitted a signed affidavit to Amnesty International detailing how Lavin had tortured him after the 1973 military coup in Chile.

After the San Francisco protests, Lavin was whisked away to a secret location while U.S. and Chilean officials conferred. The decision to cut short Lavin's tour was made after both governments decided this "would be in the best interest of both countries. . . ."

DEMONSTRATION TO DEFEND HOSTOS COLLEGE: The Student Government Organization and Professional Staff Congress at New York City's Hostos Community College, the only bilingual college in the eastern United States, have called a protest rally for February 10. The rally will begin at 12:30 p.m. at 500 Grand Concourse (corner of 149th Street). The aim of the protest is to secure equal treatment for the Bronx school, whose student body is 98 percent Hispanic and Black.

Attempts by the New York City Board of Higher Education to close down the school last year were foiled by militant demonstrations organized by the school's supporters. Now the school is being ravaged by cutbacks in funding, faculty, and facilities.

The demonstration will demand the expansion of facilities, restoration of the school's highly successful nursing and medical laboratory programs (these were eliminated last year), and sufficient funding to maintain the school's bilingual, career, and remedial educational programs.

BOOK BANNERS AND BIBLE FREAKS: High school and junior high school students, along with their parents, several prominent publishers, and author Kurt Vonnegut, filed suit against the Island Trees School Board January 4.

The suit asks the New York State Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional the board's decision to ban nine books.

The books were banned after board members found them on a list distributed by a group called Parents of New York United. The list called the books "anti-American, anti-Christian, anti-Semitic and just plain filthy."

The nine banned books are: *The Fixer* by Bernard Malamud, *Slaughterhouse Five* by Vonnegut, *The Naked Ape* by Desmond Morris, *Down These Mean Streets* by Piri Thomas, *Best Short Stories by Negro Writers* edited by Langston Hughes, *Go Ask Alice* (anonymous), *A Hero Ain't Nothing But A Sandwich* by Alice Childress, *A Reader for Writers* edited by Jerome Archer, and *Soul on Ice* by Eldridge Cleaver.

Meanwhile, on January 26, the Dallas Independent School District in Texas approved the use of a high school biology text that teaches a version of the origin of the human species found in the book of Genesis in the Bible.

White members of the school board overrode objections to the book made by Black and Chicano members. "There is no place in our textbooks for religious propaganda," said Dr. Emmett Conrad, a Black board member.

GAY MOTHER TO CONTINUE CUSTODY FIGHT: Mary Jo Risher is a gay mother fighting to regain custody of her nine-year-old son. A Texas domestic court ordered the boy turned over to his father in 1975. Risher lost a round in her struggle the first week of January. A Texas district court ruled it had no jurisdiction over her appeal.

Risher blasted the ruling as "a political sidestep to avoid ruling on a controversial issue . . . the right of gay parents to have care and custody of their children." Risher says she will appeal her case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary.

DROP CHARGES AGAINST BLACK MARINE: The U.S. Marine Corps dropped charges against Cpl. Glenn White on January 31. White was charged with assault and conspiracy in connection with an attack on what he thought was a Ku Klux Klan meeting at the Camp Pendleton, California, marine base last November. He was the first of fourteen Black marines to plead not guilty on all charges.

Compromise guilty pleas have resulted in jail terms of up to three months and reductions in rank for two other Black marines in earlier court-martials.

KEPONE POLLUTION FINE REDUCED: On February 1, Federal District Judge Robert Merhige reduced to \$5 million a \$13.2 million fine he had previously imposed on the Allied Chemical Corporation. The original fine was ordered after the corporation pleaded no contest to 940 counts of violating pollution laws. Allied had been dumping Kepone, a deadly poison, from its Hopewell, Virginia, plant into the James River. The river has been closed to commercial fishing since December 1975.

Merhige reduced the fine after Allied provided \$8 million to a foundation the company says will help clean up the environmental mess made by the Kepone. By paying the foundation instead of the fine, Allied will save about \$4 million in taxes.

AIM CALLS FOR BOYCOTT OF HOLIDAY INNS: American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks called for a boycott of the Holiday Inn hotel chain January 19. The boycott was called to protest Holiday Inn's construction of a parking lot on the site of an Ohlone Indian burial ground discovered in downtown San Jose, California.

NSCAR OFFICE VANDALIZED: The front door of the Boston office of the National Student Coalition Against Racism was knocked in January 29.

A statement by NSCAR noted that racist foes of school desegregation have carried out numerous violent attacks of this kind on probusing organizations and on individuals in Boston's Black community.

NSCAR has demanded that city authorities conduct an investigation of the January 29 incident.

EARL BUTZ AWARDS: Federal Trade Commissioner Paul Rand Dixon attacked consumer advocate Ralph Nader January 17 as a "son-of-a-bitch and a dirty Arab." Nader is of Lebanese descent. Protests finally forced Dixon to apologize on February 1. "I deeply regret" the remark, "which could be interpreted as a derogatory reference to Mr. Nader's ethnic background or to others of Arab descent," Dixon said . . . And the January 30 *Parade* magazine made the following explanation of the increased use of South Korean labor in the Middle East: ". . . much of the native labor force is either too unskilled or too lazy to fill the available construction jobs."

—Peter Seidman



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Gas shortage: new theft by energy barons

By Dick Roberts

The shortage of natural gas that has thrown this country into a crisis is not the result of natural scarcity. It was deliberately engineered by the energy monopoly to drive up prices and profits.

Old people are freezing to death in barren tenements.

Hundreds of thousands are suffering in chilled apartments and houses.

Schools and factories are closed with up to two million workers laid off because of fuel shortages.

But the corporations that dominate the energy industry are withholding natural gas from the market as part of

working people to sacrifice. But in an offhand remark at a Pittsburgh plant Carter said, "I wouldn't want to mess around with the free enterprise system."

It is the private profit system, which allows a few powerful corporations to control resources vital to all of society, that is at the heart of the natural gas crisis.

Suspicion

A remarkable undercurrent is that all across the nation people suspect the truth about the gas shortage. Many remember the superprofits reaped by the energy giants from the 1973 "oil shortage" and believe this is a rerun of the same profit-gouging ploy.

In New Jersey, one of the hardest hit states, Gov. Brendan Byrne imposed a World War II law making it illegal to raise thermostats above 65 degrees. Byrne's police patrolled apartments and stores in an attempt to impose the law. The reaction was less than friendly.

"The overwhelming view of the people of this area is that they are being put upon by the gas companies so they can make more money—right or wrong, that's what they believe," the mayor of Linden, New Jersey, stated.

"As long as the politicians get theirs they don't care what happens," said a patron at the Linwood Inn in Linden, patting his pocket as he spoke.

Plenty of gas

Popular suspicion of the energy trust has put newspapers and TV on the defensive. "Most energy experts reject the notion that the industry is deliberately withholding supplies of natural gas," *Newsweek* stated February 7, "though it is true that some gas is too costly to pump at today's prices."

Yet a widely publicized *New York Times* story from Houston, Texas, January 31, declared that one firm alone has "enough natural gas to keep Northeast factories humming, schools open and homes warm. . . . Precise figures are not known yet, but the find may amount to 10 trillion cubic feet—enough to supply the entire nation for six months."

Why isn't this gas being piped to crisis-wracked Northeastern and

Midwestern communities? It's simple. The company will not sell until the price is jacked up.

Under present laws, the price of intrastate gas—gas that is produced and sold in the same state—is not controlled. In Texas, gas is selling at about \$2 per thousand cubic feet today. But interstate gas—produced in one state and sold elsewhere—has a federal price ceiling of \$1.42 per thousand cubic feet.

"For \$1.42 I wouldn't even go out and drill the holes," the Houston oil owner told the *New York Times*. "We wouldn't even consider it. It's simply not commercial."

Big oil & big gas

Natural gas accounts for 30 percent of U.S. energy consumption, heats half the homes in the country, and provides half of the energy used by industry.

Natural gas production is controlled by the same giant corporations that dominate world oil markets and that have steadily extended their grip over other energy sources, such as coal and uranium.

Exxon is the biggest, producing about 20 percent of the natural gas used in this country. Texaco is the second biggest.

Their program is straightforward. "All domestic price controls, which have been in effect on natural gas since 1954 and on crude oil and petroleum products since 1971, should be removed as quickly as possible," demands John McKinley, president of Texaco.

For several years—but especially since the 1973 "oil shortage" pushed up the cost of alternative fuels—these companies have been warning of an impending "gas shortage." The "shortage" could only be averted by drastically higher prices, they said.

But none of the vital facts about this alleged shortage are available to the public.

How much gas is now in storage or potentially available for shipment to disaster areas?

What is the real extent of untapped gas reserves?

What is the real cost of production of this gas?

What profits are the oil companies

now making from natural gas, and what do they stand to make from higher prices?

Facts concealed

Energy expert James Ridgeway noted in his 1973 book, *The Last Play*, that all figures on a "gas shortage" are suspect because "the data on gas reserves is provided by the industry. The government itself does not make estimates of reserves. It accepts the industry information, and, in fact, will not divulge this information publicly

Sadlowski hits gas rip-off

CLEVELAND—Ed Sadlowski, candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America, blasted the energy profiteers at a February 1 news conference here.

"The gas is there," Sadlowski said. "They just don't want to mine it because they can't make enough profit off it."

"There's something wrong in America when schools have to close because of a profit margin."

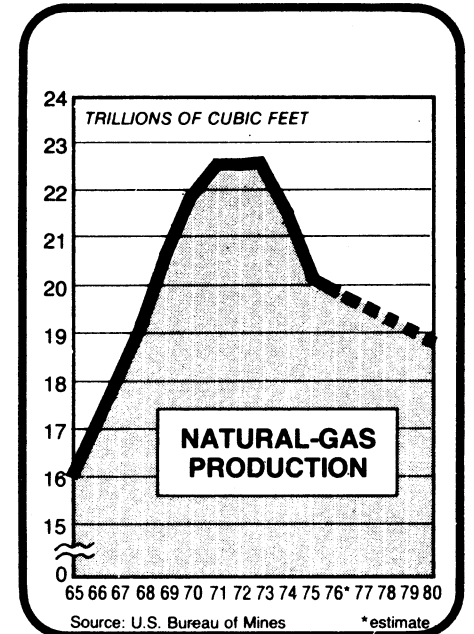
"This is just like the so-called gas shortage. Four years ago you and I stood in line for an hour and a half to buy gas for thirty cents a gallon. They said there was a shortage."

"As soon as the price was boosted to fifty cents they had gasoline coming out of their ears."

their long-term strategy to end government regulation of gas prices.

The Carter administration is fronting for this trust. The "emergency" bill Carter put before Congress "isn't expected to end shortages," according to the February 1 *Wall Street Journal*.

Carter has been touring crisis-hit areas peddling the line of a "permanent energy shortage" and calling on



Energy profiteers cut back natural gas production after 1973 success in driving up oil prices.

because by doing so it might violate proprietary rights of the firms involved."

The facts that are known argue strongly that the gas shortage is a hoax.

- A prestigious Ford Foundation study in 1974, the "Energy Policy Project," estimated that the undiscovered recoverable natural gas reserves of the United States are 1,000 to 2,000 trillion cubic feet—a 100-year supply.

- Congressional testimony has revealed earlier cases where the industry deliberately curtailed production to drive prices up. Ridgeway cites one

Continued on next page

Michigan ACLU backs YSA free speech fight

By Meg Hayes

MT. PLEASANT, Mich.—The Michigan affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union has joined in the defense of Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith. The three Young Socialist Alliance members were arrested last October for distributing literature on the Central Michigan University campus.

The ACLU's support was announced during a defense rally at CMU January 27.

In its message to the rally the ACLU pointed out, "Governmental restrictions, including those by public universities on the sale of political literature, may not be used to frustrate the advancement of controversial constitutional rights."

"... If the distribution of material expressing an opinion can be restricted by licensing or similar requirements merely because it is sold, then many organizations, especially minority political organizations, are denied basic political freedom."

At the rally Zolton Ferency, former Human Rights party candidate and professor of criminal justice at Michigan State University, pointed out the issues in the case.

"The university should open its doors to parties other than the Republican and Democratic parties," Ferency said. "They should have invited the defendants to the campus if this

university is truly a university."

Michigan State Rep. Perry Bullard took a strong stand against the campus administration for ordering the arrest of the socialists.

"We can't afford to have people in positions of great authority who don't understand the principles of free speech and freedom of the press," Bullard said. "Apparently at CMU you don't have as much freedom as you have on the corner of the main street running through town."

Bullard also criticized restrictive university regulations. "The only effect that rules like this can have is to prevent the workings of democracy by preventing people from hearing non-sanctioned views," Bullard charged.

Morris Starsky, former philosophy professor at Arizona State University, also spoke. Starsky was fired from ASU because of his involvement in anti-Vietnam War activities on campus.

"The arrest of the YSA members on this campus is an attack on academic freedom," Starsky declared. "A real university would be a place where students and faculty could tell the truth as they see it, examine ideas, and act on them."

Defendant Brigid Douglas explained why the YSA had come to CMU. "We came here to discuss the struggle for school desegregation, building a movement to get the U.S. government out of

South Africa, working for a movement that can get the Equal Rights Amendment for women ratified," Douglas explained.

"We campaigned for the candidates of the Socialist Workers party, who are the only candidates who were fighting around these issues. We campaigned in the same manner the Democrats did one week after our arrest and as Republicans had done one week before our arrest," Douglas said.

"But unlike the Democratic and Republican supporters, we were arrested and framed up because the administration on this campus is opposed to our ideas, opposed to CMU students organizing around the issues we raised."

Other speakers at the rally included Chokwe Lumumba of the Republic of New Africa and Rosalie Sullivan of the National Organization for Women.

Campus organizations, including Chicanos Organized for Progress and Action, Organization of Black Unity, and Project Alpha, sent greetings to the rally, as did students and faculty from campuses in Minneapolis, Houston, and Pittsburgh.

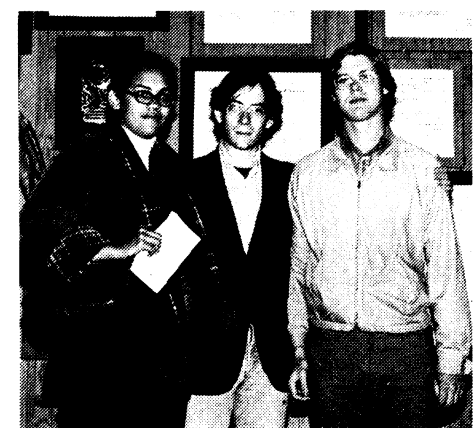
Nan Bailey, former YSA national chairperson, concluded the rally. "The biggest question we have to ask ourselves is, who on this campus will be next?" Bailey said. "Will it be Black students, Chicano students? Will it be any student or faculty member who

raises a new idea in the classroom?"

Supporters of civil liberties are urged to help defend Douglas, Garrison, and Smith by supporting the Committee for Free Speech, which is publicizing the case and collecting funds for legal expenses.

Requests for more information, endorsements, and contributions should be sent to the Committee for Free Speech, Post Office Box 626, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

Protests demanding that all charges be dropped should be sent to CMU President Harold Abel, Warriner Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48859, with copies to the Committee for Free Speech.



Militant/Gary Davies

From left: Douglas, Garrison, Smith

Cold weather + profit greed = misery

By Arnold Weissberg

A three-month-old Puerto Rican girl freezes to death in an unheated New York apartment. The death goes unreported in the English-language press.

In Brooklyn, an eighty-year-old woman and her seventy-seven-year-old brother die when a water pipe in their unheated home bursts. Their bodies are found encased in ice.

An Ohio gas company, responding to public outrage after several people unable to pay their gas bills froze to death, promises not to cut anyone else off for the rest of the winter.

In Hoboken, New Jersey, police cars patrol the streets, loudspeakers exhorting residents to obey Gov. Brendan Byrne's order to turn down their thermostats to 65 degrees.

Many New Jersey stores reduce their temperatures to 50 degrees, forcing store employees to wear coats and gloves.

Twenty-five school systems in northeastern Ohio close. The Pittsburgh schools close indefinitely. No one will say when they will open—or if the teachers will be paid.

Ninety thousand workers are laid off in Pennsylvania, 250,000 in New York, 350,000 in New Jersey. Nine thousand steelworkers in the Pittsburgh area. Pennsylvania workers can't collect unemployment until they've been out of work for a week.

Pennsylvania orders theaters, museums, libraries, and bars to close for three days. The Philadelphia city gas works cuts off supplies indefinitely to

its 2,300 largest industrial and commercial users.

Nearly 1.5 million Ohio workers were laid off by February 1, with the



Unheated N.Y. tenement: ceiling-to-floor ice.

number expected to increase sharply.

The New York City agency charged with recording complaints from heatless apartment dwellers reports 5,200 calls in one weekend.

The unprecedented cold weather would be bad enough. Greedy landlords, indifferent housing-code enforcement, and antiquated heating equipment take a human toll every winter.

But this year, the cost is far higher. Because this year the calculated piracy of the natural gas producers has multiplied the weather's onslaught into a frontal attack on the standard of living of all American working people.

The sudden natural gas "shortage" has been greeted with near-universal disbelief.

A *Militant* Cleveland correspondent reports "deep cynicism" among working people in that city.

On February 1, six letters about the gas shortage appeared in the *Cleveland Press*. Five accused the government of being in cahoots with the oil companies to wring more money out of gas users. Two of the six called for nationalizing the gas industry.

"If the industry lobby in Washington and its friends in Congress continue to keep secret key facts on which a worthwhile energy policy can be formulated, then perhaps nationalization is the only answer," wrote one angry reader.

Carter's proposed surrender to the oil companies was hit in congressional testimony by Lee White, head of the Energy Task Force of the Consumer

Federation of America.

The task force is backed by many of the largest labor unions in the country and generally reflects their views.

White called for sale of intrastate gas—previously unregulated, and selling at about \$2 per thousand cubic feet—at interstate prices, about \$1.42 per thousand cubic feet.

Gas companies have admitted hoarding enormous reserves of natural gas for the higher-priced intrastate market.

This mild verbal appeal is unlikely to have any effect on the entrenched political power and enormous wealth of the oil profiteers.

The unprecedented low temperatures caused widespread suffering among the urban poor.

New York *Daily News* columnist Pete Hamill recorded his stay in a Lower East Side tenement. The building had neither heat nor running water. Families were forced to carry water from a building across the street.

The owner of a Harlem building that had been without heat since early December was finally hauled into court. He was hit with a \$1,000 fine. But the judge offered to reduce it to \$750 if the landlord would sleep in the building for two nights.

The landlord did neither, and disappeared. The tenants are still without heat.

The richest country in the world. And in its largest city, babies freeze to death.

Welcome to America's third century.

...energy corporations' gas swindle

Continued from preceding page

example where "over 500 gas wells offshore Louisiana had been shut off by the lease operators, never connected to pipelines which could take the gas to market." In another case, "in Kentucky, a pipeline company deliberately closed valves on wells in a major field to give the impression the wells had run dry."

- Natural gas production has been cut back steadily from 24 trillion cubic feet in 1973—the year that oil prices shot up—to only 21.1 trillion cubic feet in 1975.

- The gas that is produced has been withheld by the energy trust from the interstate markets where it is now desperately needed. Tom Girard of the Energy Action Committee calls it "a fuel crisis created by the producers. They are deliberately creating a shortage interstate while making a huge surplus intrastate. In 1975 they dedicated 87 percent of the new gas found to the intrastate market."

'Ready-made situation'

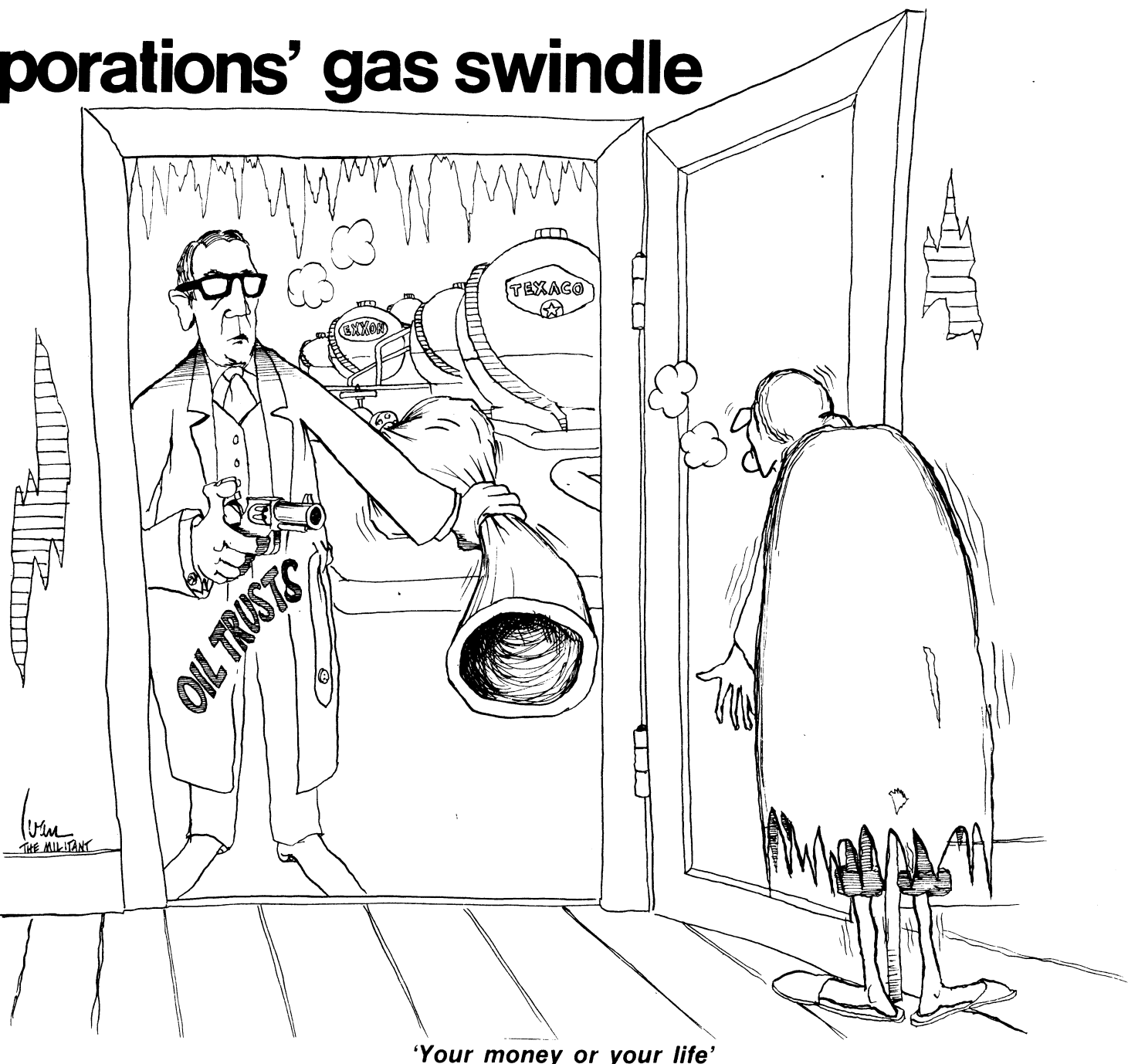
"So they have a ready-made situation for a time like this," Girard says, "when they can stroll down to the Federal Power Commission and say, 'Gee, fellas, we're in short supply but let us sell our intrastate reserves for five times the regulated price.'"

James Flug, director of the Energy Action Committee, pointed to the callousness of these profiteers in recent testimony before a House subcommittee.

"The oil and gas companies have no interest in dealing with the current emergency," he said. "The more people who are cold and out of work and out of school, the easier it is to stampede the nation into a deregulation frenzy."

If we had a government in Washington that represented the interests of working people, it would immediately seize control of gas reserves and make them available where needed.

It would immediately make public the secret records of the oil and gas companies so that union and consumer committees could determine all the



'Your money or your life'

facts about energy production and profiteering.

Instead, Carter is pushing a bill in Congress that advances the program of the oil trust a notch.

Carter's emergency bill, which appears certain of congressional approval as we go to press, empowers the president to free some interstate gas from federal price controls in order to

make it available to shortage areas at higher prices. It is a minimal step, which will reap windfall profits to the energy industry.

When Sen. James Abourezk (D-S.D.) offered an amendment that would have also included the more plentiful intrastate gas at the president's disposal for crisis areas, Texas Democrat Lloyd Bentsen threatened to filibuster "until flowers bloom in spring." This

amendment was defeated fifty-eight to thirty-one.

Abourezk also attempted to introduce an amendment limiting the price of interstate oil utilized by the president. This would have undercut the very profits that the oil companies will reap selling emergency gas to disaster areas. It was resoundingly defeated by the gathered representatives of big money, eighty-three to nine.

Speech to ERA rally

'If we're bigger, louder, organized'

Six hundred supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment from Indiana and surrounding states rallied in Indianapolis January 9. The action, called by the National Organization for Women, occurred nine days before the state legislature there ratified the ERA.

One of the most enthusiastically received speeches was that delivered by Carol Coates, ERA task force director of Louisville NOW. From 1974 to 1975, she served as one of four coordinators of the Louisville chapter. In August 1976, Louisville NOW voted her "Feminist of the Year."

Coates joined the Socialist Workers party in June 1976. Excerpts of her speech follow.

Everyone here today should be very proud, not just because we beat the weather, but because this demonstration is part of the fighting tradition of the first wave of feminism, which won women the right to vote.

For fifty years after that victory, our powerful forces lay sleeping and immobile. Then in the late 1960s women rose again—first by the tens, hundreds, thousands; then by the tens of thousands, thus changing the opinions of millions in this country.

Our first big victory came in New York State. There, after 50,000 women took to the streets for the right of women to get legal abortions, New York passed its law legalizing abortion. In 1972 we won our second victory when Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment.

In 1973 the U.S. Supreme Court extended the New York victory for legal abortion to the entire country.

But, what's wrong? The ERA was passed in 1972 and this is 1977. We need four more states to ratify and have only two years left to get them.

What's wrong is that we've been getting some bad advice. For the last few years we've been told, "Keep quiet. Don't step on anyone's toes. Don't make demands."

What happens when we remain quiet? In New York and New Jersey in 1975, polls predicted that state ERA referenda would win easily. While ERA supporters remained silent at the advice of the pro-ERA politicians, reactionary anti-ERA forces mounted a massive campaign against the referenda. The ERA was defeated in both states.

Our silence has cost us a lot. Not one state has voted for ratification in the last two years. Stop ERA has had a virtual monopoly on the issue. (Apparently, no one told them to be quiet.)

But women began taking to the streets last spring and summer to demand ratification. Then in November Massachusetts and Colorado voters repudiated the reactionary forces out to stop ERA when they overwhelmingly approved state ERA referenda.

Now the Indiana legislators are plainly feeling the pressure to ratify the federal ERA.

There is still a powerful force moving against us, however, in our fight for ratification.

Congress passed the ERA when a vocal feminist movement was on the rise and economic conditions were better. States blocking ratification today are in a different period.

The economic crisis that hit in 1974 has brought a series of cutbacks in social services and legislation for human rights. Guaranteeing half the population equal opportunity to jobs, for example, doesn't fit into an economic situation that is throwing people already working out of their jobs.



Carol Coates (left) and section of January 9 rally in Indianapolis

The anti-ERA forces fit right into the government's attempts to roll back human rights. They are the same people who oppose busing to achieve school desegregation; who oppose abortion rights; who oppose inexpensive, quality child-care facilities; and who favor the death penalty. These people are reactionaries who oppose every advance for human dignity.

They understand what we must learn: that victory in one of these fights paves the way for victory in other battles for human rights, and that defeat in one area spells easy defeat elsewhere.

Dollars and cents are being used as an excuse to attack every demand raised by this second wave of feminism, such as guidelines proposed by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs to gut affirmative action plans.

A further defeat was delivered to women as a Christmas present from the Supreme Court. The Court, in a case against General Electric, ruled that businesses aren't required to pay disability insurance to pregnant workers.

Perhaps the most deadly setback for women this fall came with the Hyde amendment to the HEW [Health, Education and Welfare] bill. This amendment, again using the excuse of excessive costs, takes away the right of poor women to use Medicaid for abortions.

I call this amendment deadly be-

cause even though a temporary injunction still allows Medicaid to be used for abortions, some women didn't know that and thought their only resort was the back-alley butcher. We know about this because some of them were still alive when they arrived at the hospital bleeding to death from internal hemorrhaging.

Many who voted for the Hyde amendment are personally pro-women's rights, including Bella Abzug. Why would someone like Abzug do that? Because it doesn't matter how much individual politicians support women's rights. The voting record shows that both parties on Capitol Hill put profits before human rights—even before human life.

They are telling us that the Equal Rights Amendment costs too much, affirmative action costs too much, pregnancy benefits cost too much, abortions cost too much. They are telling us that they are for women's rights, but we have to be patient because times are hard and women's rights cost too much!

We can't accept their logic because the fate of these other battles is crucial to the fate of the ERA. The issue isn't that there's not enough money. It's how that money will be used.

So politicians are not the people to listen to when it comes time for us to win those rights. They are the ones who must listen to us and support us.

And the only way politicians will listen to us is if we are bigger, louder, and better organized than the right wing.

Rumors have been flying that Carter has promised to get the ERA ratified in three states this year if we can win the fourth. Well, why doesn't he go ahead and give us all four? Does he expect us to promise to keep quiet about all the other attacks on women's rights in exchange for his "generosity" on the ERA?

The only promise the new administration should get from women is that until the attacks stop on affirmative action, Medicaid-funded abortions, child care, and the ERA we will be in the streets demanding our rights.

We hope Indiana will break the pattern of the last two years by ratifying the ERA. And just as we were ready to march for the ERA in Indiana today, we're ready to go on to Missouri and wherever else we're needed tomorrow.

We must continue to march because the ERA will only be won by demonstrations, picket lines, and speak-outs that get bigger and bigger—too big to be ignored, powerful enough to win!

Where ERA stands

The Virginia Senate defeated the federal Equal Rights Amendment by one vote January 27. Although the majority of senators present—twenty of thirty-eight—voted for the measure, it required a majority of the forty-member body.

In Mississippi January 28, a senate committee killed the ERA in a five to four vote.

Thirty-eight states must ratify the ERA before its seven-year deadline expires March 22, 1979. Thirty-five have passed it so far.

Those twelve states that have not ratified the amendment nor taken any action on it yet in 1977 are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, Louisiana, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Utah.

NJ senate moves against abortion

By Helen Schiff

NEWARK—In a stunning blow against women's right to abortion, the New Jersey State Senate voted twenty-seven to six on January 24 in favor of convening a national constitutional convention to amend the U.S. Constitution to outlaw abortions.

It takes thirty-four states to call a constitutional convention. If the state assembly passes the bill, New Jersey would join Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, and Louisiana in demanding a convention.

During an emotional floor debate Sen. Anthony Imperiale called abortion "the most hideous crime" and charged that those performing abortions are "as vicious as a person who chops a woman's or man's head off on the street." Imperiale is a notorious right-winger known for organizing racist vigilante attacks in Newark during the 1960s and 1970s.

Another vocal "right to life" was Sen. John Russo, sponsor of the state's new death penalty law.

Arguing against the bill, Sen. Anne Martindell said that outlawing abortion would force women to resort to "back-alley quacks for dangerous solutions."

In the State House corridors anti-abortionists handed out red roses symbolizing unborn "infants." Confronting them were abortion rights advocates passing out red coat hangers—a gruesome reminder of illegal abortion techniques.

Judy Knee, cochairperson of New Jersey National Organization for Women, told the *Militant* that the senate's action was in "flagrant disregard for women and totally ignored what the majority of citizens had shown they wanted in many opinion polls."

Actions defend right to choose

By Ginny Hildebrand

A successful January 22 teach-in of 250 abortion rights defenders has fired up activists in New York.

Four days after the meeting thirty women called for International Women's Day actions to rally opposition to the government's anti-women's rights drive. A March 12 demonstration will cap a week of events focusing on abortion rights, paid maternity leave, the Equal Rights Amendment, sterilization abuse, equal pay for equal work, and child care.

The initiators, calling themselves the International Women's Day Coalition, are seeking participation from feminist, student, Black, and union groups.

In addition to those described in earlier *Militants*, several other abortion rights actions took place last month. On January 21, 100 people rallied in San Jose. They protested sterilization abuse and the Hyde amendment, a congressional ban on Medicaid-funded abortions.

Pat Miller, president of Family Planning Alternatives, stated, "We shouldn't expect much help from the Carter administration. [Joseph] Califano, Carter's appointee to head up Health, Education and Welfare, is a

Continued on page 26

Probusing groups set Los Angeles march

By Sherry Smith

LOS ANGELES—Supporters of Black rights here are planning a February 12 march and rally for school desegregation. The march was called to protest the Los Angeles school board's rejection January 17 of a school desegregation plan submitted by a board-appointed task force of parent and community leaders.

March organizers include the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, NAACP, Southern California American Civil Liberties Union, and the Integration Project. The Los Angeles Student Coalition Against Racism has endorsed the march and is helping to build the action on city campuses.

The demonstration is scheduled to step off from City Hall at noon on Saturday. Marchers will proceed from there to the board of education offices for a 1 p.m. rally.

The march was called by an ACLU-sponsored integration work-

shop January 22. Following the board's rejection of school desegregation, several other conferences were organized to register and plan protests.

All were unanimous in their support of the plan from the Citizens Advisory Committee on School Integration (CACSI) that the board rejected. Their proposal called for busing 62,000 students and for the expansion of bilingual, bicultural education programs.

One of these meetings—a school integration workshop sponsored by Temple Isaiah and the Holman Methodist Church—drew nearly 1,000 participants. Some 350 people attended the workshop's Saturday night session, which was billed as a dialogue with reporters from major local TV and radio stations.

The crowd grilled reporters about the media's lack of coverage of prodesegregation activities. Antibusing bigots—organized primarily in the San Fernando-based group

Bustop—have been widely covered.

These antibusing forces have also begun to mobilize. More than a thousand antibusing teachers have forced a referendum in the United Teachers of Los Angeles on whether to continue to back the CACSI plan. UTLA's House of Representatives had voted overwhelmingly January 19 to endorse CACSI's proposal.

Incumbent Mayor Tom Bradley is trying to present the image of "neutrality" in the battle over school desegregation. While claiming he supports desegregation, Bradley opposes school busing. According to *LA Times* reporter Kenneth Reich, Bradley is consciously patterning his approach on that of Mayor Kevin White of Boston.

Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Sam Manuel has challenged his opponents—Bradley and state Sen. Alan Robbins—to a public debate on the issues, especially on busing.

"Both Mayor Bradley and state Sen. Robbins oppose the use of

busing for school desegregation," said Manuel. "The Socialist Workers party supports busing and will continue to fight for it."

"I and many civil rights and community leaders testified at the school board hearings condemning the mockery that is being made of school desegregation by the board. Bradley and Robbins were not there. Where do they stand on the board's proposal?"

The Los Angeles Socialist Workers candidates have endorsed the February 12 march for integration. Their supporters have already circulated thousands of leaflets to publicize it.

In a letter to a thousand new *Militant* readers in the Los Angeles area, Sam Manuel and Virginia Garza, SWP candidate for board of education, Seat Two, wrote:

"We urge you to help distribute leaflets and build the march and rally and to bring everyone you know to join with us in it."

High court throws out Indianapolis busing plan

By John Hawkins

The U.S. Supreme Court has dealt another blow to school desegregation.

By a six-to-three vote January 25 the court overturned a cross-district school busing plan for Indianapolis and its surrounding suburbs.

The Indianapolis desegregation case dates back to 1968. The Justice Department sued to desegregate Indianapolis schools, though it opposed, even at that time, busing across school district lines into the city's predominantly white suburbs.

During the legal fight, Federal Judge S. Hugh Dillin ruled that meaningful desegregation was possible only through cross-district busing. Dillin based his findings on housing segregation in the Indianapolis area.

Dillin found that the primary reason the suburbs were predominantly white was lack of housing there for Blacks. The city housing authority had constructed all of its low-cost housing projects within city limits. Those projects are 98 percent Black.

This in turn resulted in systematic school segregation—both inside the city and in its suburbs. To remedy this situation Dillin ordered the busing of Black students to schools in eight suburbs in Marion County. The suburban schools involved were 97.1 to 99.96 percent white.

The Seventh U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Dillin's decision. It found that the 1969 "Uni-Gov" law that consolidated the governments of Indianapolis and its Marion County suburbs was discriminatory since it left the old school districts intact.

Opponents of consolidating the school systems argued that the new district would be too large and that taxes would go up. The appeals court saw through the ruse. "These considerations, although apparently not racially motivated," said the court, "cannot justify legislation that has an obvious racial segregative impact."

In handing down its decision overturning the Indianapolis busing plan, the Supreme Court took another step toward making it more difficult to prove racial discrimination in the courts. It ordered the appeals court to review the previous decision in light of two recent high court rulings—the *Washington v. Davis* hiring-test case, and the *Arlington Heights, Illinois*, open-housing case.

In both these cases the Supreme Court ruled that "intent" to discriminate must be shown to prove racial discrimination. In the *Arlington Heights* case the court went still further. It ruled that even if discrimination was one motive—but not the only one—that was not necessarily enough to prove racial discrimination.

Militant correspondents Lupe Watt and Billy Jones talked to a number of civil rights leaders in Indianapolis about the court's decision. Their reaction was angry.

"As a result of this ruling we could end up where we were twenty years ago," said Dr. A.D. Pickney, president of the Indianapolis NAACP. "America will have to recognize the fact that civil rights is its number one problem. It's going to have to decide whether equality is for everyone or just for white skins and blue eyes."

Rev. Andrew Brown, president of the Indianapolis Southern Christian Leadership Conference, called the ruling "a slap in the face of Blacks."

Joseph Smith, project director of the Human Relations Consortium, told the *Militant*, "The U.S. Supreme Court's decision . . . signals another backward step in the search for equitable remedies in discrimination cases. . . .

"It seems," he said, "that the stricter standard for seeking relief is a substantial reversal from that originally sought in the *Brown* decision of 1954. Civil rights activists will now have to re-adjust strategies in their preparation of cases involving discrimination."

The Supreme Court's decision on Indianapolis followed by only eight days its decision to hear an appeal of the Dayton, Ohio, busing plan. The Dayton plan is being appealed by the city board, which contends that system-wide busing there is too extensive.

On the same day as its Indianapolis decision, however, the Supreme Court also refused to hear a challenge to the Louisville busing plan. This plan involves busing 23,000 Black students to predominantly white schools in Louisville's Jefferson County suburbs.

The difference between Louisville and Indianapolis—in the court's eyes—was evidently that Kentucky state courts had ordered consolidation of the

Jefferson County school systems. But the Indianapolis decision and other recent court rulings open the way to a future challenge to the Louisville plan.

So far the Supreme Court has not taken on school desegregation in Louisville and Boston. Commenting on the Dayton decision, however, Nathaniel Jones, general counsel of the NAACP, said he is "perplexed and concerned" about the meaning of the recent rulings.

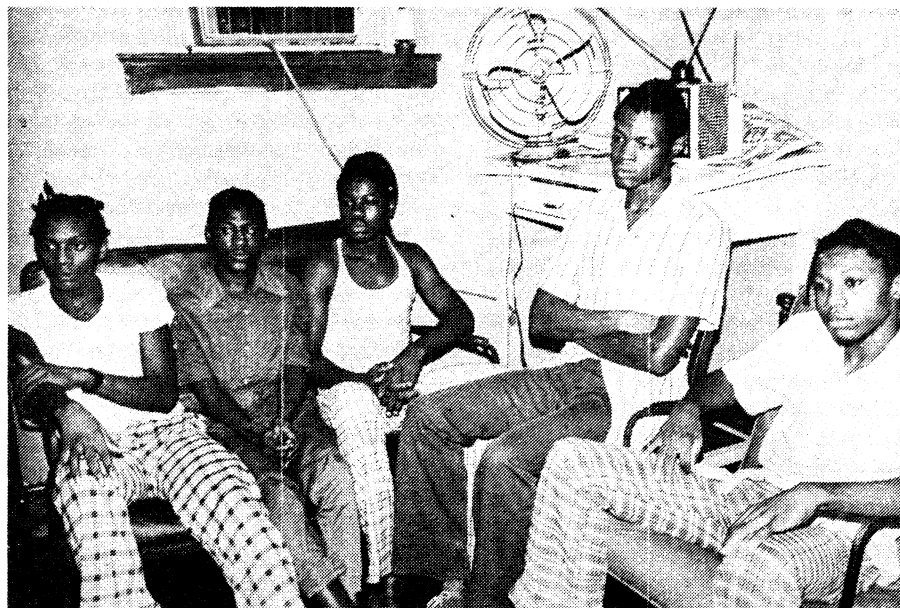
"This may be getting at the Boston issue from the back door," Jones said.

And Louisville too, he could have added.

These decisions point up the inadequacy of a purely legal strategy for winning and defending desegregation. What is needed is a powerful mobilization of Black people and their allies, directed at the government, demanding immediate school desegregation across the country.

In the absence of such a movement the courts and other branches of government will continue to feel free to erode the Black community's right to equal education.

Scottsboro 1977



Southern Poverty Law Center

Twenty miles south of Jimmy Carter's Plains, Georgia, five men will soon go on trial for their life. The five—J. D. Davenport, Henderson Watson, James Edward Jackson, Roosevelt Watson, and Johnny B. Jackson—are all young, Black, poor. They are accused of murdering a white man during a grocery store stickup.

Originally the storekeeper said four Blacks were involved, but he couldn't identify any of them. Five days later he changed his mind, saying one of the killers was Roosevelt Watson, a seventeen-year-old

who frequently bought things from his store. Roosevelt, his brother, his cousin, and two friends were quickly arrested and charged. All say they are innocent.

Julian Bond, president of the Southern Poverty Law Center, which is handling their defense, calls the case "Scottsboro 1977," after the nine Black teen-agers who were sentenced to death for a rape they did not commit in Scottsboro, Alabama, in 1931. Clarence Norris, the last surviving Scottsboro Boy, was pardoned by Alabama Gov. George Wallace October 25, 1976.

S. Africa protests underway across U.S.

By Walter Jackson

As the white minority regime in South Africa moved to strengthen its dictatorial powers, antiracist activists in this country were making plans to protest the U.S. government's complicity with the apartheid regime.

Since the brutal suppression of demonstrations during the Black upsurge in South Africa last summer, the racist government there has threatened to use even greater force to crush any renewed protests. On January 31 the regime voted itself wartime powers in the event of "civil disturbances."

The new legislation grants the government power to mobilize army reservists on a short-term basis. It empowers the government to censor all domestic and foreign press during a state of emergency.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) hit the South African government's new legis-

lation as part of "its campaign against the rights of the Black majority."

"This measure would strengthen the white minority regime's repressive powers," said NSCAR in a statement released to the press.

"Since June 1976 the message of the Black majority led by the student movement has been quite clear. Blacks demand the basic right to govern themselves."

"On March 25 and 26 NSCAR will be participating in protest actions to demand an end to U.S. complicity with the racist apartheid regimes in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe."

News of NSCAR's antiapartheid activities has reached Blacks in South Africa itself.

Reporting from Johannesburg in the January 25 *Christian Science Monitor*, June Goodwin describes an interview with Tsietshi Mashinini in the South African Black newspaper the *World*. Mashinini was a leader of the high school student rebellion in Soweto last summer. He is now living in exile in London.

According to Goodwin, Mashinini told the *World* that he is now aiding other student exiles from South Africa. "He said two U.S.-based organizations, the National Student Coalition Against Racism and Apartheid and the American Committee on Africa, were helping in this regard," writes Goodwin.

Both Mashinini and George Khotsa, another leader of the Soweto Students Representative Council, will tour the United States this spring. The tour is being sponsored by NSCAR.

In New York plans are well underway for the tour. New York SCAR activists plan a number of meetings for Mashinini on area campuses. The Village-Chelsea NAACP is sponsoring a community meeting for the Soweto student leader.

A February 12 meeting is scheduled to complete New York plans for the March 25 and 26 protest actions.

Endorsers of the spring antiapartheid actions in New York include the Village-Chelsea NAACP; Luis Fuentes, former superintendent of schools, District One; Black Student Service Center at New York University; and noted jazz singer Gil Scott Heron.

In San Francisco seventy people attended a protest meeting January 20 to discuss the situation in South Africa and see the documentary film on apartheid *The Last Grave at Dimbaza*. The March 19 Coalition to Defend the Black Majority in Southern Africa there is planning an outdoor antiapartheid rally at Kimball Park that day. Featured speaker at the rally will be Tsietshi Mashinini.

Endorsers of the March 19 protest include Dr. Carlton Goodlet, publisher of the San Francisco *Sun Reporter*; Gertrude Mayes, chairperson, San Quentin Six Defense Committee; Dr. Kenneth Washington, president, City College of San Francisco; Robert Chrisman, publisher of the *Black Scholar*; U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums; and Liz Parker, chairperson, University of San Francisco ethnic studies department.

Similar coalitions are being formed in Boston, Detroit, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Atlanta, and other cities.

NSCAR activists from across the country will gather for East Coast and West Coast steering committee meetings to discuss campus plans for the March 25 and 26 antiapartheid actions. Activists from the Midwest and the East will meet in New York February 26. The West Coast meeting will be in San Francisco March 5.

NSCAR has buttons, posters, leaflets, and fact sheets available. For more information write: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121.

March 25-26 protests

The National Student Coalition Against Racism has materials ready to help build the upcoming March 25-26 actions for majority rule in southern Africa.

NSCAR has prepared fact sheets on the U.S. role in southern Africa, as well as a button and a new issue of the *Student Mobilizer* newspaper.

Also available are biographies of Tsietshi Mashinini and George Khotsa, two leaders of the Soweto student protests who will be touring the United States.

Send in the coupon below to: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121.

Send me _____ "U.S. out of southern Africa! Protest March 25 & 26" buttons. (35 cents each for 10 or more. \$1 for 1.)

Send me _____ copies of the *Student Mobilizer*. (8 cents each for 25 or more. 15 cents per copy.)

_____ I would like Mashinini or Khotsa to speak in my area.

Enclosed is my donation of _____ to build the March 25-26 antiapartheid protests.

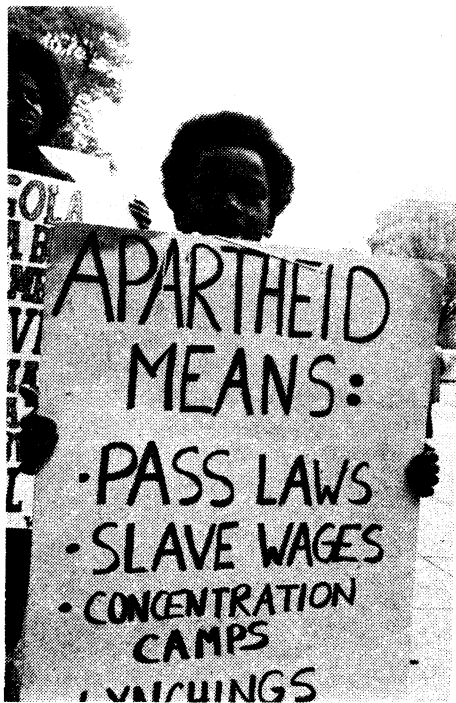
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Amnesty conference calls Carter pardon 'sham'

By Richard DeGaetano

TORONTO—An international conference of veterans and draft resisters here has served notice on President Carter that his pardon of draft refusers leaves much to be desired.

The gathering was sponsored by the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty, based in New York, and hosted by the Toronto resister organization Amex-Canada.

Meeting January 29-30, the conference drew 345 supporters of universal and unconditional amnesty. Attending were draft resisters, veterans, and

military deserters who were joined by their families and civilian antiwar activists.

Despite a paralyzing blizzard that interrupted transportation into Toronto, delegates to the conference arrived from two European countries, South America, thirty states in the U.S., and all ten Canadian provinces.

An important outcome of the meeting was a call for amnesty supporters to mobilize throughout the United States, Canada, and other countries to demand the Carter pardon be broadened. The first such actions are scheduled for early February in Washington, D.C. [see box on this page].

James Credle, a Black Vietnam veteran from Newark, New Jersey, was one of several speakers who expressed the angry mood of the participants. He told the conference:

"We demand universal and unconditional amnesty for all war victims. Carter's pardon, a sham in itself, excludes poor Blacks and other minorities."

Army deserter Jack Colhoun, an activist in the amnesty movement who has lived in exile in Canada for seven years, said he was "mad as hell" about Carter's limited pardon.

"We deserters are honorable men," Colhoun said. "It is the Cyrus Vances and Harold Browns of my country who acted dishonorably." (Vance and Brown were architects of Lyndon Johnson's murderous Vietnam War policies.)

"Carter rewards these war criminals and calls upon them to formulate his foreign policy, while at the very same time he continues to punish deserters," Colhoun said.

"We deserters are not war criminals.



We did not desert the American people. It was the war planners like Vance and Brown who deserted the American people," he said.

Joe Certoin is a Black veteran whose problems are all too familiar to hundreds of thousands of vets with bad discharges. Certoin came to Toronto as a representative of the Veterans Action Committee in Philadelphia.

For refusing to accept assignment in Vietnam, Certoin served time in army stockades and was thrown out of the military with a dishonorable discharge. Unable to find work or to support himself—and stripped of any veterans benefits he might have gotten—Certoin had to take an assumed name just to survive.

Hoping to upgrade his discharge, he signed up for President Ford's 1974 "earned clemency" program. He did

two years alternative service—only to find he still had to fight the Pentagon for a better discharge.

Many at the conference were bitter. They had hoped that Carter would offer a broader pardon.

Jerry Condon, a former Green Beret who refused orders to Vietnam and lived in exile for six years, helped explain what was on Carter's mind in limiting the pardon.

Last December Condon was part of a delegation to visit Charles Kirbo, one of Carter's top advisers.

"We told Mr. Kirbo, who was responsible for putting the pardon plan together, that we thought the Vietnam War was unjust," Condon said.

Kirbo responded, "All wars are bad. All wars are unjust. But we're going to have more of them. And the problem with the American people right now is they lack the will to fight."

The last day of the Toronto conference a policy statement passed by the participants was released at a news briefing attended by major U.S. and Canadian media. The statement said in part:

"This conference believes that President Jimmy Carter's partial pardon does not relieve the U.S. government of its responsibilities for the war in Vietnam and its consequences.

"Draft resisters, veterans, deserters, and civilian resisters all opposed or were victimized by the same unjust war, but only draft resisters have been pardoned.

"Therefore, be it resolved that draft resisters, using their new mobility, and all other amnesty supporters shall continue to fight for universal, unconditional amnesty for all categories of war resisters and victims."

Amnesty actions

Demonstrations for universal and unconditional amnesty will take place in Washington, D.C., during the first two weeks of February. Among the scheduled events are:

- Saturday, February 5—Veterans and other amnesty supporters will conduct a vigil outside the White House.

- Thursday, February 10—A "statement of reconciliation" signed by 100,000 people will be presented to the Carter administration.

- Friday, February 11—Religious leaders from around the nation will deliver a proamnesty statement to Carter.

These protests are being coordinated by the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty.

Justice is hard to find

By Nelson Blackstock

MIAMI—Wilbert Lee says he hasn't slept since 1964.

He might drop off to sleep for a few minutes, but it's not real sleep. Not like it used to be before something happened that made it impossible.

One morning in 1964 Wilbert Lee was lying in his bed when he heard the echo of footsteps.

"Hard-heel shoes walking down the hall. Bop, bop, bop, bop."

Wilbert Lee's bed was in a cell on death row at Raiford, the Florida State Prison.

The footsteps grew louder until they stopped at his door. He looked up and saw two men. They were prison officials.

"One of them looked up at the number and said, 'No. This is the wrong cell.' They stepped back and moved to the next cell over."

"How are you?" Lee heard one of the men say.

"All right," came the answer, followed by a period of silence.

"We came to tell you your death warrant has been signed," the man said. "We're going to have to take you down."

"By hearing this my heart started to beat fast. Whop, whop, whop, whop," Wilbert Lee recalled. "I said to myself, 'My god! They almost got me!'"

"Before that I used to sleep a lot," he told me. But to this day I just catnap. Five or ten minutes at a time."

It turned out that the man they took away that day got a reprieve. But when they brought him back to his cell his head had already been shaved in preparation for the electric chair.

By all odds Wilbert Lee should have gone to the electric chair. He and Freddie Pitts spent more than twelve years at Raiford, nine of them on death row. They were sentenced to die for a crime they did not commit.

Finally exonerated, Pitts and Lee are living examples of why the death penalty must be abolished.

I didn't know very much about Pitts and Lee before I talked to them here one Saturday afternoon. What I did know is that their names are practically legend among people working to end capital punishment in Florida. I came away convinced that their names and their story should be known by everybody—especially people who think the death penalty might be a good thing.

August 28, 1963

"Justice is hard to find," Wilbert Lee told me. "It seems like sometimes you can't find it no matter where you look."

Justice was what Black people were looking for when they gathered for the famous March on Washington. The date was August 28, 1963.

But there was no justice to be found that day in a small courtroom in the Florida Panhandle. An all-white jury brought in their verdict on the case of Freddie Pitts, nineteen, and Wilbert Lee, twenty-eight, and a white judge sentenced them to die.

That night, as the cars and buses were making the trip home from Washington, Pitts and Lee were already sitting on death row in Raiford. How did they wind up there? It all began less than a month before.

The Mo-Jo murders

On the night of July 31, 1963, an old Ford carrying several Black people pulls into a service station on a lonesome stretch of road outside Port St. Joe, Florida. Freddie Pitts, a GI stationed in the area, is driving. Wilbert Lee is one of the passengers.

The Mo-Jo station has rest room facilities. But they are for whites only.

Also in the Ford are two Black women. They ask the two white service station attendants if they can use the rest room. They are refused, but there's nothing unusual about that. It's segregation.

The only thing unusual, in fact, is that the Black women would be asking to use the Mo-Jo's bathroom. But this is 1963, and something called civil rights is in the air. The women had probably heard about the big march they were planning up in Washington.

After a futile protest, the women finally use the toilet facilities reserved for Blacks—the bushes behind the station.



WILBERT LEE

Militant/Nelson Blackstock



FREDDIE PITTS

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

The story of Pitts and Lee

At the Mo-Jo at the same time is a truck with two young white men. They notice the uppity Blacks. They will be able to testify that Pitts and Lee were at the Mo-Jo that night.

A few minutes later the Blacks and the two white customers have all left. During the argument over the restroom, one of the Mo-Jo attendants has put a lock on the rest room. He apparently failed to notice that a white man was already in there.

The Blacks safely off the premises, he now removes the lock. Out steps Curtis Adams. Before the night is over, Adams will have murdered both the Mo-Jo attendants.

Adams has come to rob the station. Since both attendants know him well, he has already decided he must kill them to eliminate any witnesses. After

taking the money, he orders both men into his car. They drive to an isolated spot several miles away. There Adams kills them both.

It didn't take long for the police to center their investigation on Pitts and Lee. They hear the story about the car with the Blacks and the argument over the rest room. But that wasn't enough to link the men to the murder. So the cops do what cops have often been known to do: they torture them until they "confess."

Twenty-eight days after the murders Pitts and Lee are sitting on death row.

'Racial problems'

The death penalty—in the form of lynchings—used to play a very important role in the South. In the event of a crime or suspected crime, a likely Black would be rounded up and murdered. It would all be done very quickly. The question of whether he was guilty didn't matter too much. Lynchings were integral to maintaining the Jim Crow system, to keeping Blacks "in their place."

Two years later, when asked why they moved so quickly with the prosecution, one of the cops will refer to "racial problems" in the area and say that they "didn't want any trouble with the colored people." The two men were sentenced to die, he will add, "on the day that the niggers had the big march on Washington. Same day."

With Pitts and Lee in line for the electric chair, Port St. Joe authorities stamped the case closed. It might well have remained closed except for one major complication: before authorities got around to electrocuting Pitts and Lee, Curtis Adams confessed.

You might be thinking that the Adams confession cleared everything up. But things were not that simple. Justice, remember, is hard to find.

If justice had had anything to do with it, Pitts and Lee should have been free well before the Adams confession in 1966. Consider the facts:

- Freddie Pitts was in the army when he was arrested. As a routine matter, military investigators talked to Pitts when he was in the Port St. Joe jail before his trial. Pitts told them he was innocent, that the "confession" had been beaten out of him. They didn't like what they saw, but the army didn't follow through with any useful aid.

- After Pitts was in Raiford, in response to his repeated requests the army sent a lawyer to talk to him in 1964. The attorney came away persuaded that Pitts was innocent. He recommended that the army do something. The army did nothing.

All Pitts ever got out of the army was a dishonorable discharge. He's still fighting to get it overturned.

- Pitts wrote the FBI charging that his civil rights had been violated. In the fall of 1963 two FBI agents came to Raiford, listened to Pitts's story, did nothing. The FBI, apparently, was too busy investigating Martin Luther King to spare any resources to look into the case.

- In April 1964, two years before he confessed, Adams told authorities in Key West that he had important information on the Mo-Jo murders. Adams was permitted to talk over the phone to the Port St. Joe sheriff. The sheriff's reaction was short and to the point: He didn't want to hear anything about it because "he already had two niggers in Raiford waiting on the chair for it."

A miracle

That the Adams confession ever appeared at all was something of a miracle.

A polygraph specialist named Warren Holmes was called into an investigation of another murder committed by Adams. Holmes was not your typical lie detector operator.

Earlier he had worked with Miami reporter Gene Miller on two cases in which innocent people had been convicted of murder. Miller's articles won him a Pulitzer Prize.

Discovering that Adams—then behind bars on yet another charge—was willing to talk about the Mo-Jo case, Holmes took the initiative to get a taped confession, verified by a polygraph exam. Holmes also got a parallel statement corroborating the confession from a woman Adams lived with at the time of the murders.

Holmes got Gene Miller interested in the case. In early 1967 Miller wrote two major articles for the

Miami *Herald* exposing the Pitts and Lee frame-up. (Over the years he would write many more. In the fall of 1975 Doubleday published *Invitation to a Lynching*, a book by Miller on the Pitts and Lee case.)

Legal battle

Following the Adams confession and the first wave of publicity, a protracted and complex legal battle opened. All the while Pitts and Lee remained on death row.

It was September 1968 before a hearing was held to determine if a new trial was in order. It took seven months—until April 1969—for the judge to rule, throwing out the convictions.

Racist authorities in the Panhandle were enraged. They became more determined than ever to keep Pitts and Lee on death row. They were successful.

A state district court of appeals reinstituted the death sentences in December 1970.

However, in April 1971 the Florida attorney general was forced to admit that the state had suppressed evidence, and he ordered a new trial.

In the meantime, Curtis Adams had retracted his confession. He refused to admit guilt unless he was given immunity from prosecution. The state refused.

The trial was set in the same part of the state as Port St. Joe. The court turned down defense requests to move the trial, despite the fact that the local media had waged a hysterical campaign against the two innocent Black men.

The trial opened in February 1972. It was a farce from start to finish. The jury was not allowed to hear the Curtis Adams confession and other evidence favorable to the defense.

Once more Pitts and Lee were convicted and sentenced to death.

Again it was an all-white jury, even though Blacks made up a sizable chunk of the population.

Forty-two Blacks had been automatically excluded from the jury because they were against capital punishment. Blacks in that part of the country had no illusions about who the death penalty was intended for.

After the verdict, a local paper bemoaned the expense the county would have to bear in fighting an appeal. Longing for simpler times, on the front page it displayed a 1901 photo of four Black men hanging in the courthouse square.

Nearly three years passed before a state district court of appeals ruled on the case, upholding the conviction.

Pitts and Lee never found any justice in the courts.

Public outrage

In the end what was decisive in freeing them was widespread public outrage.

The media focused an exceptionally large amount of attention on their plight. Some of it came in an unexpected way.

“I’d gotten into a thing of writing everybody I could, trying to get them interested,” Pitts said. “I read a couple of articles by James J. Kilpatrick about a man in prison in Mexico. They were called ‘Mexico—Where Due Process is Not.’ I wrote him suggesting he could write something about my case called ‘Florida—Where Due Process is Not.’”

Kilpatrick is a staunch right-winger. But for some reason he decided to tell about the plight of Pitts and Lee in his nationally syndicated column. Soon afterwards CBS television did a long segment on the case on its morning network news show. Other coverage followed.

“An Amnesty International group in Europe adopted our case,” Pitts said. “12,000 letters from Europe alone came into Tallahassee.”

Their supporters in Florida began to organize. They held demonstrations in Miami, St. Petersburg, Gainesville, and Tallahassee, Pitts told me.

New support

One day in California Lester Marvin Burkett III picked up an old copy of a New York newspaper. In it he found a story that he said made him sick.

More than ten years earlier Burkett’s father had been murdered in the robbery of a Mo-Jo station in Florida. He had left the state soon after, and always thought the men responsible had been apprehended and properly dealt with.

The newspaper article was about Pitts and Lee. After reading it Burkett became convinced they were innocent. He was moved to write the governor of Florida, Reubin Askew, appealing for their release.

Burkett even went on a West Coast television show to voice his appeal. “After that 4,000 letters poured into Tallahassee,” Pitts recalled.

Finally, Askew ordered a special investigation. At its conclusion he announced a pardon.

After twelve years and forty-eight days behind bars, Wilbert Lee and Freddie Pitts were finally

released. Only nine years were actually spent on death row. In 1972, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty, as then applied in the United States, was unconstitutional.

Still fighting

Today, back on the streets, their fight is not over. A Pitts and Lee Justice Fund is campaigning to get a bill through the state legislature to provide some financial compensation. But Pitts says no amount of money can make up for those twelve years ripped out of his life.

When asked about the death penalty, both have a lot to say. Articulate foes of capital punishment, both will tick off the arguments, one after the other.

But one of the most effective arguments is the story of Wilbert Lee and Freddie Pitts.

“I don’t know if publicizing our ordeal can put an end to the death penalty,” Pitts says, “but it can add more to the argument against it. I feel it’s better not to have a death penalty than have one innocent person executed.”

“I never believed in capital punishment,” says Wilbert Lee. “Never did. Never will. I figure two wrongs don’t make a right.”

Both Pitts and Lee are active in the growing movement to get rid of the barbaric practice. They think the same kind of massive outpouring of sentiment that freed them will be necessary to abolish the death penalty for all.

“I’ve been speaking in front of churches and various groups throughout the state,” Lee said. “I’ve been trying to let people know they got to stand up and be counted.

“The death penalty was designed for poor people. But poor people got more power than the rich man got money, if they will use it.”

In effect the United States did not have a death penalty for almost ten years. It had been that long between the time a Utah firing squad killed Gary Gilmore and the previous execution. The NAACP and American Civil Liberties Union had waged an extensive legal battle, blocking executions state by state.

“If it hadn’t been for the NAACP and ACLU trying to keep something in the courts, there is no doubt in my mind I would have been executed,” Wilbert Lee told me.

But today the NAACP and the ACLU are at a legal dead end. The courts have given the green light, and the killing has begun.

In some ways the most astounding thing about the Pitts and Lee case is what it tells you about the others on death row.

Back in 1963 Pitts and Lee were unlucky enough to be Black and in the wrong place at the wrong time. But over the years they got a certain number of unlikely breaks—breaks that were a matter of life and death.

What would have happened if Curtis Adams had not confessed? Or if a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter had not championed their cause? Or if the son of one of the victims had not implored the governor to free them? Or if supporters hadn’t organized demonstrations and letter writing campaigns on their behalf?

Today at least 324 human beings are in line to be executed. In Florida alone 79 are sitting on death row. Nearly half of these people are Black.

Surely among them are others who are victims of frame-ups like Pitts and Lee but who never got any breaks. Need there be any other reason to do away with the death penalty?

Justice, as Wilbert Lee says, is hard to find.

Black sociologist denied tenure

By Reiko Obata

BERKELEY, Calif.—On January 18 more than 150 people attended a press conference to protest the denial of tenure to Harry Edwards, noted Black sociologist at the University of California at Berkeley.

Edwards organized the Black athletes’ boycott of the 1968 Olympics. For six years he has been an assistant professor at Berkeley. His courses have been popular, attracting one-quarter of all students who have taken sociology courses.

Some members of Berkeley’s sociology department claim Edwards’s research fails to meet Berkeley standards. Others allege that while his research is thorough and creative, his topic—sports—is not relevant.

Edwards has pioneered in his field. His book *The Sociology of Sports* is used as a text on more than 150 campuses and has been translated into four languages.

Edwards has written two other books and authored or helped author forty-seven articles

‘Young Socialist’: good reading & good selling

By Diane Wang

Are you interested in what Tsietzi Mashinini has to say? Mashinini was president of the Soweto Students Representative Council and leader of the June antiapartheid protest in South Africa. He is interviewed in the February issue of the *Young Socialist* newspaper.

Or maybe you are concerned about the attacks on women’s rights? The February YS features a talk by Young Socialist Alliance leader Nancy Brown on those attacks and how to fight back.

You can buy this month’s YS from YSA members who will be selling the paper on at least 150 high school and college campuses across the country.

The current issue launches a drive to sell 6,500 copies of the paper each month from February through April.

The YS gives its readers a chance to see what the YSA stands for. And it helps build activities the socialist students are supporting:

- the protest scheduled for February 25 in California to defend affirmative-action admissions programs in California universities;
- the March 25-26 actions to demand an end to U.S. support of racist regimes in southern Africa; and
- the drive to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

The monthly also gives students a voice to share lessons from fights around the country against school cutbacks. This month, for example, Chris Hoeppner reports how students are protesting cutbacks in New Jersey.

Special features and reviews pick up other topics of the day. Ike Nahem describes Ed Sadlowski’s insurgent campaign in the steelworkers union. Peter Archer writes about a new book on the question, *Who Killed Malcolm X?*

Antiracist campaigns, international freedom struggles, democratic rights—these have been the focus of the YS since it was first published in 1957.

The YS campaigned to keep U.S. “hands off Cuba” and “all troops out of Vietnam,” much as the paper now supports the effort to get the United States out of South Africa.

In 1963 the YS spearheaded the defense of three YSA members charged under an anticommunist law with trying to overthrow the government of Indiana.

Today it’s Michigan that is trying to suppress socialist ideas, in a case at Central Michigan University. Again, the YS is defending the socialist students, explaining the case and what must be done.

The current YS is good reading and well worth selling. If you would like to subscribe, the paper is only \$1 for six months. To subscribe or order copies of the YS to sell, write to the *Young Socialist*, Post Office Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Steel Fight Back...

The election of top officers in the United Steelworkers of America on February 8 will have more influence on the lives of U.S. and Canadian workers than other union elections, or most general elections of high government officials for that matter.

The challenge to the entrenched union bureaucracy by Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate is based on two crucial concepts:

- Union democracy. Control must be taken out of the hands of the present high-paid union officials, who are closer to the employers—socially, economically, and politically—than to the membership. The members must be able to democratically determine union policy and must have the power to implement policies that serve their interests.

- Union militancy. The interests of the workers and the bosses are not the same—they are opposed. The purpose of a labor union is to fight for the workers' needs, not to look out for the profits of the employers.

The world capitalist economy has entered a new era of crisis and depression. U.S. capitalism today can only solve its problems by driving down the standard of living of American workers. By reducing wages, increasing unemployment, instituting speedups, lowering safety standards, eroding pensions, fouling the environment, and cutting social services.

In this test of fire the trade unions have only two possible paths. Either they serve more and more as agents of the capitalist class, collaborating with the employers and the capitalist political parties in the drive against workers.

Or they are taken over by the workers themselves and transformed into instruments of class struggle that defend workers' needs—not just on the bread-and-butter issues, but on the entire range of social and political questions under attack from the bosses. No third course exists.

The entire present union leadership is committed to a class-collaborationist policy. They have acquiesced in wage controls, cutbacks, and curtailment of union rights. The logic of this course is to weaken and eventually destroy the unions as organizations of workers' economic self-defense.

The Steelworkers Fight Back campaign represents a break with this march to disaster, an initial step in the exact opposite direction. It is inspiring and building the confidence of steelworkers—and other workers—to grasp control of their unions and use them for their own needs.

...and beyond Feb. 8

Regardless of the official results in the February 8 election the struggle between these two perspectives, which the Fight Back campaign has concretely posed, will continue and deepen.

There will undoubtedly be a protracted fight over the vote count itself.

If the Fight Back slate is able to win the official count and capture the leadership of the USWA, the attacks by the trade-union bureaucracy, the employers, and the government will intensify.

If Fight Back is initially unsuccessful in obtaining the presidency and other top posts, it will not mean the reversal or the end of this movement. Fight Back represents much more than the candidacy of a militant individual. Much more than an electoral effort.

It is the reflection of a new mood among steelworkers and the beginning of a new movement that can affect all workers. It is born of the accumulated experiences of the 1960s radicalization and the workers' response to escalating attacks on their standard of living.

Win or lose on February 8, the Fight Back program will be advanced and implemented by mobilizing the ranks of steelworkers and organizing their direct participation in the union.

By reaching out to allies outside the union.

By extending the fight for union democracy into other unions.

Union democracy is the cutting edge of the drive today to transform the union movement and break it from its class-collaborationist path. As the assault on workers grows more intense, the contradiction between their interests and the policies of the union bureaucrats becomes more acute.

Steelworkers Fight Back raises the central question of workers controlling their own organizations and shaping them to fight for their needs. Every working person in this country has a stake in the continued and successful development of the struggle Fight Back has initiated.

Strategy to win ERA

Feminists like NOW President Karen DeCrow, who credit the passage of the ERA in Indiana to "the strategy of defeating anti-ERA candidates," might do well to take note of the case of State Rep. Jerry Bales (R-Bloomington, Ind.).

During the fall election campaign, Bales came out in support of the Equal Rights Amendment and therefore was not opposed by any of the reformist women's groups. However, after he was elected Bales voted against the ERA in committee, claiming that opposition to the ERA from his constituency was overwhelming.

Such blatant betrayal so outraged supporters of the ERA that they deluged Bales with angry letters, telephone calls, and even personal visits to his home. In a wider sense, Bales's action alerted ERA supporters to the fact that the new legislature was not necessarily going to vote for the ERA, as some women's groups had claimed, and that actions such as the January 9 rally for the ERA in Indianapolis were needed.

As a result, when the ERA came up for a vote in the house several days following the rally, Bales voted with the majority for ratification. He explained that he had discovered that breaking election promises wasn't right.

E.L.
Bloomington, Indiana

Lucy Parsons

In your book review "Lucy Parsons—American radical" [January 21 *Militant*], you endorse the unthinking, idiotic view of author Carolyn Ashbaugh that Parsons should be considered Black merely because of her partial ancestry—even though she maintained in her lifetime another affiliation.

This view is supported by you through statements like, "Photos of Lucy are proof of her black ancestry." And you refer to Parsons's "denial of her black heritage."

Now there have been a hell of a lot of Chicano and Puerto Rican faces in your paper just as dark and Negroid (or more so) as Lucy Parsons's. You never give them lectures about their obvious denial of their "Black heritage."

I'll tell you what is truly "a terrible indictment of the racist society"—the racial hypocrisy of self-styled radicals like yourselves.

J. Arsenault

[In reply—Reader J. Arsenault is wrong in writing that the *Militant* endorsed Ashbaugh's view that Parsons should be considered Black; we simply reported it. The phrase "Photos of Lucy are proof of her Black ancestry" and reference to Parsons's "denial of her black ancestry" are Ashbaugh's, not the *Militant*'s.

[As we pointed out in a note to the review, sources other than Ashbaugh say that Parsons was a Chicana. That includes her husband, Albert Parsons, who in his autobiography called Lucy "Spanish-Indian."]

America's 'pass laws'

Miguel Pendás's recent articles on *la migra* [January 21 and January 28 *Militant*] raise two questions.

If I understand the situation, the immigration police in the Southwestern states feel free to walk up to people who appear more Latin than Anglo-Saxon and demand to see some papers that prove American citizenship.

My first question is this: Does *la migra* have the legal right to do this? Is a Chicano who is an American citizen not within his or her legal rights to refuse to show proof of citizenship?

I am not Chicano, and I don't carry proof of citizenship around in my pocket. To require a U.S. citizen who "looks Mexican" to carry such papers would clearly create a second-class citizenship based on race—a group of "citizens under suspicion of being aliens." It smacks of the notorious "pass laws" of South Africa that require Black Africans to carry passbooks.

Such a procedure would deny equal protection under the law to Chicanos. It seems to me that the very act of a cop demanding to see citizenship papers constitutes an illegal search and violates constitutionally protected rights of privacy.

In short, the whole thing appears to be so blatantly unconstitutional that it could be challenged successfully in court. While this would not put an end to *la migra*'s harassment, it could put them on the defensive and hamper their repressive activities.

So the second question is this: Would it be feasible to launch a test case around a situation where a Chicano is arrested for not being able to produce citizenship papers, or for refusing to show them? I think such a challenge to American "pass law" practices would gather a lot of public support.

C.C.
New York, New York

'In the halls of justice'

Although I do not agree with the *Militant* on all things, I do find it to be informational and interesting. To date, it's about the best movement newspaper that I've read.

I've especially liked the coverage of the continuing fight of Hurricane Carter and John Artis against the New Jersey authorities, arising from the 1966 murder frame-up against the two men.

Carter and Artis should be free, all the facts point to that. Yet the New Jersey authorities continue to hound them like they have hounded Blacks since that first slave ship.

I sure am glad that we live in America though. Just look at how unfree all those other countries are.

What a sham! If this is American justice, then I want no part of it.

As Lenny Bruce said, "In the halls of justice, the only justice is in the halls."

Free John Artis!

Free Hurricane Carter!

And keep up the good work you've been putting into the *Militant*.

Jerry Caldwell
River View, Alabama

L.A.: top steel sellers

Your report on sales of the January 21 special steel issue of the *Militant* did not include Los Angeles—which sold more at plant gates than any city you reported.

We sold a total of 180 *Militants* at sixteen plants. That included 30 at National Can, 28 at Continental Can, and 27 at Pacific Tube. There are now several people at the can plants—all young Chicanos—who are regular *Militant* readers.

The week of the special issue we were also leafleting for the January 21 East Los Angeles *Militant* Forum on the steelworkers election. Eighty people turned out to hear several prominent L.A. trade unionists discuss the Sadlowski campaign and the fight for union democracy.

Jack Shepherd, a member and leader



Fruit Freeze Flim-Flam

I like a glass of cold OJ in the morning as much as the next person, but The Great Florida Fruit Freeze Flim-Flam has got me choking on my Tropicana.

When the Fruit Freeze blew in last month, we were treated to the televised spectacle of growers battling the cold with smudge pots and air-circulation windmills, struggling heroically to "save the crop." Gov. Reubin Askew declared an official disaster. The Florida Citrus Commission ordered a ten-day embargo on all shipments and sales of fresh citrus fruit. Twenty to 40 percent of the crop was destroyed.

A natural disaster? Well, yes and no. That depends on whether you own the fruit, pick it, or just eat it. One side of the story was summed up by a *New York Times* headline January 24: "Some Florida Citrus Growers View Cold as a Blessing: They Hope Destruction of Part of Crop Will Lead to Price Rise."

"Nature has bailed us out of a bumper crop," said a spokesperson for the Florida Citrus Commission. "The growers were going to lose money, but now the problem has been taken care of. . . ."

The "problem" was last year's record crop of 188 million boxes (ninety pounds per box) and the expectation that this year's would be even bigger, about 218 million boxes. Under the laws of the "free market," that means pressure to lower prices. Good news for consumers, but bad for the agribusiness giants like Coca-Cola and Tropicana that dominate the Florida citrus industry.

Business Week reports that "many growers and processors were uncertain whether that many oranges could be sold at a profit" and that "price-cutting was already under way when the freeze struck." Destruction of a large part of the crop has relieved the growers of this unhappy prospect.

Even with the freeze, the crop is liable to be only slightly less than last year's. Besides, fruit that was frozen on the tree can still be used for juice concentrate if it is picked and processed rapidly. According to the January 22 *New York Times*, some experts therefore argue that "any significant price increases in fresh fruit and fruit juices may be unwarranted."

It turns out they don't need a warrant. The wholesale price of frozen concentrate has jumped 40 percent since the freeze and will go higher. One

function of the ten-day embargo was to allow time for price increases to be pushed through in a crisis atmosphere amid scares of "shortage."

What about those scenes of growers lighting fires to ward off the frost? That was to save the *trees*, which represent a big investment, not the fruit.

It's all just one more example of the growing irrationality of the capitalist system. Continual improvements in technology, including farm productivity, open the prospect of higher and higher production. Competition drives the owners of industry and agribusiness to increase production and capture a larger share of the market.

But these new heights of production, rather than providing a better life for all humankind, threaten to wreck the system of production by driving down prices. Control by the "free market" means *no control* by society, no organization of production to meet human needs.

In monopoly-controlled industries, the "problem" is resolved by limiting production to keep prices and profits up. That is, artificially creating scarcity when abundance is possible. The Florida citrus industry has not achieved that degree of control, but as one grower happily put it, "Mother Nature has given us the correction we needed."

For Florida's migrant farm workers, the freeze does mean disaster. Some 80,000 had already been left without work when cold destroyed most of the state's vegetable crops. Now at least 75 percent of the 180,000 migrant workers in the state have been affected, according to Rudy Juarez of Organized Migrants in Community Action. "It's very bad," Juarez says. ". . . There will be no work for at least three or four months."

The farm workers are not eligible for unemployment benefits. There is no provision for emergency aid. Some can get food stamps, but for that you must first have money to buy the stamps. In 1971, during the last big fruit freeze, some migrants simply starved to death. You can be sure the higher prices we pay for fruit, vegetables, and juice at the supermarket don't get anywhere near their pockets.

So that's the Florida story. The fruit may be frozen, but the squeeze is on us.

of USWA Local 2058 for more than thirty years, was joined by John T. Williams, business agent for Teamsters Local 208, and José González, United Auto Workers Local 923 and recent candidate of the Raza Unida party for the California state assembly.

All the speakers emphasized that Steelworkers Fight Back sets a positive example for other unions, encouraging everyone who wants to build a democratic, militant, and socially conscious labor movement.

Chris Hildebrand
Los Angeles, California

Murderers go free

Los Angeles: A ten-year-old boy playing with matches has confessed to accidentally starting the December 20 Witmer Street fire, which claimed eight lives and miscarriages of two women in late pregnancies. [See January 21 *Militant*.]

Fire officials and landlords had said that the probable cause was "an arsonist with a flammable liquid." They said that could be the only cause for such a disastrous fire in a two-story (and therefore legal) building with an open stairwell.

The open stairwell in the fifty-year-old frame building has now been proven as the cause of the fire—and city officials and profiteering landlords as the murderers. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of similar deathtraps are still rented out in the city.

Logically, the families of those who were killed would now sue the city and the landlords for "wrongful deaths." But the former residents of the building are poor people, many of them undocumented workers, without the facilities for suing. The murderers will go free, without even being called murderers. That is U.S. society today.

Della Rossa
Los Angeles, California

In memory of David Asnis

Enclosed find a contribution to the *Militant* in memory of David Asnis, who died January 13. Dave had a gym on Springfield Avenue in Irvington, New Jersey, where he taught body-building.

He was sixty-five years old. For thirty-seven of those years he was a friend of the Socialist Workers party—supporting its activities, contributing to its defense cases, voting for its candidates. He was enthusiastic about Peter Camejo's appearances on TV as our 1976 presidential candidate.

The SWP was his party and the *Militant* was his paper. He often wrote letters to the editor when he disagreed with its viewpoint, or when the presentation of political points he agreed with moved him to write.

After he read his copy of the *Militant*, he passed it on to people whom he thought might subscribe to the paper, and some of them became regular readers.

We say goodbye to a true friend of the SWP. We needed and appreciated his help and support.

D.B.
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Women in Revolt

'Judas' Jefferson

The "right-to-lifers" rallied again this year in Washington, D.C., to launch a new front in their attack on abortion rights.

In addition to the drive for a constitutional amendment to ban abortions, they have joined the attack on poor women by pledging themselves to work to end federal Medicaid funding of abortions.

These enemies of women's right to control our own bodies have hypocritically likened their reactionary movement to the fight to abolish slavery in the century, and to the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

That, I guess, is where one of their most prominent spokespersons, a Black woman, comes in.

Mildred Fay Jefferson would appear from her public posture to be a mystery. To begin with, she is a surgeon in Boston. She is also president of the anti-abortion National Right to Life Committee and its most visible member.

Jefferson is not only anti-abortion, she is also antibusing, antiwelfare, anti-Equal Rights Amendment, and opposed to abolishing the death penalty.

For the past six years, Jefferson has publicly expressed her ultraconservative views on TV talk shows, in high school and church debates, and at fund-raising dinners.

She has a few "firsts," too. In 1951 she became the first Black woman to graduate from Harvard Medical School. She was also the first witness for the prosecution in the 1975 Boston trial of Dr. Kenneth Edelin. Edelin is a Black gynecologist who was convicted of manslaughter in 1975 for performing a legal abortion. In fact, Jefferson was described as the prosecutor's most "persuasive" witness in that trial.

Edelin's conviction was overturned by the state supreme court in December.

Willie Mae Reid



In the 1976 election campaign, Jefferson appeared in television commercials for Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion, antibusing presidential candidate in the Democratic primaries.

Jefferson does command attention. For those on her side of the issues, she is an idol, a Joan of Arc. She is serious, committed, and pursues her interests with skill.

For the rest of us, she at first seems to be a contradiction. How can a Black woman be so reactionary? How can she align herself publicly with such virulently anti-Black, antiwoman, inhumane forces in today's society?

Well, to me, Jefferson is reminiscent of the "house niggers" of slavery, who openly and arrogantly participated in physical brutality against their own people.

For Jefferson, racism and sexism are too tough to fight, so she has accepted them. She's closed her eyes to the degradation that acceptance brings. She seems to prefer suffering for the sake of suffering.

The *Boston Globe* quotes her saying, "I have found the whole emphasis on ethnicity and separatism self-defeating. There is no way to say black is beautiful without provoking a response of white is right."

So what does she do? Jefferson joins the campaign to prove that Black is *not* beautiful and white is right! The right-wingers love her. The media give her exposure. And Jefferson gets the reward of personal glory.

In plain talk, Jefferson is just one more in a long list of traitors who serve America's ruling rich by trying to derail movements against oppression. But it is precisely such powerful movements in response to today's tougher times that will defeat these Judases.



Scandalize 'em before the neighbors—Colorado state prison Supt. Nick Evans favors mobile executions. Although he doubts capital punishment is a crime deterrent, he said executing people in the city where they're convicted might have some effect.

Like Ritz crackers—The widow of the recently demised Charles of the Ritz assured that the plush Parisian hotel would continue as before. Son of the founder Charles introduced such innovations as potato-frying machines, American shower heads, and time clocks for the employees. Once asked to define "ritzy," he responded, "Reasonable perfection."

Civil liberties dep't—A California judge temporarily barred enforcement of a new state law regulating bill

collectors. It would ban midnight calls to debtors or calls to their place of employment and require that dunning letters clearly state they are from a collection agency, not the government. The California Association of the Collectors told the judge this all violated the free speech provisions of the First Amendment.

The custodians—Bishop Giovanni Fallani, the Vatican's art manager, rejected the idea of selling the priceless treasures to aid the hungry. Such an act, he explained, would mean "the triumph of materialism over spiritualism." Besides, he further explained, the loot belongs not to the Vatican but "to all of Christianity."

Practical approach—The above item reminded us of the leader of a California sect who persuaded the

flock to finance building of a palatial mansion to have something ready for when Jesus returned. Meanwhile, the good reverend moved in as caretaker.



Victor

'Ah, it's a great day to be alive. And rich.'

Thought for the week—"Where there is a death wish or a despising of life, one could understand the addiction to tobacco. Where there is a vital desire to live, to do well, and to help others, it is difficult to understand. Yet many fine and helpful people continue to hurt themselves and threaten others with the quiet killer of cigarette smoking." —The Rev. Jimmy R. Allen.

Marx rejected—British officials vigorously rejected an assertion that Karl Marx had been a British citizen. A German scholar had said that while Marx had been rejected for citizenship in 1874 as a "notorious German agitator . . . not loyal to the queen," he had in fact been accepted in 1887. Officials said that was another Karl Marx, a German jeweler.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



A little fraud from a big fraud

Steelworkers must have been surprised when they received in the mail a facsimile of *Time* magazine, all about the vote on February 8 for president of their union. It was made up to look as if the editors of *Time* had suddenly discovered the importance of this election and decided that Lloyd McBride was the man of the year.

McBride's picture is on the front cover of this special undated "International Edition." It says "TIME for a decision" and below that the message, "Lloyd McBride for the Steelworkers."

For all the world this looks as if it were an authentic copy of *Time* magazine. Herein are news accounts, in *Time* style, of the sixty-year-old McBride braving winter storms to shake hands with steelworkers; of modest Leon Lynch, "youngest candidate on The McBride Team at 41," who always worked hard and finally got to be the first Black representative on the international executive board of the union; of Lynn Williams and Frank McKee and Joe Odorcich, all fine fellows who make up the rest of the "McBride Team."

They want steelworkers to vote them into high-paying jobs because they are all responsible and capable, having proved their merit by being around a long while in comfortable union posts. They all promise, if elected, to continue the fine tradition

they helped establish.

If anyone were interested enough to look for this special issue of *Time* that carries these glowing reports about McBride and his "team" of union bureaucrats, it couldn't be found on any newsstand in the United States or Canada.

There never was any such issue. The whole thing is a fraud, like most of the other actions and campaign stunts of the top bureaucrats in the union movement. Those in the steelworkers union are neither exceptional nor worse, just typical.

The bright idea to use *Time* magazine format to get out the program of the steelworkers officialdom must have been conceived by Maurer, Fleisher & Anderson Inc., the Washington publicity agency that gets \$2,500 a month to run McBride's campaign. It doesn't show a very high regard for the intelligence of steelworkers to think they would be taken in by such a "clever" trick.

What the incident does show is the real character of McBride and those associated with him. They have fraud in their blood and are incapable of hiding it. They habitually lie to the membership, steal elections, and conceal their real aims and policies.

Their choice of the *Time* format to try to hoodwink steelworkers also tells something about what they would like to be and whose endorsement

they are seeking.

McBride would undoubtedly be proud to be selected "man of the year" by big business and have his picture on the cover of *Time* magazine for real. To him that would be the stamp of approval that he has finally made it with the powerful rulers of this country. He would not be at all embarrassed to have *Time* write him up in the same glowing terms it used about former President Richard Nixon.

There is little evidence that steelworkers are much impressed with *Time* magazine or even read it often. And they know from having seen pictures of steelworkers President I.W. Abel and his predecessor David J. McDonald on the front pages of their newspapers that praise from the publications of big business does not signify that the officials of their union are working for them. From all past experience, high praise of union officials in the capitalist press means that those officials are not serving the union membership well.

McBride's small stunt with the fake *Time* edition is overshadowed by the greater fraud of the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement and other policies of the incumbent union bureaucrats. But it proves that no fraud is too small for them—especially when their own future is at stake, as it is in this election.

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins



Ethnic purity in Cape Town

Three recent articles in the *New York Times* reported a significant development in South Africa: Some Catholic schools in Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, and Johannesburg have opened their doors to Black students.

The admission of Black students to the schools was illegal. Separate schooling for Black and white children in both public and private schools has been the law in South Africa since 1956.

This action by the Catholic schools is not a broad challenge to apartheid, since the schools charge tuition fees that very few Blacks can afford anyway. The schools had also admitted children of Black foreign diplomats for some time. And last term several of the schools admitted the sons and daughters of some Black South Africans on a "trial basis."

So what made this move by the schools any different?

The possibility that it might touch off demands for something more far-reaching.

If the government gave in on this—and in the face of outright defiance of the law—where would it end? From what looked like a small trickle of Blacks, working their way in through the crack in the private schools, wouldn't there soon come a Black tidal wave threatening to engulf the public school system as well?

So reasoned government officials in Cape and Transvaal provinces. And like good descendants of the proverbial Dutch boy, they rushed to stick their fingers in the dike.

The Black students had to be expelled. If not, the officials would close the schools and prosecute the children's parents.

There is a striking similarity between the South African government's fear of school desegregation and the recent wave of racist decisions on housing and school desegregation by the U.S. Supreme Court. In Cape Town and Indianapolis, Arlington Heights, Illinois, and Johannesburg, the message is the same—if you're Black get back.

Starting from such similarities, Black Americans in particular may begin to probe deeper. They're likely to find that the companies they work for and the government they exist under profit from and help maintain the brutal subjugation of the Black majority in South Africa.

And it's knowledge like this that will move thousands to demand in action: Black majority rule in South Africa! End U.S. business investments in South Africa! End U.S. government aid to the apartheid regime now!

St. Louis socialists win ballot spot

By Barbara Tentaty

ST. LOUIS—The Socialist Workers party has scored a major victory for democratic rights here. In this spring's municipal election, for the first time, it will be exempt from discriminatory petitioning requirements in order to place its candidate on the ballot.

The names of the SWP candidates will appear automatically in both the March 8 primary and April 5 general elections.

The socialists are running Helen Savio for mayor and Mary Pritchard for comptroller.

Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick's ruling was based on a technicality in Missouri's election law that grants ballot status to "established parties" if they win a certain percentage of the vote after achieving ballot status through petitioning. He cited the 2.8 percent city-wide vote for Barbaro Bowman, the SWP's candidate for president of the St. Louis board of aldermen in 1975.

Kirkpatrick has managed to keep the SWP off the Missouri ballot—among the most restrictive in the country—in the last two statewide elections.

In 1974 the newly formed Missouri SWP submitted 29,000 signatures to place Barbara Mutnick, its candidate for U.S. Senate, on the ballot. This was 11,000 more than required. Nonetheless, Kirkpatrick barred the party from the ballot.

In 1976, the SWP gathered 25,000



Militant/Chris Smith

HELEN SAVIO

signatures—more than 7,000 over the requirement. Although Kirkpatrick was again able to keep the party off the ballot, he met stiff opposition.

Prominent civil libertarians, state legislators, unionists, and others opposed Kirkpatrick's move and endorsed the SWP's ballot rights. So did the state's two major newspapers, the *Kansas City Star* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

The SWP joined with the Communist party and supporters of independent presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy to organize the Missourians



Militant/Pat Hayes

MARY PRITCHARD

for Fair Ballot Access.

Even some of Kirkpatrick's own supporters publicly dissociated themselves from his undemocratic vendetta against the SWP.

Under such pressure Kirkpatrick is now attempting to pose as a champion of the rights of third parties. But, as Helen Savio, SWP candidate for mayor of St. Louis, said when filing for that office, "This victory was won only when the sentiment of the vast majority of Missourians to see the democratic rights of all parties protected was expressed."

Picketing FBI chief a crime

By Arnold Weissberg

In March 1976, FBI Director Clarence Kelley was the featured speaker at a "Citizens Crusade Against Crime" at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pennsylvania.

Kelley's speech was picketed by fifteen people. They found the notion of this man—whose cops have been responsible for years of crimes against Blacks, women, the labor movement, and the antiwar movement—giving a speech against crime too much to swallow.

The local cops, however, took Kelley's message to heart and, imitating the FBI, arrested five of the protesters on the direct order of the chief of police.

The five were charged with "defiant trespass" and were convicted.

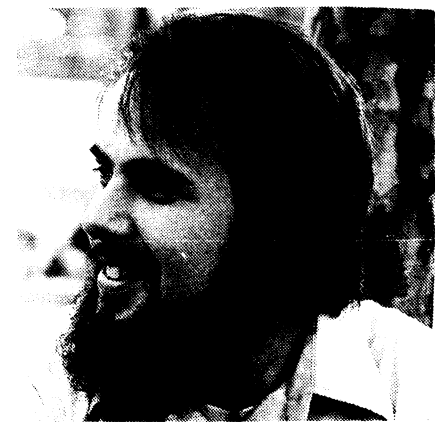
The charges stank so badly that, after the trial ended, the district attorney's office asked the court to drop them. An assistant district attorney told the judge that the actions of the five were "constitutionally protected under the First Amendment."

The town's top cop angrily protested, explaining that dropping the charges would set a "dangerous precedent."

A county judge apparently agreed, and on January 7, 1977, he dismissed a motion to overturn the convictions.

However, as a normal part of the appeals process, a new trial will be held in the country courts.

The Muhlenberg Five intend to press their case "until we are free of this mockery conviction," said defendant Michael Schlosser.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

MICHAEL SCHLOSSER

Chicago SWP takes on ballot law

By Roberta Frick

CHICAGO—This spring Chicago voters will go to the polls to fill the mayoral chair left vacant by the death of "Boss" Richard Daley last December.

The corrupt, antilabor, and racist political machine Daley left behind has picked Michael Bilandic to bear its spear in the April 19 primary and June 7 special election.

Bilandic has reassured the Daley loyalists that he was well trained by the late mayor. "He gave me a private tutorship like no one could have purchased," Bilandic told them January 31. "You cannot get it at Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, or Stanford."

It seems the hacks who run Chicago's board of elections also studied in Daley's school for scoundrels.

To get on the ballot the Democrats

will need to collect 4,460 signatures and the Republicans only 2,558 signatures. But the board says other parties, like the Socialist Workers party, must get at least 63,373 signatures by the April 4 deadline! This is 5 percent of the vote cast in the previous general election.

On January 24, the SWP filed an emergency lawsuit in Chicago's district court challenging the constitutionality of the petitioning requirements.

The lawsuit asks for automatic ballot status for the SWP in the mayoral election.

Mark Ugolini, Chicago SWP campaign director, said the new requirements are even more difficult than the ones the socialists met when they won a ballot spot in 1975. Willie Mae Reid was the SWP candidate for mayor that year. Before Reid only Democrats and Republicans had been able to get on

the Chicago ballot for close to forty years.

"For the 1975 mayoral election, we collected more than 65,000 signatures," Ugolini explained. "This was well over the 41,403 required. It took five full months to plan and accomplish that task."

"But this year," the campaign director said, "the new requirements force us to collect 50 percent more signatures in about half the time. During the coldest winter in Chicago in more than 100 years, the board of elections has set a time limit of eighty-one days!"

Ugolini said the Chicago SWP is asking individuals and organizations that support the democratic rights of independent candidates and parties other than the Democrats and Republicans to be on the ballot to support its lawsuit.

Gary Gilmore: the story you never read

By José G. Pérez

There's been a lot written on the execution of Gary Gilmore. Even as I write this—now two weeks after the shooting—a stream of clippings continues to slide across my desk, and I read them, feeling disgust mostly.

What I object to is not that the press paid a lot

AS I SEE IT

of attention to the execution. Something very important took place in Utah a couple of weeks ago. I think it's going to be a while before the full meaning of it sinks in.

What I object to, what makes me sick, is the lies perpetrated by the capitalist press to help the government get away with murder.

It's not that there was any one big lie you can put your finger on. The problem was the whole way they covered the story.

It was a Grade B Western on the Life and Death of Gary Gilmore. It came complete with desert setting (although the real Great Salt Lake Desert is further to the west), failed romance, hanging judges, and macho desperado hero Gary Gilmore.

It was all summed up in the New York *Daily News* headline: "Utah Killer Wins His Fight to Face The Firing Squad."

Through it all, the real issues and facts were covered up, buried, forgotten:

The fact that the government is planning to kill hundreds of people, half of them Blacks, all of them poor.

The fact that many of those sentenced to death are innocent, victims of frame-ups and of a judicial system shot through with race and class prejudice.

The fact that executions are not going to deter the Gary Gilmores of this world from killing you or me and may even encourage them.

All we were left with was Gary Gilmore—and not the real Gary Gilmore at that, but the cardboard creature of the media.

We read about Gilmore the brave, who wanted to die "like a man"—not the Gary Gilmore who spent eighteen of his last twenty-one years in prison and came out so brutalized and dehumanized that he didn't think twice about killing or being killed.

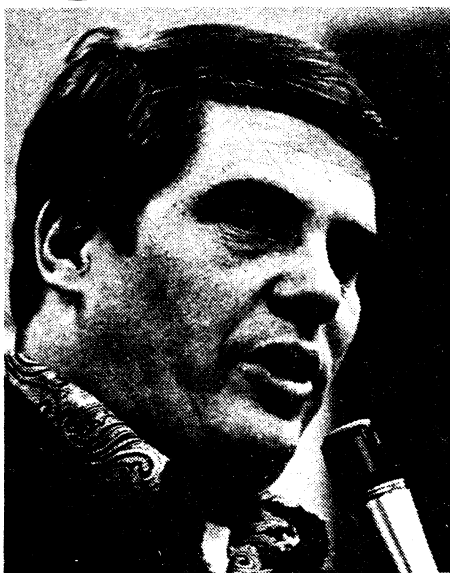
We read about the Gary Gilmore who didn't flinch when the hood was placed over his head—not the Gilmore who a couple of days before the execution was already so doped up he had a hard time making sense and sticking to the subject in tape-recorded interviews.

We read about the trim and witty Gary Gilmore—not the Gary Gilmore whose body had been tortured and whose mind had been warped in electro-shock therapy (punishment for his role in a prison rebellion).

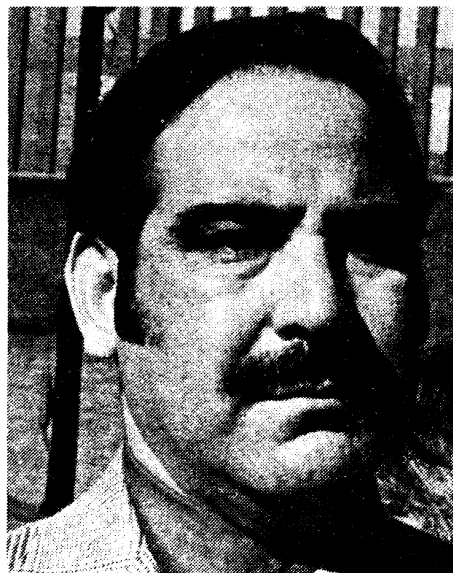
And while the press was telling us all about how our existential antihero didn't flinch and died in dignity, a team of medical experts was trying to salvage whatever spare parts could be had from the wreck left after four rifle bullets fired at point-blank range had ripped apart the real Gary Gilmore.

Steel Fight Back campaigns

On February 8 the United Steelworkers of America will elect a new president and other top officers in a union-wide referendum. Opposing the "official family" ticket headed by Lloyd McBride is Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate, which includes Marvin Weinstock for vice-president for administration; Oliver Montgomery for vice-president for human affairs; Ignacio "Nash" Rodriguez for secretary; and Andy Kmec for treasurer. The following are reports from Fight Back meetings across the country in the final weeks of the campaign.



Militant/Lynn Henderson
ED SADLOWSKI



Militant/Ruth Robinett
NASH RODRIGUEZ



Militant/Lynn Henderson
ANDY KMEC

Philadelphia

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—It was a frigid fifteen degrees outside the USWA hall in Conshohocken, just over the Philadelphia city line. But more than 150 supporters of Steelworkers Fight Back turned out January 27 to hear Ed Sadlowski, Oliver Montgomery, and Andy Kmec.

Many had traveled for as much as two hours from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore.

To the cheers of the union militants Sadlowski said USWA members had never before had a choice between slates of candidates that were so "diametrically opposed."

"On one hand," he said, "you have a set of candidates who maintain that the status quo is 'good enough.' That is McBride's full platform.

"On the other hand you have a group of candidates who say the status quo is not good enough.

"We cannot continue with massive

layoffs, with job combinations, with management farming out contracts.

"We cannot continue with the contemptuous attitude the boss holds of our union officials and of you, the union membership.

"We cannot continue with every time the boss violates a contract all you hear is 'file a grievance.'"

Oliver Montgomery attacked the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement signed by the Abel-McBride leadership.

"We believe firmly and wholeheartedly," Montgomery said, "that the right to strike is synonymous with the word union. The right to strike is the birthright of labor, the right to get at those bosses, those foremen."

Sadlowski commented on McBride's charge that Steelworkers Fight Back is bankrolled and controlled by "outsiders." "Yeah, we're accepting money from people who don't pay dues into this union," he said, "and I'll tell you who they are—friends, acquaintances,

and the same kind of people who helped build the CIO."

Montgomery declared, "We are not attacking the union, but the direction it is taking. No 'outsiders' are going to run the USWA. But the incumbent leadership—and that means McBride—is so far removed from the membership, so insensitive to it, that they have become the real 'outsiders.'"

In response to questions from the floor, Andy Kmec pledged that "a first act of the Fight Back slate will be the creation of a female department . . . staffed by females, to deal with problems of sex discrimination."

Baltimore

By Gordon Fox

BALTIMORE—More than 500 people attended a January 30 rally for Steelworkers Fight Back candidates Ed Sadlowski, Oliver Montgomery, Marvin Weinstock, and Andy Kmec.

Most were steelworkers from Bethlehem Steel's giant Sparrows Point plant. About one-third were Black.

"My opponent thinks that allowing steelworkers to vote on things is dangerous, 'disruptive,'" Sadlowski said. "What he thinks of the fact that millions of Americans just voted, I don't know.

"But we can't vote on contracts in basic steel now. And he is now saying if he's elected he will propose changing the election process in our union, to have the officers elected by conventions. McBride is for total monarchy in the union."

After the rally, Kathleen Beasley, a twenty-four-year veteran of Sparrows Point who organized a group of women to file suit against Bethlehem Steel for sex discrimination, asked Sadlowski to comment on the recent Supreme Court ruling denying disability payments for pregnancy.

"That ruling was an affront to all workers," Sadlowski said. "Pregnant women workers should be entitled to every single benefit that is available to male workers."

Kmec told the crowd, "I sincerely believe we are on the threshold of the rebirth of what was started forty years ago with the CIO. And if we do our job, if the members can take control of the United Steelworkers, we will be back on the road that the American labor movement began to build those forty years past."

Pueblo

By Miguel Pendás

PUEBLO, Colo.—It's Friday night at the Steel City Club, a dimly lit working-class bar a few hundred yards from the Colorado Fuel and Iron plant.

Tonight the bar is unusually full—75 to 100 people. They have turned out to meet Ed Sadlowski, Ignacio "Nash"

Rodriguez, and Roy Santa Cruz, their running mate for director of District 38, which encompasses most of the Western states.

Sadlowski's visit to Pueblo January 14 was organized at the last minute. The turnout on such short notice is good.

Instead of giving speeches, the candidates and local supporters—including the president of USWA Local 2102 at CF&I, Leslie Sniff—decide to just circulate and talk to steelworkers.

Some Chicanos talk to Sadlowski about their problems. The company is trying to cheat them out of vacation time, using tricky seniority rules. They compare notes.

There are about 2,000 Chicano workers at CF&I, nearly half the membership of Local 2102. They have plenty to complain about. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) has found discriminatory practices in every department in the mill.

Anglos are tracked into the "clean" jobs such as the seamless and wire mills, office, supervisory, and skilled positions. Chicanos are relegated to the coke ovens and ore preparation—tough, dirty, dangerous work.

Several Chicanos complained to the EEOC that the union was ignoring their demands to do something about the racist hiring and seniority system.

The turnout at the Steel City Club is significant. The McBride forces had earlier carried out a slander campaign against Sadlowski and won an overwhelming vote for McBride in Local 2102's nomination election.

The February 8 international election may well be a different story. The visit to Pueblo helped to consolidate support for Sadlowski. There is great potential here to build the Fight Back movement, especially among Chicanos who are looking for a union leadership that will fight for their rights.

Bridgeport

By Lynn Henderson

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—More than 100 steelworkers filled the Franco-American Social Club here January 25 to hear Ed Sadlowski and Andy Kmec.

The audience included young and old, Blacks, Latinos, and whites. About 20 percent were women steelworkers.

Kmec spoke first and commented on the attacks against Fight Back not only from the incumbent Abel-McBride machine but also from other labor bureaucrats and the steel bosses.

"The opposition has given us nothing but smears and their whole campaign is geared around fear and confusion," Kmec said. "The steelworkers have news for those kinds of tactics. We've heard it all before, and we're not buying it this trip."

Sadlowski spoke of the significance of the steel election for all workers.

"This is an election that affects the entire American labor movement," he

Steel campaign notes

IF YOU CAN'T BEAT 'EM, FIRE 'EM: The Hughes Tool Company of Houston is trying to influence the results of local and national union elections by firing unionists active in these campaigns. So far Hughes has fired five members of USWA Local 1742, including its newly elected president, W.R. Morris.

In response to an appeal for support, Ed Sadlowski sent the following message:

"Beware of company interference in our election. Hughes Tool Co. has expressed its preference for McBride by suspending and discharging supporters of the Sadlowski slate.

"We need a union that will give full support to workers wrongfully suspended or discharged. The Sadlowski team pledges that when elected, the problems of all workers at Hughes shall be a matter of first concern. . . .

"When Sadlowski is elected, companies like Hughes Tool will not be able to pick the local president through firings."

Local 1742 is asking that protest messages be sent to Hughes Tool Company at 5425 Polk in Houston, with copies to Local 1742 at 340 South Sixty-ninth Street in Houston.

SADLOWSKI PLEADS GUILTY: Last month right-wing columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak attacked Sadlowski for criticizing the war budget and for calling for billions to be taken from the Pentagon and used for human needs. In a press release responding to the attack, Sadlowski declares:

"I plead guilty to the charge of interesting myself in foreign affairs. I opposed the Viet Nam War because it was working-class sons—many of the Steelworkers' sons—who died in that war, while the rich clipped coupons. I opposed the B-1 bomber, the Trident submarine, the unconscionable subsidies to Lockheed and all the rest precisely because it is a means of robbing from the poor."

PUERTO RICAN SOCIALISTS BACK SADLOWSKI: The January 23 issue of *Claridad*, voice of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, calls for support to Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate. The *Claridad* editorial notes that the battle in steel is "setting an example for other rank and file struggles against monopolies and for union democracy."

Claridad points out that there are thousands of Puerto Ricans in the USWA both on the mainland and in Puerto Rico. It says the Sadlowski campaign "is only a step in the uphill struggle that the Puerto Rican workers in the USWA will have for better representation. The struggle will continue."

said, "and the direction the entire American labor movement is going to take in the immediate future and for years to come. And we believe the American labor movement is the only way to go. It represents the most viable tool at our command."

Sadlowski said union democracy was a key issue. "The way I see it, the members are the union. This union belongs to you. All we're doing is trying to put control back where it originally and rightfully belongs—in the hands of the membership. We know if we're capable of doing that, we're capable of setting any goal and capable of accomplishing any goal that we do set."

Despite the intense campaign by McBride and others charging "outside" and "communist" influence in Fight Back, the question period indicated the audience had little concern with this subject.

Women asked a number of questions about how the Fight Back program could help solve the special problems they face.

A number of workers also reported that the companies had been removing Sadlowski materials, including announcements of this meeting, from the union bulletin boards in the plants. There was a discussion about how this could be stopped.

Sadlowski warned that they would have to organize to prevent the election from being stolen. The Abel machine stole the vote from Sadlowski when he first ran for District 31 director in 1973.

"I learned one very basic lesson in that election," Sadlowski said. "If you go to sleep on election night in the steelworkers union you best use the ballot box for a mattress."

After the meeting USWA members were signed up to be poll watchers.

"I welcome George Meany's support of Lloyd McBride," Sadlowski said, "because that kind of tells you where Lloyd McBride is at."

"You tell me how the hell George Meany knows what the hell is going on behind them factory gates when he hasn't been behind one of them in half a century," he said.

Cheers and applause broke out when Sadlowski added, "Instead, he's been out on the golf course with the likes of Richard Nixon."

The main target of scorn at the rally, however, was McBride, who is director of District 34 here. Most of the 40,000 steelworkers in the district work in a narrow industrial belt that stretches north along the Mississippi from St. Louis.

Speech after speech sounded the same theme: "We know Lloyd McBride—and that's why we're telling you to vote for Ed Sadlowski."

James Madden helped organize the vote in 1973 that replaced an independent union at Scullin Steel in St. Louis with a new steelworkers local.

"It was buddy-buddy [with McBride] three years ago when we were organizing to get the United Steelworkers in," he recalled. "But we haven't seen him since—until a couple of weeks ago, that is."

Alex Scoobish, a retired steelworker and charter member of the union, asserted that a vote for Sadlowski was a vote to retain membership election of union officers.

"McBride now joins Abel in saying that election of officers by rank-and-file referendum may be too disruptive, and perhaps should be replaced by elections at conventions where the national union staff casts about a fourth of the votes," he said, quoting a story in the January 17 *U.S. News & World Report*.

"If this ever happens," Scoobish warned, "God forbid, you'll never be able to elect officers of this union of your choice."

A machinist from Affiliated Hospital Products in St. Louis told how steelworkers crossed their picket lines after settling first in a bitterly fought strike.

"You can't blame the workers,"

Continued on page 26

The following article is excerpted from the January 31 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a biweekly socialist newspaper published in Toronto.

There are nearly 200,000 USWA members in Canada. Their votes could prove decisive February 8. In a bid for Canadian support, the McBride slate includes Ontario District Director Lynn Williams as candidate for secretary. But the great militancy shown by Canadian steelworkers, especially in the fight against wage controls, indicates a potential for strong support to Steelworkers Fight Back.

By Heidi Fischer

HAMILTON—Steelworkers need union democracy and militant action to effectively defend their rights and interests.

That was the message brought by Ed Sadlowski and Oliver Montgomery to a meeting here of some eighty steelworkers from five locals January 20.

Hamilton was the last stop for the two Steelworkers Fight Back candidates in Ontario after a swing through the northern Ontario locals. With the help of local supporters they were taking their program to workers at plant gates and union meetings.

Support for Steelworkers Fight Back is strong in Sudbury, where the largest steel local in Canada nominated the entire Sadlowski slate. Steelworkers Fight Back has opened a storefront office in Toronto to coordinate work in southern Ontario.

Bob Mills, a Toronto spokesman for the committee, told *Labor Challenge*, "Most of the response to early morning plant gate distributions has been favorable to Sadlowski."

Most of the time [at the Hamilton meeting] was taken up by the candidates fielding questions. The meeting showed some of the main issues in the campaign as Canadian steelworkers see them.

One of the questioners remarked that ENA [the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement] could never be extended to Canada—the union membership would never stand for it.

Sadlowski explained that ENA continues to enjoy the enthusiastic support of the Abel-McBride machine. He pointed out that while campaigning on

the McBride slate, Lynn Williams never says "hooray for ENA" up here, but he never opposes it anywhere in the U.S. In addition the ENA has a spillover effect in Canadian contract negotiations.

Unemployment and technological changes ranked high on the list of workers' concerns.

Sadlowski agreed with one worker who told the meeting he thought a shorter work week—thirty hours work for forty hours pay—was needed to solve the problem of unemployment.

"We don't stand against technological change," said Sadlowski. But the union has an obligation to defend the unemployed—and to prevent unemployment. To talk about technological change "for the good of society," he added, the workers need to get a piece of the action.

The question of relations between Canadian steelworkers and the international was the object of some concern.

Sadlowski explained: "I'm an internationalist. I believe in stronger international ties." He said that on the October 14 Day of Protest [when one million Canadian and Québécois workers struck against wage controls], U.S. steelworkers should have been marching in support of Canadian workers.

Sadlowski slammed the failure of the international office for not coming across with any aid. "I think the position of our union should have been total support."

A Fight Back leaflet at the meeting explained: "The decisions which affect Canadian Steelworkers should be made by Canadians . . . the advantage of an international union is in the mutual support and strength that workers can give one another in different countries."

One worker at the meeting heard a radio program that led him to believe that Sadlowski was a supporter of free enterprise. "How," he demanded, "can you fight with the big wheels if you believe in free enterprise?"

Sadlowski explained this was a misunderstanding. "What I believe in," he declared, "is something to benefit mankind . . . to be compatible as a trade unionist you've got to be a socialist."

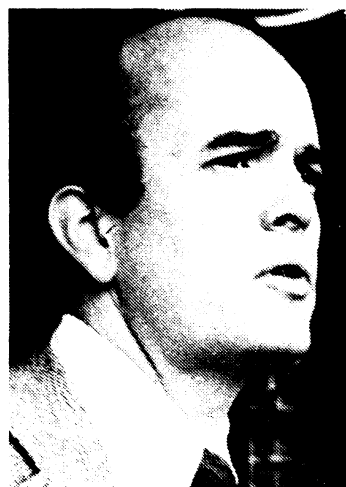
St. Louis

By David Jarnet

MADISON, Ill.—About 200 Steelworkers Fight Back supporters packed Madison's Polish Hall January 13 despite snow and dangerous road conditions. They greeted Sadlowski with a standing ovation.

Hear Jack Barnes,

National secretary of the Socialist Workers party.



SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL

What it means for U.S. politics

HOUSTON Saturday, February 5, 7:30 p.m. San Jacinto-Sonora Room, 2nd Floor of University Center, University of Houston. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

DETROIT Thursday, February 10, 7:30 p.m. Del Ray Community House, 803 Cotterell. For more information call (313) 961-5675.

LOS ANGELES Saturday, February 19, 8 p.m. King Hall, Lecture Room 1, California State. For more information call (213) 732-8197.

SAN FRANCISCO Friday, February 25, 8 p.m. 1339 Mission Street. For more information call (415) 285-4686.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY Saturday, February 26, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

New Jersey strikers



By Helen Schiff

SAYREVILLE, N.J.—Two hundred members of United Steelworkers Local 8155 have been on strike since December 31 against New Jersey Steel and Structural Corporation.

The main issue is wages. Workers have not had a pay increase since the plant opened three years ago. Many make only \$3.50 an hour. They want a 22 percent increase over three years and would also like to see the company's incentive plan replaced with across-the-board wage increases.

Working conditions also provoke anger. One worker likened the plant to "a Spanish dungeon." When the company was ordered to cut down its air pollution emissions, it simply closed off ventilation and trapped all the pollution inside the plant.

Workers have braved freezing temperatures to keep up twenty-four-hour picket lines. But through false accusations of violence, sabotage, and obstruction, the company got a permanent injunction limiting the number of pickets to four. Police admit they have found no evidence to back up the company's charges.

BLACKS AND THE STEEL ELECTION

Interview with leaders of Steelworkers for Equality

By John Hawkins

BALTIMORE—Francis Brown and Stuart Hargrave have each worked for twenty-one years at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant outside Baltimore.

Both men are members of United Steelworkers of America Local 2610. Brown is a mechanical maintenance laborer. Hargrave works at an open hearth in the steelmaking department, pit section.

Both are Black—like much of the Sparrows Point work force, perhaps 40 percent.

Both men would agree that the work pays fairly well—when they are working. But they were laid off when we talked.

Both would also agree that if it weren't for racial discrimination, they and a lot of other Black workers at Sparrows Point would have more skilled jobs, would make more money, and would live a lot better.

I talked with Hargrave and Brown on January 18 at the Pharos Club, a Black steelworkers club on Collington Avenue here.

A number of organizations meet regularly at the Pharos Club. The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, of which Brown is president, meets here. So does Steelworkers for Equality, a Black caucus in Locals 2609 and 2610, the two big USWA locals at Sparrows Point. Brown and Hargrave are officers in that organization.

The Twenty-first Century Labor Council meets here to discuss its suit against the inadequate back pay provided to Black steelworkers under the industry's antidiscrimination consent decree. Brown and Hargrave are active with the council too.

And each Sunday Steelworkers for Sadlowski meets here. Both men are active supporters of Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate.

Consent decree

We started out talking about the consent decree, an agreement between the USWA, nine basic steel corporations, and the federal government. It was handed down April 12, 1974, by Judge Sam Pointer in federal district court in Alabama.

The decree, according to Brown and Hargrave, was intended to head off lawsuits brought by Black steelworkers against the companies and the union for job discrimination. Steelworkers for Equality had won one such suit in 1973.

The consent decree was touted as drastic action to eliminate racial discrimination in the industry. Plant-wide seniority was to become the rule so that Blacks could transfer out of segregated departments (the most dangerous and low-paid jobs) without losing seniority.

Quotas were to be established for

hiring and promotion of minorities into the skilled trades.

Finally, \$31 million in back pay was to be distributed to the victims of past discrimination.

I'd heard that the Twenty-first Century Labor Council was waging a fight around the back pay issue. As we were talking, Brown went upstairs and got a copy of the decree. When he came back down he pointed to page 54, paragraph 18, section (a):

"The gross amount of back pay payable pursuant to this Decree shall be \$30,940,000.00, subject to the provisions of this paragraph 18."

'A pittance'

"The only thing it doesn't say on that page is how many Black steelworkers were supposed to get a share of that money," said Brown. "Anybody looking at that page might think we got a whole lot of money. But we didn't."

"Take me for instance," he said. "For twenty-one years, I got a little over \$300. That \$31 million looks good until you figure out that it has to be spread over nine companies in basic steel that employ thousands of Black workers. Taken that way it's a pittance."

The back pay figure should have been closer to \$500 million, Hargrave says.

"We got this information from the Congressional Black Caucus through Parren Mitchell [D-Md.]," he said.

"They hired an actuary who went back and figured out the difference between a white worker's wages and a Black steelworker's wages over a period of years. And on that basis they found that the figure in reality is closer to \$500 million."

"And the back pay they've offered," Hargrave added, "doesn't even begin to compensate for the effects of not being able to get a job you were qualified for in the first place. So that's what we're after in this particular suit—a total reworking of the back pay formula."

Rights given up

Hargrave also pointed out that to get the money a worker must give up the right to prosecute the company or the union for racial discrimination that occurred before the decree went into effect. This means the employee cannot sue for violations under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the U.S. Constitution, or any other federal, state, or local law against discrimination.

If an employee chooses not to accept the back pay, the company and union are no longer obliged to pay it, and the total amount they must lay out is reduced accordingly.

"This isn't a plan to give us some back pay," Hargrave said. "It's a plan

to let the company get off cheap and avoid prosecution!"

The company went to great lengths to make sure that workers would fall into the "back pay" trap, they explained. Sparrows Point management first tried to arrange for the checks to be distributed around Christmas time. They figured that with all the holiday shopping, a few extra dollars would be irresistible.

When that didn't work they opted for the next big holiday—Easter. When the checks were distributed not many workers bothered to read the fine print on the back containing the "release."

Eighty-eight percent of the workers who received the checks cashed them. But the Twenty-first Century Labor Council had spread word through the plant about the rights people would have to give up, and organized about 600 workers to turn their checks back in.

Fight continues

On January 13 the council held a big rally to give a financial accounting to the membership. Several thousand dollars had been raised to continue the suit. According to Brown, spirits were still high and everyone was optimistic about winning.

"The next step is to appeal," Brown said. "So far the judge here in Maryland has been postponing the case. He keeps referring us back to Judge Sam Pointer in Alabama. And all he does is refer us to other judges who are responsible for helping to put the decree into effect. It's a big run-around."

Had the local or international union helped their fight in any way, I asked?

"We can't even get information on how to properly defend ourselves without going to the Justice Department or getting a lawyer of our own," Brown shot back.

"Yet the union's lawyers will come into court while we're trying to sue the company, and fight harder than the company sometimes against the things that we are fighting for. Our [union dues] money is used to pay those lawyers."

This is something Hargrave and Brown think will be changed if Ed Sadlowski is elected USWA president.

'Fire the lawyers'

"The first thing I'd do," said Hargrave, "is fire most of the lawyers they have. They haven't done a job by the membership and they don't intend to."

"Right now," Brown said, "we have to go outside the union to get some redress of our grievances. But if Sadlowski is elected we're going to try in the union."

Brown explained why he thinks Black steelworkers will be able to work through the union if Sadlowski wins.

"He did something white guys don't



Steelworkers picket 1974 USWA convention. Inset, Oliver Montgomery, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for vice-president for human affairs.

normally do," said Brown. "He came to us and said, 'Give me one of your Blacks and I'll run him for vice-president.'"

"He didn't pick a Black like Abel did. Abel picked Leon Lynch—a man we'd never seen before in any of the fights we've been waging."

"But Oliver Montgomery is a different case. Every place we've been, we've seen him. Every fight for Black rights in the union, he's been involved in it. He's a member of the Black Ad Hoc too [Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers]."

"So, with Sadlowski giving us the choice and then taking Oliver Montgomery on the ticket, we've got to support the man."

'Who represents us?'

"You know, the entire structure of the international isn't 3 percent Black," said Hargrave, "and that's counting the janitors. It was like that in '64, it was like that in '68, and here it is '77 and it's still like that."

"How can we expect to be represented in the international union if we don't have people who represent us? Not just a Black individual but Blacks who see themselves as representing the race."

Brown said that the sentiment among Black steelworkers in Locals 2609 and 2610 was overwhelmingly for Sadlowski.

"The McBride team seems to be thinking like Gerald Ford," he said. "They don't see any need to solicit the Black vote. They haven't asked one Black steelworker leader in town for votes."

"McBride was in town just the other day," Brown continued, "and he didn't even bother to come to 2609 or 2610. He went to the small locals instead and ignored the two biggest locals in town."

Brown isn't worried about McBride's charge that Steelworkers Fight Back is run by "outsiders."

"When they say outsiders sometimes I think they're really talking about us," he said. "Not so much us when we're in the union hall, but us when we're here at this club. That's what McBride and them don't like."

"If this club here would donate some money to Sadlowski they would say we're outsiders because this is a social club. But this social club is all steelworkers."

"They've got all those staff men who we pay contributing to McBride. They're taking money out of my pocket to support a candidate not of my choosing!"

How are other provisions of the consent decree being implemented? What changes would Blacks like to see in the union? In a future article I'll write about these and other topics we discussed.

The unions'
new members,
new moods,
& new leaders
pose need for

LABOR POLITICAL ACTION

By Frank Lovell

The struggle for leadership in several unions, especially the United Steelworkers, is already bringing up basic issues. It will eventually bring about basic changes that are bound to inspire calls for independent political action by the labor movement.

The idea of a mass labor party based on the unions won great support among workers during the early years of the CIO. Resolutions for "a labor party now" were commonly adopted by local unions in the 1930s and 1940s. But these produced nothing because union officials dutifully filed them for future reference and the membership could find no way to implement them.

Again today millions of workers are concluding that the Democratic party, while claiming to be for the underdog, does no different than the Republicans to help the working class, the poor people. Polls show a majority of Americans agree that both parties "are in favor of big business rather than the average worker."

But few workers could see their unions doing anything to change this, much less launching a party that would be any better. What kind of party would it be if it were based on a labor movement ruled by George Meany, I.W. Abel, and the like? They have always curried favor with the conservative wing of the Democratic party and found it easy enough to serve the corrupt Nixon administration when the Republicans were in power.

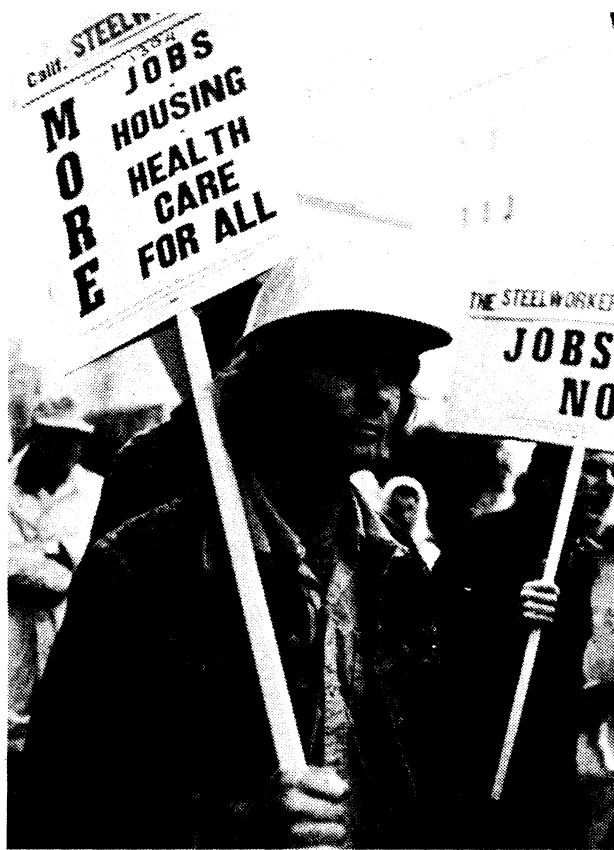
The changing leadership in the union movement puts the question of labor political action in a new light. This is not simply a change of the guard from discredited defenders of the status quo to a gang of younger successors pledged to the same policies.

The union movement in all respects is undergoing change, a profound change brought on by the new economic and social pressure of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis. There is no sign of a new wave of prosperity, no return to the good old days of labor peace. No longer any prospect of full employment. No promises of more and better social services, only cutbacks.

The Carter administration has introduced a somewhat different style, but keeps the same old system of pandering to the rich and prodding the poor.

Changing membership

The decisive change within the unions is among the membership, in composition and attitude. This has been going on for several years. The membership today is younger, better educated, expects more, and is more independent-minded than ten years ago. More Blacks and other minorities are in



Militant/Howard Petrick

the unions, and more women. This is what makes the struggles for leadership different.

Some general ideas are beginning to find expression in these struggles. One is that workers are capable of controlling their own organizations, that they have a right to decide what should be done for them and to do it themselves. This is not a new idea, but it is one that has been dormant for a long time.

The union movement was institutionalized during World War II, with union officials serving as government bureaucrats on the War Labor Board and myriad other wartime agencies.

The ranks of the unions swelled automatically with the expansion of war industries under a government-accepted agreement that required all union members to pay dues and encouraged newly hired workers to join the unions. The dues checkoff system swelled union treasuries. And wartime patriots seeking soft jobs as "labor representatives" swelled the ranks of the union bureaucracy.

In this way unions began to function as staff organizations, subservient to the dictates of industry and government, independent of the union membership and very often in opposition to the will of the members. The top union officials signed the wartime no-strike pledge and ruthlessly crushed attempts of workers to strike or use other effective means to raise wages and improve working conditions.

The War Labor Board explained the whole scheme in few words: "Too often members of unions do not maintain their membership because they resent the discipline of a responsible leadership," it said. "... It is in the interests of management... to cooperate with the unions for the maintenance of a more stable, responsible leadership."

The union bureaucracy in the years after the war fostered the notion that workers are incapable of managing the vast union apparatus by themselves. Only lawyers and other hired "experts" have the know-how.

Mine workers revolt

This theory was knocked out of shape by the 1972 revolt in the United Mine Workers, when the Miners for Democracy movement ousted the corrupt gang of officials headed by Tony Boyle.

Events since then have shown that many disruptive forces are at work to sabotage the miners' attempt to run their own union. But the miners are learning through the struggle that only they can solve their problems. Union coal miners today are quick to respond to criticism that if they make mistakes it's going to be they who do it, not some "experts" above them appointed to look out for their good.

Something of this attitude came through in the recent election for president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, even though both contenders carefully avoided the most basic issues.

In other powerful unions—the machinists, the auto workers, the West Coast longshoremen—old leaders are departing and new ones will take control this year. The bureaucracy in most cases has tried to plan the transition, but in all unions the members in greater numbers are beginning to say that they ought to be making the decisions and not someone on top.

The fight for control of the steelworkers union is the most dramatic example. Ed Sadlowski, the aggressive champion of this idea that the members ought to control their own organization, is the steelworkers' favorite to become the new president of their union. That doesn't mean he will win the election, because the entrenched staffers and other bureaucrats intend to count the votes.

But whatever the final outcome of this election the changes within the union are lasting changes. The United Steelworkers will no longer submit to the arbitrary dictates of an appointed staff. The membership is aroused.

Sادلowski and the other Steelworkers Fight Back candidates speak with confidence of their victory, addressing the issues they will have to face as union officials. They say their program developed from discussions with steelworkers in their campaign meetings in this country and Canada.

They talk about all the questions that come up, everything steelworkers are anxious to discuss. And this includes a very wide range of subjects.

Unemployment. High prices. Speedup. Unsafe working conditions. The war budget. Race discrimination. Pollution. The energy crisis. Affirmative-action programs. The Equal Rights Amendment for women. The need for a shorter workday. Child-care centers. School busing and better education. The housing shortage and high rents. Everything that affects the lives of steelworkers.

'Middle-class goals'?

Conservative union officials have tried to ridicule the way this campaign has developed, the issues these candidates talk about. They say Sadlowski has endorsed "middle-class goals" and is not really interested in the "bread and butter" solutions that workers expect of their unions. Little do they know.

Workers are interested in all the problems of this society because their jobs and their hopes and maybe their lives are threatened.

If they have not expected much help from their unions it is because the union officials always spoke out for whatever corporate assault was being handed down—everything from the wage controls to the contrived energy crisis. The vast majority of workers, organized and unorganized, were convinced that the union officialdom was part of their problem. Some think the unions are part of the problem.

But workers are beginning to take a new look at their unions and are trying to get control of them once again to make them serve their needs.

This is the same mood that developed in the 1930s and produced the powerful CIO movement that for the first time organized the mass production industries. And it is the same problem that led thousands of CIO unionists to conclude that workers must have an independent political arm, a labor party.

The workers who built the unions also learned the limitations of the unions. Most of their needs, then as now, required political solutions. The urgent demands for public works programs and a shorter workday to provide jobs require government action.

Union militants learned that workers need a labor party for self-defense against the employers. That was the original purpose of the unions, and if they fail in that purpose they cannot endure.

Many big locals in the United Auto Workers passed labor party resolutions regularly, and with little opposition, all during the war years and in the postwar period until the election of Eisenhower in 1952. If the labor party question had ever been submitted to a referendum vote of all union members anytime between 1938 and 1948 it would have carried by a large majority.

Today there is no clamor for a labor party, but the new mood for membership control in the union movement foreshadows it. The belief that workers can control their own union structure to protect their interests is only one step removed from the conviction that workers can also elect their own representatives to public office and control the government.

If this country is to have a government of the majority, then it will have to be run by the majority, which is the working class. The labor party idea follows as a necessary part of the present struggle to democratize the union movement.

NO-STRIKE AGREEMENT

McBride bares thinking of union bureaucracy

By Ed Heisler

Lloyd McBride, candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America, J. Bruce Johnston, vice-president of the U.S. Steel Corporation, and W.J. Usery, Gerald Ford's secretary of labor, all have something in common.

They're all boosters of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), the no-strike deal that outgoing USWA President I.W. Abel signed with the basic steel companies.

Usery said, "It's certainly good for the nation."

Johnston called it a "great thing."

And McBride, in an interview with journalist David Moberg, defended the no-strike deal and explained why the steel companies think it's so great:

"Why does the industry want to preserve ENA? Because it is a means of making money for them, it's a profit-making thing for them, it's good for them, it protects their market in the United States. . . ."

Ed Sadlowski, McBride's opponent for USWA president, looks at it from a different standpoint:

"Well, if it benefits the boss, then there's something amiss. Our union should be negotiating things that benefit the workers, not things that benefit the bosses. Benefit for the bosses is at the detriment of the workers, isn't it? At least in the neighborhood I come from it is."

At union conventions and in slick literature distributed to the members, the Abel-McBride officialdom claims workers have won great gains through ENA.

But in his interview with Moberg, which Moberg wrote about in the January 21 *Chicago Reader*, McBride spilled the beans. He revealed the real thinking of the union bureaucracy.

"Hell, they [the steel companies] can take a strike," McBride declared. "The ENA not only prohibits us from striking, it prohibits them from taking a strike. Some people would say this

union is so powerful that it can destroy the basic steel industry. That's a lot of crap."

(By "destroying" the industry McBride apparently means winning a strike, a view he probably picked up from long association with company officials.)

McBride went on: "The basic steel industry has destroyed every union that was attempted to be built except ours, and they're perfectly capable of destroying ours if they're ever determined to take the losses and put up the determination to scab these mills."

What a confession! McBride has no confidence in the 1.4 million members of the United Steelworkers, no confidence in the members of other unions. He doesn't look to the power of the ranks to defend the union or to win better wages and working conditions.

Instead McBride sincerely believes the union is dependent on the good graces of the corporations. After all, they are "perfectly capable of destroying" the union. He hopes that if union officials collaborate with the bosses to keep profits high, the bosses will tolerate the union and may even throw the workers a few crumbs.

McBride, according to his campaign biographies, lived through the founding of the steelworkers and other CIO unions. But he didn't learn anything from it if he thinks the unions were established in auto, steel, and other basic industries through no-strike deals or good will from the corporations.

There is just one element of truth in McBride's statement. The unions are being weakened, their ability to defend the members is being crippled, they are even threatened with possible destruction—by the policies of the present leadership.

In the 1971 basic steel contract the union brass agreed to set up joint labor-management productivity committees to help the companies find

Continued on page 26

Right wing steps up terrorism in Spain



Cambio-16

March in Spain last fall demanding freedom for political prisoners

By Karl Waterson

The latest round of right-wing political violence in Spain has sparked a massive show of strength by the Spanish working class.

On the night of January 24, rightist gunmen murdered five labor lawyers who were meeting at the headquarters of Madrid's Workers Commissions, semilegal trade-union organizations led by the Communist party. Four other attorneys were wounded in the attack.

A January 26 Agence France-Presse dispatch reported a description of the slayings by one of the wounded lawyers:

Two men knocked at the door. One of our comrades opened it, trustingly. He was immediately covered by one of the attackers, who had a machine gun with a silencer. At the same time, an accomplice went to cut the telephone wires and check if there was anyone else in the offices.

By the time he came back, the nine lawyers were facing the wall, supporting themselves with their hands. On his return the man simply said: "There's nobody else." Then the butchery began. They fired a volley at head level, and then, firing lower, emptied their magazines.

After the attack the same commando squad went to a nearby office housing the Unión General de Trabajadores (General Workers Union), the labor federation led by the Socialist party. Fortunately, they found no one in.

Protest strikes began almost immediately as news of the murders reached factories, offices, and universities. As the spontaneous walkouts spread, the union federations issued a call for a nationwide strike January 26.

Trade-union leaders estimated that between two and five million workers stayed off their jobs, making the January 26 action at least as large as the first general strike in recent Spanish history, held last November 12.

One hundred thousand persons marched through Madrid on the same day in the funeral procession for the murdered labor lawyers.

Tensions in Spain had been building for some time before the murders in Madrid.

On January 23 an unauthorized demonstration took place in the Spanish capital demanding amnesty for political prisoners. Police clashed with the demonstrators.

Then, according to the Paris daily *Le Monde*, "an unidentified person took out a revolver and, after shouting 'Long Live Christ the King' [a fascist civil war slogan], fired at nineteen-year-old student Arturo Ruiz García, killing him on the spot."

Responsibility for the murder of the young student was claimed by the "AAA" (Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance).

Although the Franco dictatorship let Spain's mass fascist organizations of the 1930s decline, fascist goon squads continue to enjoy varying degrees of government patronage up to the present day.

The ultrarightist organizations seek to create the appearance of a private war between themselves and Spain's still illegal mass workers organizations.

In such an atmosphere they know they can more easily get away with violence against the left and at the same time provide Spain's rulers with pretexts to crack down on the working class.

After the murders in Madrid, for example, the government of Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez suspended Articles 15 and 18 of the "Rights of Spaniards" law. Police are now free—even on the books—to carry out unwarranted searches and to jail political activists for extended periods of time on "suspicion."

By representing these repressive measures as necessary to halt an escalation of "terrorist provocation," the Spanish rulers sought the cooperation of the mass workers organizations led by the Communist and Socialist parties. And so far they have gotten it.

The Communist party was the organization most workers looked to to lead the protests against the January 24 killings—among other reasons because the victims were CP members. But the party let them down.

The day after the January 26 general strike, more sections of workers struck spontaneously, although those who had participated in the previous actions were ordered back to work by their leaderships.

Why? Italian journalist Saverio Tutino, a reporter for the Rome newspaper *Repubblica*, observed that the CP used the occasion of the murders to demonstrate how "moderate" it was. Tutino wrote January 27:

"What struck the middle classes in the capital, who have a constant fear of a return to the civil war, was the Communists' unexpected patience and sense of responsibility. Even the order for sit-in strikes, cautious as it was, was withdrawn this evening. And if there were suspensions of work in the capital today, they went unnoticed."

The type of discipline the CP is trying to impose on the workers movement will not stop the murderous right-wing provocations. Inaction on the part of the mass organizations will inevitably encourage further attacks by the rightists and the Spanish government.

In spite of their CP and SP misleadership, Spanish workers showed by their response to the January 24 murders that they know what kind of action is needed.

Books and pamphlets on the labor movement

The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel

By Andy Rose

Tells about the background to Ed Sadlowski's campaign, lessons from the history of the CIO, and questions facing all working people today. 40 pp. 50 cents.

A Struggle for Union Democracy

By Ed Heisler

Tells about the Right to Vote Committee of the United Transportation Union—how it was organized, how it won a mass following among railroad workers, and what it was able to accomplish. 47 pp. 75 cents.

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO

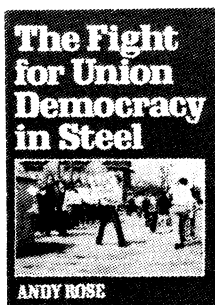
By Art Preis, 538 pp., \$3.95; cloth \$14

Farrell Dobbs's books tell how Midwest Teamsters built a powerful, democratic union in the 1930s—against sabotage and strikebreaking by the Teamster bureaucracy:

Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., \$2.45; cloth \$10

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World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

FEBRUARY 11, 1977

Rising unrest, tarnished image

India: behind Gandhi's call for elections

By Ernest Harsch

One and a half years after the suppression of virtually all democratic rights in India, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has initiated a few cosmetic changes in the form of her dictatorial rule.

Demagogically proclaiming her "unshakable faith in the power of the people," Gandhi announced January 18 that parliamentary elections would be held in March. In an eight-minute national broadcast, she claimed that there had already been a "gradual easing" of the restrictions under the state of emergency. She quickly added, however, that the state of emergency itself had not been lifted.

Her announcement was the signal for a flood of praise from government officials throughout the country. The comments of Y.S. Parmar, the chief minister of the state of Himachal Pradesh, were typical. "This decision," he said, "has established beyond any shadow of doubt that Mrs. Gandhi has total commitment to democratic principles and unshakable faith in the supreme sovereign power of the people."

Gandhi's alleged "commitment to democratic principles" aside, her "relaxation" of the state of emergency and the calling of elections are little more than an attempt to give her authoritarian and repressive rule the appearance of democracy.

'Relaxed' repression

It will be impossible for any party to wage an unhindered electoral campaign against Gandhi's ruling Congress party, even under a "relaxed" state of emergency. The press is still subject to censorship and many political prisoners still rot in Gandhi's jails. Moreover, the regime's wide powers of repression, including that of arbitrary arrest, can only have an intimidating effect on candidates and campaign activists.

Even if the state of emergency is formally lifted for the occasion, there will be little change. Many of the "temporary" repressive measures imposed under the state of emergency in June 1975 have since been written into law.

A series of constitutional amendments adopted in December give Parliament (which is controlled by the Congress party) the power to pass any further amendments it wants without judicial review and to ban any vaguely defined "antinational" activities or organizations. It also bars lower courts from ruling on the constitutionality of such draconian measures as the Main-

tenance of Internal Security Act and the Defense of India Rules, empowers the central government to send troops into any of India's twenty-two states without the prior request of the state government, and gives the president the power to unilaterally amend the constitution at the prime minister's request.

In the November 11, 1976, *Washington Post*, correspondent John Saar quoted a constitutional lawyer's assessment of the amendments: "It's a permanent institutionalization of the emergency, . . . democratic in form, dictatorial in content."

On January 20, the regime announced that the censorship measures under the state of emergency were being lifted. But Gandhi is still armed with an ordinance that permanently prohibits the publication of any "objectionable matter," including anything that is "defamatory" to the country's top officials. After the announcement, Information Minister V.C. Shukla warned newspaper reporters and editors that they should still refrain "from publication of any reports which may disturb law and order, or jeopardize the newly won gains."

Another part of Gandhi's new stance has been to create the impression that many of the political prisoners arrested since June 1975 have been released. While a number of conservative opposition leaders, such as Morarji Desai, Asoka Mehta, L.K. Advani, and Piloo Mody have been freed, thousands of lesser-known political prisoners have not.

In a January 5 letter to the *New York Times*, a political prisoner in Bombay described this operation. "A few opposition leaders," the prisoner wrote, "including members of Parliament, have been set free to create the impression of 'relaxation.' But the overwhelming majority of dissidents—estimated at around 65,000—are still in custody in some 500 prisons under abominable conditions."

The Gandhi regime's tactic, the prisoner continued, "is to release one or two prisoners each day to bolster the claim that normal democratic conditions are being restored."

One of the reasons for Gandhi's decision to call the elections is to refurbish her regime's "democratic" image internationally. She hinted as much in her broadcast when she said that the elections would "uphold the fair name of India as a land committed to the path of reconciliation, peace and progress."

Another factor that may have influenced Gandhi's decision has been the



INDIAN VOTER: New election is window dressing for dictatorial rule

signs of rising unrest in recent months. There have been a number of mass protests against her policies of forced sterilization and of slashing workers' traditional year-end bonuses. Rising unemployment and an inflation rate of 22 percent could fuel even greater struggles in the near future.

'Loyal opposition'

By calling the elections, Gandhi may be seeking to defuse this discontent by diverting it into a carefully controlled and circumscribed electoral campaign. To pull the maneuver off, however, she requires the cooperation of at least some of the opposition parties to play the role of a shackled parliamentary opposition.

Her first significant overture toward the opposition parties came in a December 23 letter to Asoka Mehta, the president of the conservative Organisation Congress (Congress [O]). She told Mehta that "it would not be impossible to find solutions to the problems between opposition and Government." She also urged them to show "a genuine acceptance of the changes that have taken place" since June 1975.

To encourage such "acceptance," she has released from prison a number of top leaders of the Congress (O), as well as of the Hindu chauvinist organization Jan Sangh, the rightist Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD—Indian People's party), and the Socialist party. The fact that the regime has the power to rearrest these same leaders any time it chooses could weigh heavily in their response to Gandhi's overture.

These four parties have already down-played their call for an end to the state of emergency. And following Gandhi's announcement, Morarji Desai, a former deputy prime minister and now a central leader of the Congress (O), said, "I am sure this sudden declaration of an election will benefit not the Prime Minister but the nation, which is the only important thing." He then lamely added, "I hope it will be a fair election."

'Recognized' parties only

The leaders of the Congress (O), BLD, Jan Sangh, and Socialist party announced after Gandhi's speech that they would form a joint front to run in the elections.

An official of the Home Ministry has stated that "public meetings for normal political activity and electioneering purposes should be allowed freely." But to make it clear that the opposition parties would not be allowed to get out of hand, Gandhi said during her speech that only "legitimate" activities would be permitted. She also added that this applied to "recognized parties," indicating that those parties not favored with this designation would face even more difficulties.

Gandhi's key warning, however, was not directed at the opposition parties, but at the masses, lest they misread the "relaxation" moves as permission to resume their struggles unhindered.

"May I remind you," she said, "that the emergency was proclaimed because the nation was far from normal. Now that it is being nursed to health, we must insure that there is no relapse."

Protesters demand socialist democracy

Ten days that shook Peking

By Les Evans

In the early morning hours of January 16 the government in Peking moved to end ten days of mass demonstrations in the capital's Tien An Men Square that had increasingly challenged the authority of the regime.

At the height of the demonstrations, on the weekend of January 8-9, hundreds of thousands of persons participated, according to reports by Western observers.

A significant minority of the crowd openly raised demands for free speech, the right to elect their own leaders, the reinstatement of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the dropping of all charges against those arrested in the Tien An Men demonstration of April 1976, and the removal from party leadership of those responsible for suppressing that demonstration.

The current demonstrations provide the first indication of the profound and lasting impact of the April 1976 "Tien An Men incident" on Chinese politics, and can only be understood as a sequel to it. (See accompanying box.)

Since the Tien An Men incident, Mao has died and those party leaders closest to him have been imprisoned—the so-called gang of four, headed by Mao's widow, Chiang Ch'ing. The new leadership, headed by party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, has moved sharply away from many of Mao's policies. It has promised a relaxation in the field of literature and art. It has embraced the slogan of the "Four Modernizations," and broadly hinted that material concessions to the masses will be forthcoming.

The anniversary of Chou's death on January 8 provided an opportunity for the masses to test the regime's intentions—and to make a show of force in support of their own demands.

The demonstrators in April had promised to return to Tien An Men. In a now-famous poem, written by one of those caught up in the final police assault and published in the official press as an example of "counter-revolutionary" activity, the protesters vowed:

*For the sake of genuine Marxism-Leninism
We fear not shedding our blood and
laying down our lives.
The day modernization in four fields
is realized
We will come back to offer
Libations and sacrifices.*

On January 6, the crowds began to gather in Tien An Men Square, determined this time to lay their wreaths and read their poems without interference from the government. A measure of the extraordinary changes that have taken place since Mao's death—and above all of the weakness of Hua's government compared to the situation nine months ago—was the decision to avoid a confrontation with the demonstrators.

The government's tactic was two-fold. For a week prior to the anniversary of Chou's death an effusive press campaign sought to wrap Hua's regime in the mantle of Chou En-lai's prestige. A documentary film was issued under the title "Eternal Glory to Esteemed and Beloved Premier Chou En-lai."

The other side of the government's



Wall posters like these displayed during China's Cultural Revolution have become a common sight in major cities. Some recent posters have voiced workers' aspirations for socialist democracy.

preparations included the organization of large official contingents with approved slogans for mourning rallies in major cities.

'More than reserved'

Nevertheless, it was plain that while there was a large official presence at the demonstrations in Peking, the demonstrations themselves were tolerated, not encouraged or sponsored by the government. In the middle of a nationwide press campaign to commemorate Chou's death, not a single member of the CCP central leadership addressed the crowds in Tien An Men Square or even made an appearance.

The press coverage of the demonstrations was also more than reserved. On January 8, Hsinhua carried a lengthy article attacking the "gang of four," and particularly former press chief Yao Wen-yuan, for suppressing the reports of the mourning activities for Chou En-lai at the time of his death. Under the title "How Yao Wen-yuan Sabotaged Publicity of Mass Mourning of Premier Chou En-lai," this article gave a highly detailed account of rallies for Chou that had taken place a year before. (It did not mention the Tien An Men demonstration.) It stated:

But these stirring scenes did not appear in the newspapers nor were they broadcast or carried on television. The sentiments and aspirations of the people were trampled upon. Was it that no reporters covered the

news? In those days, like the people throughout the country, news workers were overwhelmed by great grief and wrote many reports on the mournful yet militant scenes. But, the vicious gang of four did not allow the reports to be printed in the press.

On the very day this article appeared, a crowd of hundreds of thousands of persons gathered once again in Tien An Men Square in honor of Chou En-lai. These demonstrations would continue for more than a week, numbering in the tens and even hundreds of thousands on workdays, which meant that the participants had to take off from their jobs to be there.

But "these stirring scenes" did not appear in the newspapers nor were they broadcast or carried on television. The entire ten-day protest rated exactly one paragraph in Hsinhua, dated January 9-10, in an article on "Diverse Activities Held in Peking and Other Parts of China in Solemn Commemoration of First Anniversary of Death of Premier Chou En-lai."

This scant mention gave no indication of the size of the demonstration. It stressed only the official themes: adulation for Chou, hatred for the "gang of four," and disciplined support for "the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua."

Was it that no reporters covered the news? No Chinese reporters did, or at any rate their dispatches did not get past Yao Wen-yuan's replacement in

the government's media offices. There were, however, a number of Western correspondents present, including Alain Jacob of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, Ross Munro of the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, and David Rogers of Reuters. Their eyewitness accounts reveal what Hua had to fear from the return of the masses to Tien An Men Square.

Explosion of wall posters

On Thursday, January 6, Alain Jacob reports in the January 8 *Le Monde*, wall posters appeared for the first time in the center of Peking demanding the reinstatement of Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the party leadership. One of these declared:

"The gang of 'four' used the incidents of April 5, 1976, at Tien An Men Square to discredit Comrade Teng Hsiao-p'ing."

The same day, people began to bring wreaths and poems to Tien An Men Square for Chou's anniversary.

Were these posters the work of Teng's faction, seeking to embarrass the Hua leadership by a show of public support? Or was this the official leadership's way of easing their way to reincorporate Teng into the ruling group? Or was there still another explanation—did the participants in last April's demonstration regard Teng as a victim of Mao's dictatorship along with themselves and distrust the promises of any leadership that did not include him?

As the demonstrations grew in size, further demands were added to the first. Alain Jacob reports:

A huge demonstration began Saturday morning, January 8, on Tien An Men Square. It will continue on Sunday, where it will probably reach its maximum size. More and more numerous, the contingents converged toward the main gate of the ancient Forbidden City, where there is still displayed a great portrait of Mao Tsetung. There they lay down immense bundles of flowers and funeral wreaths bearing inscriptions in memory of Chou En-lai, who died just a year ago. At the same time, a multitude of wall posters have appeared in the center of Peking, extolling the merits of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and calling for his return to power.

At quitting time [Saturday is a workday in China], this theme was taken up by slogans painted in characters one meter high on the fences at Tien An Men Square [erected around the construction site for Mao's mausoleum]. With the closing of the factories and offices the crowd became extremely dense in the whole center of the city, and probably reached a size of several hundred thousand persons, of whom a large percentage were spectators. [*Le Monde*, January 9-10, 1977.]



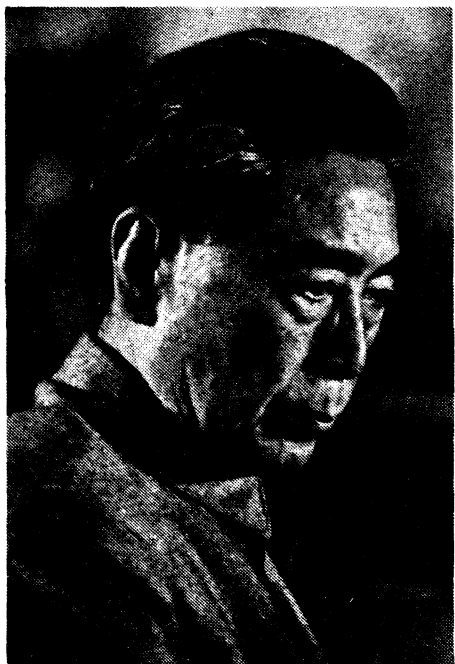
'GANG OF FOUR' (from left): Chiang Ch'ing, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan

Some of the contingents were plainly organized under official auspices. One large group carried a giant banner which declared, "Premier Chou will live forever in our hearts." Many of the signs and wall paintings bearing official slogans or portraits were the work of elaborate craftsmanship and had clearly been prepared in advance.

Not so the many hand-lettered wall posters pasted up during the previous night. Many of these demanded that the government rescind the label "counterrevolutionary" from the Tien An Men demonstration of last April. One declared that the Tien An Men demonstration was an example of "the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie." A poem in one wall poster reported by Alain Jacob read:

*The Ching Ming festival is
unforgettable;
On this square our blood flowed.
Today the four pests have been
eliminated.
There must be justice for their
victims.*

Another poster saluted "all those who participated valiantly in this episode [the Tien An Men demonstration last April] of the struggle against



CHOU EN-LAI

the four," and hailed "the martyrs who sacrificed their lives there."

Also on Saturday, posters appeared for the first time attacking "certain leading comrades" who were responsible along with the four purged lieutenants of Mao for the repression of the Tien An Men demonstration. This was a theme that would become more prominent as the demonstrations continued.

Victims must be avenged

Saturday was a crucial test of the government's readiness to move by force against dissenters in the crowds at Tien An Men Square. No arrests are known to have been made. Official contingents made no move to stop people from putting up wall posters, although the most radical were, by all accounts, pasted up at night under the protection of darkness. The only move the government made was to have the posters supporting Teng and the Tien An Men martyrs torn down during the night. But by early Sunday morning new ones took their place.

The absence of official speakers or ceremonies and the striking silence of the Chinese press seemed to indicate that Sunday, January 9, would be the last day of the gatherings, since Monday was a workday. Instead, tens

of thousands jammed the square from early Monday morning. And the authors of the wall posters, gaining courage from the government's inaction, began to raise more radical demands. Even more significant, they began to show themselves, to give speeches to the crowds.

Alain Jacob describes the mood on that Monday morning, January 10:

A strange situation is continuing in Peking, heavy with uncertainty and which defies all logical explanation. At Tien An Men Square the scene has not changed since Saturday. A giant flood of spectators passes without interruption, staring, on the one hand, at the heaps of flowers and wreaths—these are now arriving by the truckload—around Tien An Men Square, and on the other hand at the wall newspapers that cover almost the whole of the long fence that protects Mao Tsetung's future mausoleum.

One person photographs the cardboard figure of Chou En-lai. Another takes notes, carefully copying the poems in memory of the dead premier as well as the appeals for the return of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the criticisms of this or that personage prominent in the party or government.

Wu and Ch'en criticized

By Monday morning, the new wall posters had begun to attack by name the surviving Politburo members regarded as most guilty for the crimes committed by the government at Tien An Men in April. According to a report in the January 11 *Le Monde*, one of these posters declared that "hundreds of millions" of persons were awaiting to see that those killed by the government at Tien An Men were "avenged." It named as guilty Peking's mayor, Wu Te, and commander of the Peking military region, Ch'en Hsi-lien.

These two were named in many of the wall posters. One accused Wu Te of "immorality" and said "the people of the capital cannot have confidence in him." It accused Ch'en Hsi-lien of having issued "cruel orders" in crushing the Tien An Men demonstration.

Wu and Ch'en are among the five highest ranking officials of the CCP today. They are outranked only by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Defense Minister Yeh Chien-ying, and economic planner Li Hsien-nien.

Wu earned the hatred of many in China by going on the radio on April 5 and ordering the Tien An Men demonstrators to disperse. He also oversaw the house-to-house interrogation conducted in the capital for a week afterward to ferret out and arrest activists in the demonstration. Ch'en is the commander of the troops that broke up the demonstration, killing an unknown number of persons.

This call for retribution goes beyond anything in the Tien An Men demonstration itself. It indicts by name a section of the central party leadership. It shows that Hua has been unsuccessful in trying to assuage popular hatred of the Mao regime by a purge limited to the "gang of four." Moreover, though Hua was not attacked by name, he also, as acting premier and as head of the secret police, bears equal responsibility with Wu and Ch'en for the government's crimes at Tien An Men.

It was small wonder that no member of the Politburo dared to appear before the crowds at Tien An Men to offer eulogies for Chou En-lai. What Hua must now decide is whether to throw Wu and Ch'en to the wolves despite the risk that would entail of bringing the wolves that much closer to his own door.

'Restore socialist democracy'

Even more telling than the public defense of the Tien An Men demonstration and the indictment of specific party leaders was the appearance in

the recent Peking demonstrations of open appeals for democratic rights for the Chinese masses. This also went beyond any of the demands known to have been raised in last April's actions.

By Monday night, impromptu orators in the square were delivering impassioned appeals for the institution of socialist democracy. Alain Jacob describes one of these in a dispatch in the January 12 *Le Monde*:

Very strange speeches were being heard on Tien An Men Square. Monday night a young man addressed the crowd. After being applauded for mentioning the name of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, he went on to speak of "freedom," of "democracy," and of the "rights of man." Smiles from the audience. That theme was not, as they say, "on the program." In fact, for the Peking workers

who listened to the orator this vocabulary may have appeared to belong to another world. But who could have imagined, eight years ago, that this kind of language would be heard in public in the middle of the capital?

Still the government did not move against the dissenters. In the next few days the theme of socialist democracy became prominent in the wall posters as well. And not only the one-time wall posters. Ross Munro, in a January 12 dispatch from Peking in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* reported:

The appearance of a large collection of poems, collected during the antiradical [i.e., anti-Chiang Ch'ing] demonstrations last April, raises the possibility that there are underground presses operating in Peking. The poems are mimeographed or printed in folio form, that is, as pages for a book.

Continued on next page

Background on Tien An Men incident



Demonstrators at Tien An Men Square protests last April

Chou En-lai, China's premier from the inception of the People's Republic of China in 1949, died on January 8, 1976. He played a unique role in the hierarchy of Chinese Stalinism. He was the regime's "soft cop," who in contrast to Mao and the now-purged "gang of four" cultivated an image of fairness and reasonableness. In a system that lacked any institutionalized form of appeal from bureaucratic injustice, the court of last resort for workers or peasants who had been abused by local officials was a "letter to Premier Chou." Such entreaties occasionally resulted in relief from arbitrary penalties meted out on a local level.

Moreover, Chou was widely believed to oppose Mao's wage-freeze in the decade since the Cultural Revolution began in 1966, and to disagree with the obsessive thought-control campaigns of Mao and his lieutenants.

The masses hoped that Chou's call for the rapid industrialization of China at the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975, known under the slogan of the "Four Modernizations," would result in a rise in their standard of living. When this slogan came under attack in the official press during Chou's last illness, and his protégé, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, was accused of abandoning "class struggle" (i.e., the priority Mao placed on ideological control of the masses by the party apparatus), Chou's popularity increased dramatically.

The Peking masses took the occasion of the annual Ching Ming

festival in honor of the dead at the beginning of April to gather in Tien An Men Square to bring wreaths and poems in Chou's memory. Mao's government responded by ordering police and the militia to remove the wreaths on April 5. A crowd of 100,000 demanded the return of the wreaths and the punishment of those who had denied them the right to conduct their mourning rites. A full-scale battle erupted between the demonstrators and the "forces of order," in which cars were overturned and burned, police agents and militiamen were beaten, and a military barracks was set on fire. Thousands of demonstrators were arrested and a number were beaten to death by the police. The government later announced two official executions of participants and the sentencing of several more to long terms at hard labor. It is not known how many people remain political prisoners for their part in the demonstration.

Two days after the demonstration, the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist party met and *unanimously* voted to condemn the Tien An Men demonstration as a "counter-revolutionary incident." At the same time, the Politburo accused Teng Hsiao-p'ing of inspiring the demonstration (though not of having organized it), and stripped him of all of his government and party posts. Teng was accused of seeking the "restoration of capitalism," and of being a Chinese "Imre Nagy," a reference to the Hungarian Stalinist leader who served briefly as premier during the 1956 workers rebellion.

...China

Continued from preceding page

This is the first report from China of the public circulation of printed "samizdat" literature.

On Thursday, January 13, the most radical posters to date appeared on the fences at Tien An Men Square. A Reuters dispatch from David Rogers in Peking described one of these:

One lengthy wall poster said that, following the purge of the so-called "Gang of Four" last October, the time was ripe to "restore popular socialist democracy" and give the people greater supervision over the leadership.

Signed by "a young person in Peking," it argued that the people were struggling to win democratic rights and that Teng was capable of representing the interests of the masses.



HUA KUO-FENG

The poster asked the party leadership politely but definitely to institute sweeping reforms. Rogers cited the following sections of the text:

Would Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and the party Central Committee please realize the people's aspirations as soon as possible.

Would Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee please at the earliest date restore popular socialist democracy and freedom which has been snatched away by the Gang of Four. . . .

Would they please ensure that the masses have the right to express their political views and the right to exercise supervision over their leaders at all levels.

Rogers added:

The poster declared the people should have the right to select and dismiss China's officials and immediately fire "those leading comrades who have lost the confidence of the people."

It described last April's pro-Teng riots in Peking as the greatest mass movement since the founding of Communist China. With the suppression of the riots, democratic rights were trodden underfoot, the poster said.

Other posters pushed the date of the suppression of democratic rights much further into the past. One denounced "the evil wind that began to blow ten years ago" (*Le Monde*, January 14), that is, from the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, with its grotesque cult of Mao and its accompanying restrictions of the extremely limited cultural and political rights that had been permitted previously.

Alain Jacob reported in the January 15 *Le Monde* that there also appeared on Thursday, January 13, big-character posters signed by "groups of workers" demanding an extension of "democratic rights," including the right of the people "to choose its own leaders." He also reported that on Thursday the army intervened to take

down some of the posters that most directly challenged the regime.

Jacob added:

There are new indications that the wall posters have not been greeted with serenity by the powers that be. Big official slogans have been pasted over some of them during the night, but these have been carefully peeled off in the morning by citizens who wanted to read what had been concealed. This Friday, January 14, a scene attracted attention which confirmed the impression that the freedom of expression by way of the *tazibaos* [wall posters] is not completely unlimited. Under the immense portrait of Marx, mounted, with that of Engels, at the northeast corner of Tien An Men Square, military overcoats were stretched in a line to hide a large inscription in blue paint. The soldiers kept the crowd, silent and curious, at a distance from this undoubtedly sacrilegious graffiti.

Hua on defensive

By Friday, January 14, the size of the demonstrations began to decline and few new wall posters appeared. This pattern continued on Saturday. When the government became convinced that the ten days of what had come to be a massive free-speech movement were really over, it moved to tear down the remaining posters and restore order. At midnight on Saturday, state employees and troops of the People's Liberation Army entered the deserted square and by three in the morning the last evidence of this extraordinary outpouring of popular discontent had been removed.

The government had clearly decided to avoid at all costs a repeat of the direct confrontation with the crowds that took place last April. This strategy permitted it to get through the tumultuous week without violence or arrests. But such a stance is untenable for any length of time for the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is a sign of the weakened state of the Peking high command that such an unprecedented challenge to its rule was permitted at all.

Definite demands have been raised: For the return to office of Teng Hsiao-p'ing; for the "reversal of the verdict" on the Tien An Men demonstration of last April; for the punishment of central party leaders responsible for suppressing that demonstration; and, more broadly, for the right of free speech and the right to select and control political leaders.

Teng may well be rehabilitated. His record as a Stalinist stalwart makes him personally no threat to the current leadership. Even on this count, however, his return to office as a concession to demands raised outside of the party hierarchy can only spur the fight to win further demands.

The other demands are, in ascending order, more and more difficult, and finally impossible for the Stalinist bureaucracy to grant and still maintain its rule as a privileged caste.

Hua himself did not come under attack in the ten days of ferment. But when he fails to grant the demands raised, he too will become a focus of opposition no less than Wu Te and Ch'en Hsi-lien.

Plainly not all, or even a majority, of the hundreds of thousands who gathered at Tien An Men in the second week of January viewed themselves as opponents of the regime. But a dynamic has been set in motion in which a conscious minority of workers, students, and revolutionary intellectuals have begun to formulate a program and to win a mass hearing for their ideas. This can only bode ill for the Stalinist rulers in Peking.

World news notes

3,000 Panamanian students protest

About 3,000 students rallied in Panama City January 9 to commemorate the thirteenth anniversary of the 1964 mass protests against the U.S. occupation of the Canal Zone. At least twenty-one Panamanian students were killed by American forces during those protests when they tried to hoist the flag of Panama within the Canal Zone.

During the memorial ceremony, about 100 students crossed into the U.S. zone, burned an American flag, and then withdrew.

Israel's booming arms sales

Since 1973, Israel has greatly increased its sales of arms abroad. Although much of the country's arms dealings are shrouded in secrecy and censorship, a number of countries have been cited in foreign press reports as customers, including Iran, South Africa, Taiwan, the United States, Honduras, Guatemala, Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, and Nicaragua.

Its arms sales expanded fivefold between 1973 and 1976, when they totaled about \$320 million. Israel hopes to sell \$400 million worth of arms in 1977.

Among the weapons it offers are the Uzi submachine gun, the Galil assault rifle, the Gabriel sea-to-sea missile, the Shafrir air-to-air missile, and the sophisticated Kfir jet fighter.

In some cases, the arms sales involve the reexport of American parts and technology. The Kfir jet, for instance, contains an engine manufactured by General Electric. One Israeli military official hinted that the use of military equipment from the United States, which is Israel's prime arms supplier, had the tacit approval of the American arms merchants. He said that "we never got an official complaint from an American firm that we are using their technology against their wishes."

French newspaper workers strike

For the fifteenth time in two years, newspaper workers in France called a national strike January 21. No newspapers appeared on the streets of Paris and many papers in the provinces were also shut down. Several thousand newspaper workers held a march in Paris. The strike was called to protest the arrest of nine unionists during another strike earlier in the week.

One of the factors behind the frequent newspaper strikes is rising unemployment, which has hit newspaper workers particularly hard. Although the national unemployment rate stands at 5 percent, it has risen to 14 percent among newspaper workers in the Paris area. This is due in part to the introduction of automation by a number of newspapers.

Kurds executed in Iraq

The International League for Human Rights charged January 14 that the Iraqi regime has executed 230 Kurdish rebels who returned to the country from refugee camps in Iran after a law promising them amnesty was passed. As many as 30,000 other Kurds who returned were put into concentration camps, according to a statement by the rights group.

Hundreds of thousands of Kurds fled into Iran after their rebellion for national autonomy in Iraq was crushed in 1975. But the Iranian regime, which has a restive Kurdish population of its own, used the amnesty law passed in Iraq as a pretext for the forcible expulsion of most of the refugees who were still in the country.

Those Iraqi Kurds who have not been executed or put into concentration camps have undergone other forms of oppression, the league statement charged. The Baghdad regime is attempting to eliminate as a distinct ethnic group the 2.5 million Kurds under its rule. In some historically Kurdish areas, for example, the Kurdish language has been forbidden in primary schools, although Kurdish is formally an official language in Iraq along with Arabic.

215 shows of restraint

Washington deployed its military forces abroad for political purposes at least 215 times between 1945 and 1975, according to a study released by the Brookings Institution January 2. The authors of the study, Barry M. Blechman and Steven S. Kaplan, only listed those incidents in which Washington sought to pressure a foreign government and did not include cases of drawn-out military intervention, such as the Korean and Vietnam wars.

The positioning of naval forces off the coasts of other countries accounted for about 80 percent of the saber-rattling actions. One of the cases was the placing of a U.S. naval task force off the coast of Brazil in 1964 in support of the military coup against the regime of João Goulart.

Nuclear forces were deployed in a threatening manner at least thirty-three times, mostly in the 1940s and 1950s. The latest instance of a nuclear threat cited in the study was the worldwide nuclear alert Washington ordered during the October 1973 war in the Middle East.

The *Wall Street Journal*, in a January 7 editorial, concluded from this study of American gunboat diplomacy that "the U.S. has been well intentioned and, for a major world power, rather restrained."

Coffee: a closer look



By Dick Roberts

The coffee boycott is under way.

From the editorial pages of the *New York Times*, William Safire (who used to write speeches for Richard Nixon) declared that "coffee is a symbol of American dependence on foreign suppliers, and the coffee rip-off is a test of American will."

Consumer committees have been formed.

Supermarkets are in on the action.

"Sack the Brazilians."

"Don't drink coffee."

"Switch to tea."

Pretty soon President Carter will be delivering sermons on the virtues of Coca-Cola over coffee. Coke is more American. Besides, the Atlanta-based

soft-drink company helped finance Carter's campaign.

As a consumer of eight to ten cups a day, I can sympathize with the frustration over spiraling coffee prices. But the coffee boycott is currently misdirected.

Instead of aiming their fire at Brazil, the consumer committees ought to take on the U.S. food companies that market coffee. Four years ago, for example, during the national meat boycott, consumers did not blame farmers for high meat prices, although the press initially tried to lead the meat boycott in that direction.

Picket lines went up around the chain food stores that were found to be jacking up meat prices the most. In the case of coffee, some of the same corporations are involved. Let's take a closer look.

Natural disaster

The immediate roots of the international coffee shortage are in freezing weather that struck Brazil a year and a half ago.

Brazil normally exports a third to a half of world coffee. A severe frost in July 1975 destroyed two-thirds of the buds on the coffee trees that would have become the 1976-77 coffee crop. Brazil's coffee output fell drastically, from the usual rate of twenty-two million bags annually to about seven million bags last year.

Subsequently there was also too much rain in Colombia, an earthquake in Guatemala, and a civil war in Angola, all of which undercut coffee production in these other coffee-exporting nations. The combined result was a severe world shortage of coffee beans that threatens to intensify in the coming year.

A natural disaster has also just struck the United States: The freeze in Florida may sharply curtail this year's orange crop. This is not to mention the parallel drought in California.

Yet there are differences between situations in this country and Brazil from which we can draw some useful lessons about the coffee boycott.

Imperialist nation

The Florida freeze will have little impact on the economy of that state (although a devastating effect on its farm workers)—and a negligible effect on the economy of the United States as a whole.

This nation has vast industries ranging from the gigantic agribusiness firms—which own not one crop but many—to the mighty automobile and petroleum trusts. Brazil's total yearly national product of about \$73 billion is less than the combined sales of just Exxon and General Motors, which run over \$75 billion annually.

Thus, when a single crop or even several are damaged in the United States, other industries continue to make profits and production continues to roll on.

In a semicolonial country like Brazil the results are far different.

Brazilian coffee

Coffee is Brazil's most important export crop, constituting about half the

value of Brazilian exports. According to 1968 figures, the latest I could find, the semicolonial nations as a whole employed twenty-two million workers in the coffee trade that year. There were eleven-and-a-half million coffee workers in Latin America—six million in Brazil alone.

What are the living conditions of these millions of workers? What happens when two-thirds of the coffee crop is destroyed?

It is worth noting that in all of the press coverage of the coffee price rise—at least in all that I have seen—there are no references to the incomes of Brazilian coffee workers, which are normally less than seventy dollars a month.

In fact, Brazilian coffee is unevenly owned, ranging from small farms that coffee laborers have managed to lease from their previous employers, up to huge plantations (*fazendas*) each employing hundreds of workers and stretching over thousands of acres.

Once produced, the coffee is sold to merchants and interior buyers who themselves warehouse the coffee beans and trade them on coffee exchanges in the ports of Santos, Paranaguá, Rio de Janeiro, and Vitória.

Coffee trade

The bourgeois press has focused solely on the price of coffee in these markets. We aren't told how much the common laborers make, what the profits of the plantation owners are, how much the middlemen make, or how much the coffee brokers make.

At the same time, the press attacks the Brazilian government for trying to support high coffee prices. Whatever one may think about the Brazilian regime—it is a detestable dictatorship notorious for the repression and torture of political dissidents and highly favored by Washington—the Brazilian government has every right to intervene in the coffee trade, stockpile coffee, and attempt to protect local growers against world price fluctuations.

The truth is that throughout history coffee prices have been generally quite low. They are subject to the competition between the different semicolonial countries that produce coffee. And they are controlled internationally by the imperialist monopolies that sell the coffee in Europe and the United States.

"Between 1964 and 1974," H. J. Maidenberger wrote in the January 16 *New York Times*, "Brazil's coffee earnings dropped from 80 percent of total income to less than 20 percent."

That was in one decade. Looked at historically Brazil, like all semicolonial countries, faces the situation in which the prices of its raw material exports remain low compared with the prices of the finished industrial goods that it must purchase in industrially advanced countries if its economy is to develop.

Further, once the coffee beans have been sold to exporters in Brazilian ports, they are no longer in the hands of Brazilians. Both the overseas trading of coffee beans and the roasting of them for sale in the advanced indus-

trial centers is controlled by monopoly corporations in these centers.

This side of the operation is just as concealed from public view as the extreme poverty of the Brazilian coffee workers.

Who are the exporters who purchase coffee beans in Brazil and sell them in the United States? What U.S. corporations roast coffee? What are their profits from this business?

Exporters

In a now defunct, or perhaps no longer publicly circulated, newspaper of the Associated Coffee Industries of America, I discovered that the four largest U.S. importers of Brazil coffee through New York in 1933 were A&P, Maxwell House, Standard Brands, and J. Aron and Company.

J. Aron? It is a New Orleans-based shipping firm. But it is "privately" held, meaning that shares of its stock are not sold on "public" stock exchanges. Such firms are not required by the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission to publish any of their corporate data.

Not only J. Aron, but this country's biggest grain exporting firms like Cargill in Minneapolis, are also privately held, so that the U.S. export-import business is especially obscure.

The other three companies listed in 1933 are still the three biggest U.S. coffee traders forty years later. These firms import coffee directly.

The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company—now A&P—came to the shores of North and South America with the white men. And it has been swindling local residents since before the United States was founded.

Unfortunately for the purposes of discovering the truth about the coffee industry, A&P sells much more than coffee, so that the profits it derives from coffee are totally concealed in the overall balance sheet it makes public. In fact, A&P was a prime target of the 1973 meat boycotters.

Standard Brands is also a food conglomerate. Maxwell House is now owned by General Foods. But this corporation, which also owns Yuban, Sanka, Maxim, and Brim, is primarily in the coffee business, and today it is the largest U.S. roaster of coffee. This means that it could also be the largest U.S. importer of Brazilian coffee.

General Foods's income figures show that it has not suffered at all from higher coffee prices. In fact, its profits have increased sharply.

According to the company's preliminary 1976 annual report, 38 percent of its total 1976 sales were in coffee; its "net sales rose 18 percent [from 1975] due to higher selling prices with flat volume" (emphasis added); and its profits increased from \$99 million in 1975 to \$150 million in 1976, an increase of 51 percent!

Companies like General Foods should be the target of the coffee consumer committees. They should force these companies to open their books in order to reveal the real cost and sales figures of the coffee industry.

This would also help to expose the relations between the imperialist monopolies and semicolonial countries.



Drying and sorting coffee beans in Brazil.



Stalinist slanders

Was it 'fascist' to hail Bukovsky's release?

By Marilyn Vogt

The *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communist party, has launched yet another attack on the *Militant* for its defense of democratic rights in the Soviet Union.

The attack, published January 8, was written by Erik Bert. This time, Bert's polemic is against the *Militant's* account of the December 18 release of political prisoners Vladimir Bukovsky and Luis Corvalán.

Bukovsky was jailed in the Soviet Union in 1972 after he had exposed the Kremlin's policy of confining political dissidents to mental hospitals.

Corvalán, a top leader of the Communist party of Chile, had been held by the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile since the right-wing coup against Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government in 1973.

The December 31 issue of the *Militant* hailed the release of both Bukovsky and Corvalán. The *Militant* said their release was a victory won through worldwide protests against the undemocratic practices of both the Kremlin and the Chilean junta.

By giving the releases the form of an "exchange," the *Militant* said, each regime sought to deflect criticisms of its own undemocratic practices by spotlighting those of the other.

Bert, mouthing the Kremlin's version of what happened, tries to use the Corvalán-Bukovsky releases to prove something else: that all fighters for socialist democracy in the USSR are in league with anticommunist forces such as Chile's General Pinochet.

"The Trotskyites and various others," he writes, "have been found in bed (politically) with the fascist junta of Chile."

The *Militant* demanded Bukovsky's release, you see. Pinochet also sought Bukovsky's release. Therefore, Bert argues, "[Trotskyists] and 'Chile's bloody dictators' stood arm in arm, shoulder to shoulder, for Bukovsky's release."

How can the Trotskyists stand "arm in arm" with Pinochet, Bert asks, and legitimately pose "as champions of democracy in the USSR?" The answer, of course, is that they do not stand "arm in arm" with Pinochet. The *Militant*, as Bert himself admits, has always denounced the Chilean junta "in the most vigorous terms."

But the *Militant* has also set itself another important task: refuting the monstrous lie that the undemocratic practices of the Kremlin have anything to do with socialism. This is a

duty for revolutionary socialists, because the identification of Stalinism with socialism is one of the major obstacles throughout the world to winning working people to anticapitalist ideas.

The truth is that the undemocratic policies of the Soviet Union today have nothing in common with the democratic goals of the 1917 socialist revolution in Russia.

These stifling policies were introduced later under Stalin in order to defend the economic and social privileges of the emerging bureaucratic caste. Stalin persecuted prosocialist opponents of his policies—such as Leon Trotsky—and smeared these critics as counterrevolutionaries.

In trying to apply this same logic to the *Militant* for its position on Bukovsky, however, Bert runs up against an embarrassing problem. The French and Italian CPs, the two biggest in West Europe, also protested the treatment of Bukovsky and hailed his release.

This is why Bert complains, "The essential features of the line retailed by the Trotskyites are being peddled also by some who should know better, and by some who do."

On December 18, for example, Italian CP leader Sergio Segre, a Central Committee member, said that the CPI greeted Bukovsky's and Corvalán's release with "emotion and satisfaction." Their imprisonment, he said, "had given rise to protests and other activities with respect to which the CPI was not just a side-line observer."

The same day, Georges Marchais, first secretary of the French Communist party, issued a statement that said:

"We, who oppose any imprisonment for crimes of opinion, who oppose any attack on freedom of expression, who oppose the substitution of arbitrariness for democratic rule in political life, consequently consider the freeing of Corvalán and Bukovsky as elementary acts of justice."

Marchais also explained that the French CP considers "inadmissible the bartering with which a socialist country and a fascist country determined the fate of two men hounded for having exercised the inalienable human rights."

These protests do not signify that the French or Italian Communist parties have abandoned their loyalty to the Kremlin.

But in order to maintain their

Continued on page 26

Hit torture in Argentina

By Rick Carlson

MINNEAPOLIS—One hundred people attended a January 12 meeting at the University of Minnesota to hear Gwen Loken de López, an American citizen imprisoned and tortured by Argentina's military dictatorship.

The meeting was sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

López lived in Argentina for four years, beginning in 1972. She was arrested on April 30, 1976, for distributing leaflets calling for the restoration of democratic rights and the release of political prisoners.

During the five months she was held in the basement of the Rosario police station, she was beaten, tortured with electroshock, and threatened with death. Visitors and newspapers were forbidden and López was denied legal counsel.

López urged the audience to join in

efforts to force the Argentine military to free political prisoners and restore civil liberties.

"Your action can be fundamental in furthering the struggle of the Argentine people against a repressive and brutal dictatorship," she said. "Your action can be decisive in saving many from torture and even death."

Horacio Guillermo López, the husband of Gwen Loken de López, is still imprisoned by Argentina's generals. Although he was not involved in politics in any way, he was arrested and held without charges when he went to the police station to inquire about his wife.

"I am sure that strong public pressure can free my husband," López said.

Endorsers of the meeting included Local 1164 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the University Community Feminists.

Study links cancer to environmental pollution

By Arnold Weissberg

Recently published research by the National Cancer Institute provides further evidence that the causes of cancer lie in environmental and job-site pollution.

The facts also show that cancer has a class bias—its victims are mostly workers, women, and racial minorities.

The research, published as an atlas, showed the variations by region in cancer deaths among nonwhites. A 1975 study of whites showed similar variations.

As the accompanying map shows, researchers found a high rate of cancer deaths among both whites and nonwhites in such areas as New Jersey, the Gulf Coast, and southern Florida. Dr. Thomas Mason, a member of the research team, told the *New York Times* he found the similarities striking.

Dr. Mason explained that the close

same for both whites and nonwhites in the north, in other areas, especially the Gulf Coast, far more whites than nonwhites were felled by the disease.

This difference is probably best explained—ironically—by the racist exclusion of Blacks from jobs in the oil and chemical industries of the area.

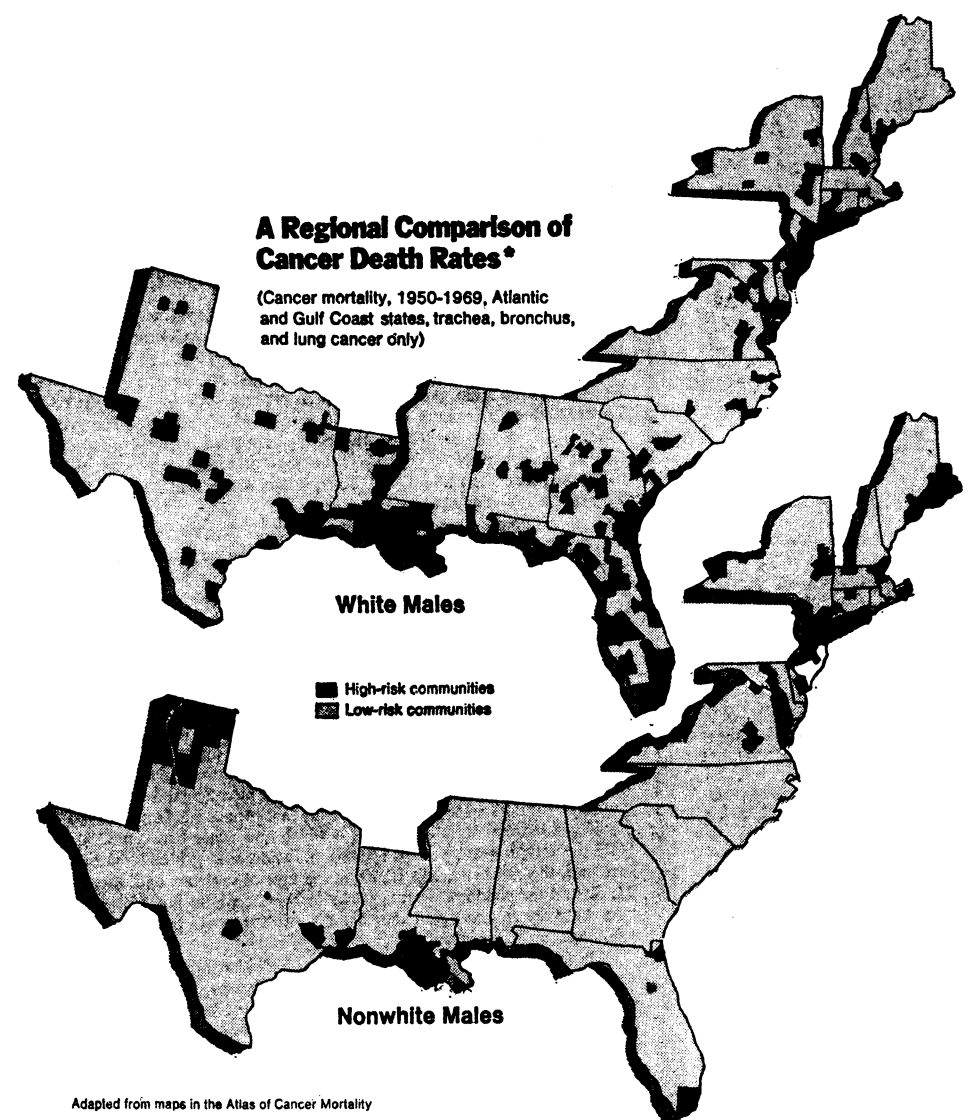
Research has shown widespread risks of cancer for workers in those industries.

Deaths from cervical cancer provide another illustration of the class bias of cancer.

Women of the rural south die in greater numbers than their northern sisters, undoubtedly because of the easier accessibility of medical care in the north for both detection and treatment.

Black women have the highest rate of all.

These latest data show once again—if another demonstration is



match of the death rates between whites and nonwhites in certain regions strongly suggested that some environmental factor was the cause of the cancers.

Current estimates blame at least 80 percent of cancers on the environment.

Both whites and nonwhites were victimized by cancers of the esophagus, breast, colon, and rectum at higher rates in the north than in the south.

The incidence of lung cancer deaths provides a striking example of the key role played by a phenomenon such as air pollution.

While the researchers found death rates from lung cancer to be about the

necessary—that the cancer epidemic afflicting the United States is a direct result of big business's exploitation of our natural environment.

Petrochemical workers in Houston are victims of the oil corporations' indifference to their health. Black women in backwoods Georgia are victims of racist neglect. The entire population of New Jersey—"Cancer Alley," as one journalist called it—is the victim of oil and chemical polluters.

The cancer death rate more than doubled between 1950 and 1965. Unless the big corporations stop dumping cancer-causing junk into our air and water, it will continue to rise.

America's Revolutionary Heritage

Edited with an introduction by George Novack

This is a portrait of capitalist America from its colonial infancy to its emergence as an imperialist power in the twentieth century. *America's Revolutionary Heritage* includes the story of the crushing of the Indians, the revolt against the British crown, and the overthrow of the slave system in the South. 384 pp., cloth \$15, paper \$4.45



Busing & the Black struggle

Busing and the Black Struggle by Malik Miah. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. 1976. 30 pp., \$.50.

Hardly a week goes by without a new government attack on school busing. Emboldened by the recent Supreme Court decision reversing a court-ordered Austin, Texas, busing plan, dozens of local school boards are making plans to gut desegregation orders.

What is behind these attacks on school busing? How can we answer the arguments of racist antibusers? How

Pamphlets

can we build an effective counteroffensive to these attacks? What role do the civil rights organizations and unions have to play?

These and other questions are discussed in the four articles that make up this pamphlet.

The author of these articles, Malik

Miah, has been a leading participant in the two-year battle to defend desegregated schools in Boston. He draws the central lessons of that two years' experience in Boston—the cockpit of the school desegregation fight.

"The main lesson to be drawn from the Boston events," writes Miah, "is the government's direct responsibility for racist violence."

The first article in the pamphlet, "Where School Desegregation Stands Today," describes how the government allowed antibusing mobs a free hand in Boston and Louisville, Kentucky. The refusal to halt racist violence produced a deep racial polarization in those cities, especially in Boston. This made it harder to win working-class whites to support Black rights.

The resistance to busing today can be compared to that following the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision. In both cases, the federal government refused to act to defend Blacks.

"When the government *did* act," writes Miah, "... it did so only in response to mass social pressure."

The government's refusal to use its power to crush racist resistance to desegregation flows from the class interests it defends. It is not in the interests of the big banks and corporations to grant Blacks equal education with whites. To do so would begin to free Blacks from their current economic position as a reserve labor pool—hired on during a boom, turned out when things slow down.

Miah explains that Blacks cannot rely on the government or the Democratic and Republican parties to protect their rights. Only an independent and powerful mass movement can do that.

Miah also analyzes the relationship of forces between the probusing and antibusing forces. Today, unlike thirty years ago, almost no one denies that Blacks should have equal economic, social, and political rights. Unlike thirty years ago Black nationalist consciousness is widespread. Today Washington's concern for its diplomatic image in Africa is greater than ever.

"Given these international and domestic factors," writes Miah, "the

ruling class has to camouflage its attacks on busing behind demagogic statements supporting school desegregation and Black rights."

He explains that the Supreme Court will not necessarily continue to uphold its 1954 decision. It will respond to the relationship of forces between supporters and opponents of desegregation. The court's recent Austin, Texas, decision bears this out.

Miah also assesses the current stage in the fight for school desegregation. He reviews the victories and setbacks of the past two years and points to the default by the major Black and civil rights organizations in forging the kind of movement needed to defend and extend school desegregation.

Today, Miah says, probusing forces must conduct an educational campaign to explain why busing is needed to win school desegregation and why only mass mobilizations can force the government to defend Black rights.

The other three articles in the pamphlet round out topics touched on in the first article. "Why Busing is Necessary" takes up the racists' main arguments against busing and answers them one by one. Drawing from reports published by prodesegregation groups, the article shows in detail how to respond to these arguments.

The last two articles, "The Crisis of Leadership" and "Busing and the Unions," take up the role of the mass civil rights organizations and the unions in the fight to desegregate the schools. Miah shows that the strategy of relying on Democratic party politicians followed by the leaderships of these organizations is a roadblock to winning Black equality. He points instead to a militant strategy of mobilizing the Black community and its potentially most powerful ally, the labor movement.

Busing and the Black Struggle is must reading for all activists in the fight against racism. The lessons it draws from the past two years of struggle in Boston must be absorbed. For, as Miah points out, "The fight for busing in this country is just beginning."

—John Hawkins

Chicanas: their rightful place in history

Anna Nieto-Gómez, a former teacher of Chicana studies at California State University's Northridge campus, has assembled a slide show that reveals the rich legacy of Chicana heroines and activists in the social movements of Mexico and the United States.

The presentation is an audio-visual journey back in time, from the pre-Columbian period to the present. Although many of the women's names have become well known, few have

Malinche has been denounced over the years as responsible for the betrayal of the Aztecs to the Spanish *conquistadores*. The main evidence offered against her is the fact that she bore a child fathered by Cortés.

Nieto-Gómez points out that the treatment of Malinche is typical of attitudes toward Mexicanas and Chicanas. No matter what their real contribution, she says, they are portrayed either as saint or whore—removed from the reality of their times.

Other slides illustrate the life of Sor Juana Inez de la Cruz, a brilliant seventeenth century poet. She was forced to sneak an education in Mexico disguised as a man.

Also depicted in the slides are organizations such as *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc*, a Mexican, feminist press organization that was active in the 1910 Mexican revolution; *Las Adelitas*, another group of women who fought in the revolution; and *Hijas de Anáhuac*, a women's union organized in the Mexican tobacco factories.

Individuals like Emma Tennayuca and Lucy Parsons, labor organizers in the United States, are brought to life by Nieto-Gómez's slides and commentary.

Current struggles of Chicanas are included as well, such as the fight against forced sterilizations and the battle to defend Chicanas' right to abortion.

The presentation is a powerful one. Watching it, you cannot help but feel

how Chicanas have been ignored throughout history and their real contributions overlooked.

Anna Nieto-Gómez is available to travel with her exhibition. She can be contacted at 1265 Shamrock Street, San Bernadino, California 94210.

—Margaret Mora

Film

ever been granted their rightful places as active participants in forging history.

Using photographs to illustrate her points, Nieto-Gómez begins with the pre-Columbian view of women as expressed in the period's history and art.

One of the most interesting women portrayed is the Aztec Malinche, who served as the chief link between the Spanish conquistador Cortés and the Aztec emperor Montezuma.

More than a mere interpreter, she also counseled the Aztecs. And her advice was valued.

WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?

One assassin was caught at the scene. He confessed at the trial. But the prosecution and police never pursued the central question: Who paid him to pull the trigger?

192 pages, cloth \$8.00, paper \$1.95

Pathfinder Press, Inc.
410 West Street
New York, NY 10014

...ERA

Continued from page 5

firm supporter of the Hyde amendment, and we're going to have to keep organizing against that."

In Albany, New York, sixty people braved subzero winds January 22 to rally for abortion rights.

The previous evening the Albany Militant Forum sponsored a panel discussion on how to counter attacks on women's rights. Speakers were leaders of the Albany National Organization for Women (NOW), Tri-City Women's Center, and Socialist Workers party.

An abortion rights picket line of 125 people in Madison, Wisconsin, also demanded paid maternity leaves for pregnant workers. After listening to speeches, protesters re-formed their picket line in front of an anti-abortion rally of 300.

Twenty-six Milwaukee groups sponsored a week of films, literature booths, and workshops and a debate at the University of Wisconsin there. The events concluded with a Militant Forum, "Women's Rights Under Attack," addressed by Maxine Nimtz of the Afro-American studies department and Adrienne Kaplan, a member of Milwaukee NOW and the Socialist Workers party.

On January 24, nine organizations held a news conference in Louisville. The board of aldermen recently voted to deny city funds for a second-trimester abortion clinic at the public hospital.

"By their actions, the individual aldermen have intentionally deprived indigent women of a known constitutional right," declared attorney Betsey Swan.

Louisville NOW urged united actions to counter attacks on abortion rights currently aimed at Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other working-class women.

In Salt Lake City a January 26 speak-out discussed abortion rights, the ERA, and child care. Sixty people attended and many others heard reports of the meeting from the local media.

Abortion rights attorney Sarah Weddington was the featured speaker at a January 29 forum in Washington, D.C.

The same weekend in the capital, the National Abortion Rights Action League held its national conference.

On February 8, "Abortion Rights Under Attack" will be the theme of a University of Maryland teach-in beginning at 7:30 p.m. in the Student Union Building.

The French and Italian CPs have recognized that they can't ignore this sentiment, and—as a result—slanders like those served up by Bert have been shot full of holes.

Every working person in this country should be able to see right through them.

...USWA

Continued from page 15

though," he said, "It's not their fault. It all comes down to the leaders."

A special meeting had been called at that time to deal with the machinists' strike. Another steelworker, retired from National Steel's Granite City works, told how the McBride leadership at that meeting "ordered us to ignore the machinists."

The USWA representative told them, he said, that "we just assured Granite City Steel [now National Steel] that we would make every effort to continue operation in spite of the machinists."

National Steel, the largest mill in the area, is just around the corner from Madison. Three of the five USWA locals at the plant voted to nominate Sadlowski, over the opposition of their leadership.

...ENA

Continued from page 18

ways to cut jobs and increase profits. The international officer's report at the 1976 USWA convention described the deal this way:

"A new collective bargaining role was assumed by the Union when it agreed to a carefully planned program of productivity improvement. . . .

"This support . . . rested on the proposition that everyone in the Union and the Industry would help achieve a stable and profitable steel industry and thereby provide economic and employment security for our members."

The steel companies lived up to their pledge to find ways to boost their profits. No problem there. But job security for steelworkers, that's a different story.

While profits climbed, the jobs of more than 40,000 steelworkers were eliminated during the first two years of the productivity drive. Job safety went out the window. Disabling injuries increased 25 percent during the first three months of the speedup campaign.

The no-strike deal in 1973—rammed through without any discussion or vote of the union membership—was the next giant step in the Abel-McBride leadership's "partnership" with management.

A speech by Abel defending the agreement was reprinted by the union under the title *ENA . . . A Better Way*. Abel hailed the new "spirit of cooperation" with the bosses and called the no-strike deal "a historic breakthrough."

Under ENA the companies agreed to a base wage increase of 3 percent a year and a limited cost-of-living clause. Was this really such a big concession? Abel failed to mention that the United Auto Workers forced industry acceptance of a 3 percent yearly wage increase (called "annual improvement factor") and a cost-of-living clause *back in the 1950s*—and without giving up the right to strike.

To this day base wages in steel remain lower than in auto, the USWA's cost-of-living clause lags behind the UAW's, and steelworkers are watching their wages fall steadily behind price increases.

To help sell this "historic breakthrough" to steelworkers, U.S. Steel paid for full-page magazine ads picturing Abel and quoting him as saying the productivity drive and ENA would not mean "work speedups" or "job eliminations." Copies of the ad were

Calendar

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

IN DEFENSE OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speakers: Hattie McCutcheon, Boston Student Coalition Against Racism, SWP; Delores Garcia, Mass. Committee to Ratify the ERA; others. Thurs., Feb. 10, 8 p.m. MIT Student Center, West Lounge. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Cambridge Socialist Forum and MIT YSA. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CHICAGO: NORTHSIDE

STOP GRAND JURY HARASSMENT. Speaker: José López, subpoenaed Puerto Rican activist. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m. 1870 N. Halsted. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

CHINA AFTER MAO: WHAT NEXT FOR THE CHINESE REVOLUTION? Speaker: Jim Levitt, graduate student in Chinese history, SWP. Fri., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

LOS ANGELES

COMMUNITY SPEAK-OUT ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. Speakers: Diane Watson, L.A. Board of Education; Marnesba Tackett, SCLC; Roger Crawford, Operation PUSH; Sam Manuel, SWP; representatives from ACLU, NAACP, and Raza Unida party. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m. Crenshaw YMCA, 3820 Santa Rosalia (one block west of Crenshaw). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

MIAMI

MALCOLM X . . . HIS IDEAS REMAIN. Speaker: James Harris, member, SWP National Committee. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m. Miami-Dade Community College, North Campus, Room 2147. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

TWO CLASSES by James Harris. Sat., Feb. 12, 11 a.m.: *The Struggle Against Apartheid in South Africa*. 2 p.m.: *Black Liberation and Socialism*. Miami-Dade Community College, North Campus, Room 2147. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

MINNEAPOLIS/ST. PAUL

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND ON CHINA AND SOUTH AFRICA. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m.: *The South African Revolution and Stalinism*. Speaker: August Nimtz, political science professor, Univ. of Minn., SWP. Sat., Feb. 12, 11 a.m., 2 p.m., and 4 p.m.: Three classes on *China After Mao—The Chinese Revolution and Stalinism*. Speaker: Les Evans, member, SWP National Committee. Room 320, Coffman Union, Univ. of Minn. Donation: \$1.50 for entire weekend or 50 cents per session. Ausp: Minneapolis and St. Paul SWP and YSA. For more information call (612) 222-8929 or 870-1284.

NEWARK: BROADWAY

WHO KILLED MALCOLM X? Speaker: William Cornell Hicks, SWP. Also a film, *Malcolm X Speaks*. Fri., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

NEWARK: WEEQUAHIC

THE ENERGY CRISIS: PROFITS FOR THE OIL COMPANIES. Speaker: Roberta Scherr, SWP. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m. 403 Chancellor Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 923-2284.

displayed on plant bulletin boards by management.

The company later had second thoughts, discontinued the ads, and ordered the copies removed from plant bulletin boards. U.S. Steel Vice-president J. Bruce Johnston wrote to local company officials:

"We have all feared overexposure of I.W. Abel on this whole ENA-Productivity question, and we have recognized the risk of setting him up for his political opposition by too much identity with us. He has trusted us [U.S. Steel] not to do this."

Abel's cozy relationship of mutual "trust" with the corporations did not, however, prevent the speedup and job elimination that he had promised would not happen. Workers in any basic steel plant could tell Abel that if he would bother to ask.

Contrary to Abel's promise that ENA would preserve jobs, Sadlowski points out that today there are 65,000 fewer steelworkers producing the same amount of steel as when ENA was introduced.

Wage gains no greater than other industrial unions . . . speedup . . . job eliminations . . . deterioration of job safety. This is the package that Abel said "should help to erase any fears that management is out to weaken or undermine the union."

This is blindness, dangerous blindness. Management is *always* out to

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

HOSTOS COMMUNITY COLLEGE STRUGGLE. Speakers: Nilsa Saniel, Hostos student government; Ricky Soto, SWP. Fri., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (take D train to Fordham Rd.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND ON HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m.: Speaker: John Hawkins. Sat., Feb. 12, 10 a.m.: Speaker: Lynn Rashkind. 2:30 p.m.: Speaker: Malik Miah. 220-222 Utica Ave. Donation: 50 cents per session. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

FREEDOM FOR FRAME-UP VICTIMS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. (near 98th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND, CALIF.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN KICKOFF RALLY. Speakers: Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for mayor of Oakland; Celia Arrington, director, ethnic studies, Merritt College; Jude Coren and Clifton DeBerry, SWP candidates for city council. Fri., Feb. 11, Reception, 7 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Two classes by Harry Ring, *Militant* Southwest Bureau chief. Sat., Feb. 12, 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale. Donation: 50 cents per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

ST. LOUIS: WEST END

THE ERA AND WOMEN'S FIGHT FOR EQUALITY. A panel discussion. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

SALT LAKE CITY

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m.: *Feminism and Socialism*. Speaker: Katherine Sojourner. Sat., Feb. 12, 4 p.m.: Panel discussion on *Defending Undocumented Workers*. 8 p.m.: *Chicano Liberation and Socialism*. Speaker: Miguel Pendás. Sun., Feb. 13, 4 p.m.: Panel discussion on *Defense of International Political Prisoners*. 8 p.m.: *Democracy and Socialist Revolution*. Speaker: Dayne Goodwin. Room 323, Union Bldg., Univ. of Utah. Donation: \$2 for weekend or 75 cents per day. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (801) 322-1934.

SAN DIEGO

LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA. A film about apartheid in South Africa with an introduction by NSCAR. Fri. and Sat., Feb. 4 and 5, 8 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: ADAMS-MORGAN

THE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL REPRESSION: A SPEAK-OUT. Featured speaker: Omari Musa, SWP, speaking on the assassination of Malcolm X. Others include: David Rein, D.C. Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case; Klaus May, Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee; Sam Abbott, Committee for Bill of Rights. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th and Harvard NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum and Committee for Bill of Rights. For more information call (202) 797-7706 or 797-7699.

weaken and undermine the union. In the months and years ahead, American steel corporations will drive ahead to try to improve their competitive position against their foreign rivals.

They can only do it one way: cutting costs, holding down wages, boosting productivity. In other words, taking it out of the hides of steelworkers.

And the union leadership's surrender of the right to strike gives management—right down to the level of the foreman on the shop floor—a clear signal that they can continue their attacks without fear of effective union response.

If Lloyd McBride is elected and has his way, the power of the steel companies over the lives of steelworkers will grow unchecked. They will ride roughshod over the union.

The union membership can organize to prevent this by building a powerful Steelworkers Fight Back movement that continues after the February 8 election regardless of who is officially declared the victor.

As Ed Sadlowski points out: "Our role with management has to be adversary. *They* make it adversary. And anybody who doesn't think this is so is just a fool or a company fink. The bosses'll tell you we're all one big happy family. And Abel believes this. U.S. Steel uses the workingman as a tool for profit. If you think otherwise, you're crazy."

...slanders

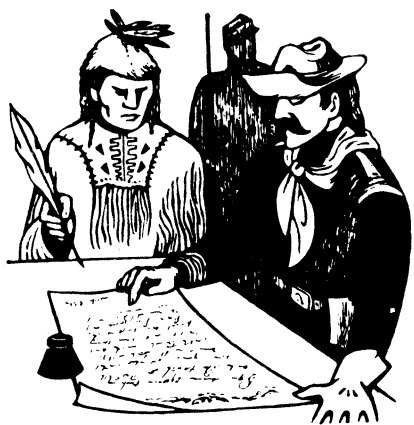
Continued from page 24

influence over masses of radicalizing French and Italian workers, these massive CPs are sometimes forced to take their distance from some Kremlin abuses.

Moscow tolerates this criticism—sometimes very grudgingly—because it knows the European CPs must try to retain their credibility with the masses if they are to remain useful instruments of the Kremlin's policy of détente with capitalist governments in Europe and North America.

But this catches Bert in a big contradiction. He brands the *Militant's* protests on behalf of Bukovsky and other Soviet dissidents as counterrevolutionary. But he is forced to resort to mild and disguised complaints when similar criticisms are issued in the papers of Communist parties abroad.

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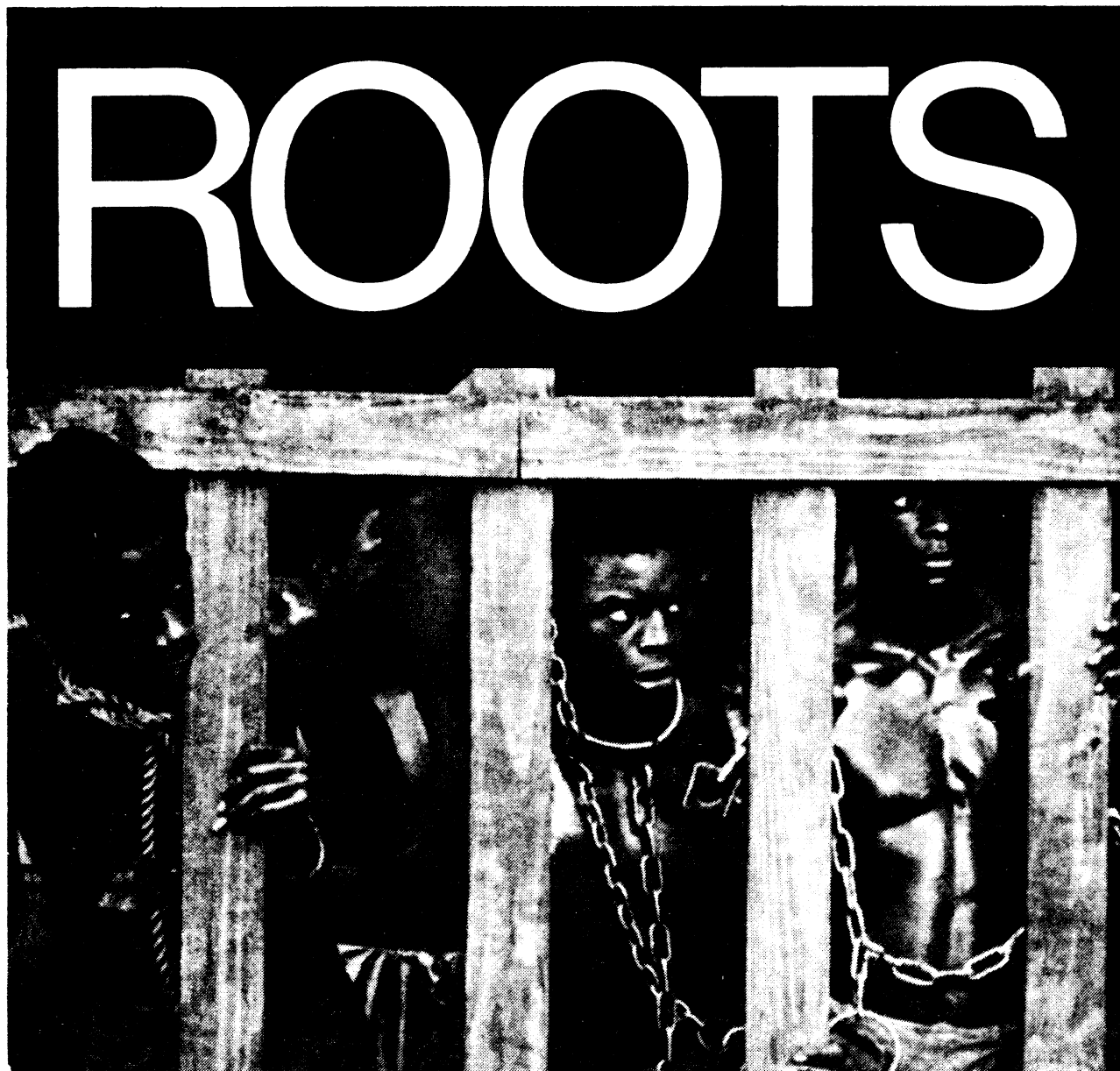
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THE MILITANT



By Omari Musa

As I sat down last Sunday to see ABC's dramatization of Alex Haley's *Roots*, I didn't quite know what to expect.

I'd known, from Black publications I have read the past few years, about Haley's twelve-year search to discover who his ancestors were, though I still hadn't read the book. None of the networks had ever impressed me as interested in Black history.

Eight days later 130 million people had seen all or part of "Roots." That's 85 percent of all television homes in the United States. It was a phenomenon.

ABC had garnered the highest ratings ever.

The *Boston Globe* had started serializing excerpts from the book. The *New York Post*, which serialized the book last October, decided to run it again.

CBS commentator Eric Severeid blasted Black-ruled Africa as a land of tyranny run by dictatorships guilty of worse massacres than slavery.

Pan American Airways commercials talked about how there were Irish who had never seen Ireland, Japanese who had never seen Japan, Swedes who had never seen Sweden, and Africans who had never seen Africa.

That one got me. I'd never in my thirty-two years heard a big U.S. corporation refer to Blacks here as Africans who had never seen Africa.

Yes, "Roots" was causing a lot of commotion.

"Roots" was being discussed in bars, schools, homes, subways—everywhere. By everybody.

Maceo Dixon, Boston organizer of the Socialist Workers party, told me "Roots" was driving some of the racists crazy. They were calling radio shows saying things like: "It didn't really happen like that" or, "Maybe we should do it that way again" or, "They're trying to start a riot."

Newspapers

Newspapers sent reporters out to check into what people were saying about "Roots."

Washington Post staff writer Ken Ringle hustled off to Spotsylvania County, Virginia, about sixty miles southwest of D.C., to interview people living there.

He found one Judge Absalom Nelson Waller. Seems Judge Waller didn't think "Roots" was such a big thing. "That's all part of history, just like the Battle of the Wilderness or the Second World War," Waller told Ringle.

Judge Waller is a product of "Roots" too. His great-great-grandfather John Waller (John Reynolds on TV) was the one who bought Kunta Kinte

at the slave market in Annapolis.

Benjamin Cole, seventy-three, lives near Judge Waller in Partlow, Virginia. He remembers his grandfather telling him about the slave days on the Waller plantation.

"I remember him saying they had to turn a pot over a hole in the door when they were praying so the master couldn't hear them," he said. "They weren't supposed to be praying and, if they got caught, they got whipped."

Julia Thompson, eighty-four, spoke about her grandmother "being auctioned off on a block in Charles Town, W. Va." Later she found herself on the Waller plantation. Mrs. Thompson's daughter-in-law now does housework for the judge.

All "just history," judge?

The *New York Times* reports a discussion of a white family in Queens, New York: "It doesn't show any good white people," said the wife. "There must have been some decent white people. . . ."

"No, the good whites had their day with 'Gone With the Wind,'" said the husband. "Anyhow, how good could any whites look to a slave? . . . All the white bosses must have looked pretty bad, like Nazi Party members did to Jews." Getting closer.

A young brother stopping in a coffee shop before work said, "I tell you one thing, those white folks better not mess with me today. I just might have to stomp one." Another blood cautioned him, "Don't do that. Things ain't changed that much. And jobs don't grow on trees." I heard that.

Many parents kept their four- and five-year-olds up to watch "Roots." Some cried, others were angered. None of them had seen so many Black people on TV. "Roots" was not cartoons or "Sesame Street."

One youth was roused out of bed the morning after with, "Okay, Mandinka warrior. Time to go hunting in the forest."

Sasha, my four-and-a-half-year-old, was shaken by the whippings, and the tears of Kizzy when she tells Sam she can't be with a man whose soul massa got for free.

According to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, four Black students at Harrisburg Middle School were suspended after a shoving match with some white students. The Black students had been chanting "Roots, Roots" before the scuffle began. Harrisburg Middle School is 76 percent Black.

"Roots" was one big consciousness raiser. One hundred thirty million people got a glimpse of how Afro-Americans were made. They got a peek at

what chattel slavery was and what it took to maintain it. And they learned that at least one-third of our ancestors didn't make it across the Atlantic.

There were some holes and inaccuracies, though.

Nat Turner's rebellion took place in August 1831. The TV placed the date in 1841.

However, the impact of the rebellion—only one of many—was shown. Whites in the South lived in constant fear of slave rebellions. Their terror was graphically portrayed in the scene in which Chicken George brings home the drunk Massa Tom—only to be greeted by Tom's wife emptying the barrel of her pistol at him.

The Civil War was not dealt with adequately. This clash between the slavocracy and Northern industrialists was decided by the participation of 200,000 Black troops on the side of the North.

But it would be easy to conclude from "Roots" that slaves were not concerned. The mere fact that white men had to go to war and fewer were around to brutalize Blacks was something to cheer about.

Even more important was that once it became clear slaves stood to gain something if the North won, they actively supported victory for the North.

Continued impact

"Roots" will continue to have an impact.

One example: the day after the series concluded the New Jersey Assembly debated reinstituting the death penalty. Leading the fight against the death penalty were two Black Democrats, Eldridge Hawkins and Ronald Owens. Hawkins said he hoped that other assembly members had watched the unfolding of the TV drama "Roots," since it might "explain why Black folks get a little upset when some laws are passed. . . . We know some laws are going to hit us harder."

Viewing "Roots," I was drawn to the continuous battle to not only survive, but to be free. Kunta Kinte was not a happy-go-lucky ducky. Kizzy and Matilda were not happy mummies. Tom and Chicken George were not Uncle Toms. All were freedom fighters.

"Roots" will undoubtedly cause Blacks to look into their ancestry. The TV program will boost sales of the book—already over 800,000 copies in print.

I suspect whites will be looking at Blacks a little differently, perhaps with a little fear and respect.

That "Roots" will increase Black pride is already clear. Check out the sisters and brothers at Harrisburg Middle School.

Interested in finding out more about Black roots?

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It has caused and will continue to cause a reevaluation of our history. A young brother in the subway asked me, "How did they let all that happen?" Then a second later said, "They were fighting all along." That is the thing everybody watching "Roots" saw.

Thousands of Kizzys and Irenees tried to fight off rapists; thousands of Kintes and Toms were whipped, mutilated, or lynched. All continuing to fight oppression.

ABC's drive to increase its profits definitely scored on its rivals NBC and CBS. Certainly it wasn't in the minds of its board of directors to encourage Black pride or militancy. But I'm afraid they may have succeeded in doing exactly that.

Millions now have the idea that since 1619 Blacks have been fighting for freedom, never accepting slavery, segregation, and racism, and that the struggle continues today.