

# THE MILITANT

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

## SUPPORT COAL MINERS' STRIKE



Coal miners are on strike, and the outcome of their battle will affect all working people.

The coal industry openly provoked this strike—threatening to destroy the United Mine Workers unless

### An editorial

the union accepts the mine owners' demands for a "stable" work force.

Among the biggest owners of the U.S. coal industry are the utilities and the oil and steel corporations. These are some of the richest corporations in the world, all justly

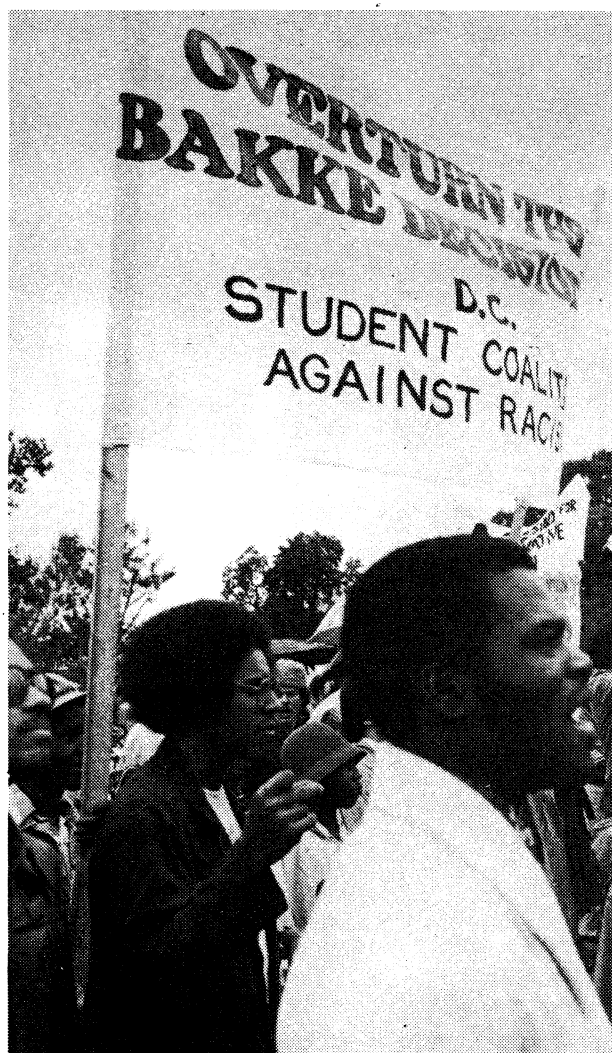
*Continued on page 3*

### Fighting for women's rights

Speech by YSA leader  
—PAGE 9

### Raza leader vs. top 'migra' cop

Gutierrez debates  
Castillo on deportations  
—PAGE 7



Militant/David Nudel  
National Student Coalition Against Racism actively participated in fall actions called by National Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

### Students back call for spring protests against 'Bakke'

—Pages 16-17

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 5 Cleve. teachers: 'No pay, no work'
- 6 Costa Rican activists released
- 7 Gutiérrez debates Castillo on deportations
- 8 Women of oppressed nationalities
- 15 Nuke foes win free speech fight
- 20 Is Angola on road to socialism?
- 28 Free the P.R. Nationalists
- 29 Nazis arrested in Minneapolis attack

### 2 In Brief

- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 National Picket Line Capitalism in Crisis
- 12 The Great Society Capitalism Fouls Things Up American Way of Life
- 14 As I See It
- 18 Steel Notes

### 22 In Review

#### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 23 Argentine workers win big wage increase
- 25 World News Notes
- 26 Bermuda regime calls in troops
- 27 Books banned in German witch-hunt

**EARL BUTZ AWARD:** "I am against mixed marriages. It goes against my nature," Alaska Lieut. Gov. Lowell Thomas, Jr., told the Alaska Black Caucus November 23. The Black Caucus and the Alaska Federation of Natives have called for Thomas's resignation.

Gov. Jay Hammond, though, has a different idea. He declared, "I'll not try to climb to reelection on ladder rungs comprised of Lowell's bones or those of any other who makes an honest but politically foolish error."

Ironically, Thomas had been invited to address the Black Caucus to clarify earlier remarks he made criticizing the Carter administration's support of an arms embargo on South Africa. Thomas had said he believed Carter could be "working more quietly to accomplish things in South Africa."

## Five arrested in Chile

The Chilean police announced November 29 the arrest of five persons, alleging that they are members of the Trotskyist group Liga Comunista (Communist League).

According to a report in the December 4 issue of the Santiago daily *El Mercurio*, those arrested were identified as Carlos Arturo Altamirano Corder (23), Héctor Víctor Gómez Orellana (27), José Gabriel Cea Muñoz (24), Mario Roberto Godoy Jara (26), and Rosa Ester Fuentes Polanco (27).

According to *El Mercurio*, they are being charged with holding "regular meetings of a subversive character," in violation of the "State Internal Security Act." The police also claim to have found a large quantity of political literature in the possession of the five detainees.

Further charges may be in the offing, for *El Mercurio*, summarizing the police report, added that the Liga Comunista is a "powerful organization that appears to be receiving a financial subsidy from abroad."

It is urgent that letters and telegrams of protest be sent immediately to the Chilean government, demanding the release of the five. These may be addressed to Gen. Augusto Pinochet, Government House, Santiago, Chile.

**PICKET ISRAELI CONSULATE:** The Palestine Human Rights Campaign will picket the Israeli consulate in New York City December 15 at 5:30 p.m. to demand freedom for Taysir al-Aruri. Al-Aruri is a Palestinian political prisoner in Israel. He has been in prison since April 23, 1974.

Some time in December, the Israeli government is scheduled to decide whether to free him or imprison him for another six months.

The Israeli consulate is at 800 Second Avenue, between Forty-second and Forty-third streets.

For more information, contact Sheila Ryan at (212) 850-5296.

**GRIGORENKO ARRIVES IN U.S.:** Leading Soviet dissident Pyotr Grigorenko arrived in New York November 30. The former Soviet general, seventy years old, is here for an operation. Because of his advanced years, he said, he wanted to have the operation near his son, who lives in New York. The Soviet government granted Grigorenko a six-month visa.

Grigorenko told an airport news conference that he would not discuss politics during his visit so there could be no reason to deny him the right to return home.

The Kremlin rulers have made a common practice of allowing dissidents to travel abroad and then revoking their Soviet citizenship.

A Leninist and lifelong communist, Grigorenko began to publicly criticize the Stalinist regime in the early 1960s. The Soviet bureaucrats responded by stripping of his rank of major-general, kicking him out of the Communist Party, and twice imprisoning him in mental hospitals for "reformist ideas."

**'NO EVIDENCE' TO PROVE BURCHETT SMEAR:** A State Department spokesperson said November 23 that the government had "no evidence" that *Guardian* correspondent Wilfred Burchett had ever tortured or "brainwashed" American prisoners of war in Vietnam or Korea. Burchett, an Australian national, is currently on a speaking tour in the United States. He has been the target of a smear campaign by the *New York Post*, the Hearst press, and the John Birch Society. They have also accused him of being a Soviet secret police agent.

The State Department noted that Burchett had won a libel suit against an Australian publication that accused him of being an agent of the Soviet secret police.

**U.S. REPS SEEK WILMINGTON TEN PARDON:** Six congressmen have asked North Carolina Gov. James Hunt to pardon the Wilmington Ten. The nine Black men and one white woman, all civil rights activists, were sentenced to long prison terms in 1972 for an arson attack they didn't commit. The nine Blacks are still in jail. The phony nature of the charges against them were exposed at a hearing last spring, but the North Carolina courts have refused to act.

**FBI FINGERED JEWS FOR NAZIS:** Up to at least 1940, the FBI identified fugitive U.S. citizens who were Jews to the Nazi police agency Interpol. (Interpol was founded as a private agency and was taken over by the Nazis in 1938.)

FBI documents released under the Freedom of Information Act described suspects as "Jews," "Jewish type," and "Jewish race." No other religions were mentioned.

The U.S. government affiliated with Interpol at about the same time the Nazis took it over. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover remained in contact with the agency until only a few days before Pearl Harbor.

**'THANKSGIVING FOR LIFE':** *Militant* correspondent Kathleen Denny reports from Milwaukee that more than forty people braved a blizzard November 25 to picket an anti-abortion youth conference called "Thanksgiving for Life." The featured speaker at the weekend conference was Rep. Henry Hyde, author of a congressional measure cutting off federal funds for poor women seeking abortions.

In an attempt to cover up its antiwoman program, the conference held workshops on such subjects as world poverty, military aggression, and genocide.

—Arnold Weissberg

## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 41/NUMBER 47  
DECEMBER 16, 1977  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—DEC. 7

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK  
Business Manager: HARVEY McARTHUR  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

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

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

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

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain and Ireland: £2.00 for ten issues, £4.50 for six months, £8.50 for one year. Posted from London to Continental Europe: £2.50 for ten issues, £6.00 for six months, £11.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

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

## A holiday gift idea for you...

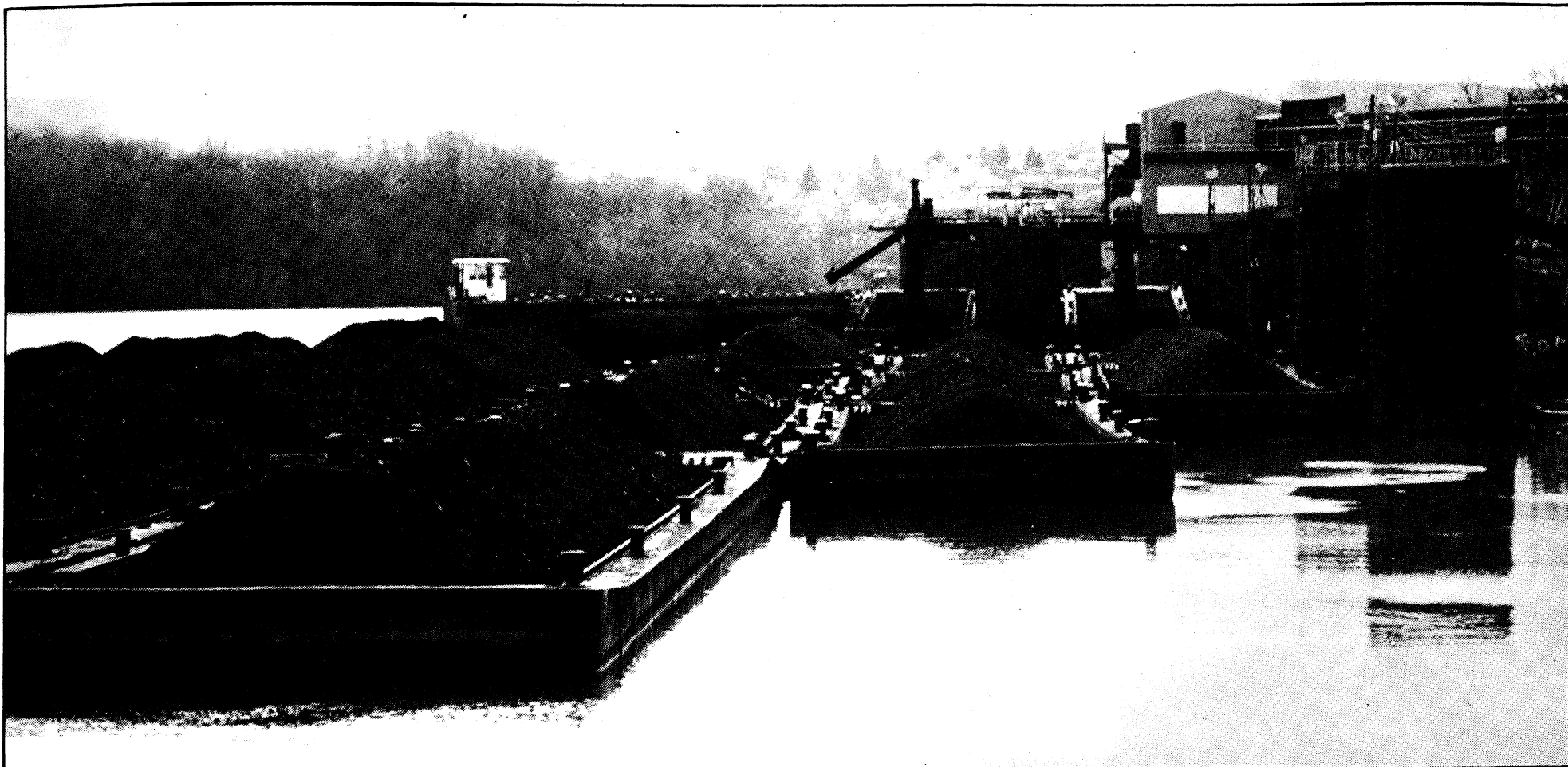


Remember your friends this year with a subscription to the 'Militant.' Send the coupon below and we will rush them a card right away informing them of your gift.



Name _____			Name _____		
Address _____			Address _____		
City _____	State _____	Zip _____	City _____	State _____	Zip _____
<input type="checkbox"/> One year \$15		<input type="checkbox"/> 6 months \$8.50	<input type="checkbox"/> One year \$15		<input type="checkbox"/> 6 months \$8.50
GIFT CARD TO READ FROM:					
Name _____			Name _____		
Address _____			Address _____		
City _____	State _____	Zip _____	City _____	State _____	Zip _____
<input type="checkbox"/> One year \$15		<input type="checkbox"/> 6 months \$8.50	<input type="checkbox"/> One year \$15		<input type="checkbox"/> 6 months \$8.50
Total Enclosed \$ _____					

Clip and mail to: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



West Virginia UMWA-produced coal

Militant Howard Petrick

# ...United Mine Workers on strike

**Continued from front page**

hated for their profit-gouging and inhumanity.

The coal miners are targets in the same big-business offensive that has hit millions of other workers with layoffs, strikebreaking, speedup, and soaring prices. The owners of industry in this country are determined to increase their profits at the expense of the wages, jobs, and rights of American workers.

So far, this union-busting assault has singled out relatively weaker or isolated unions, such as public employees and the craft-divided printing trades, building trades and rail unions. In lashing out at the UMWA, the corporations have escalated their offensive—taking head-on a powerful, long-established industrial union.

By "teaching a lesson" to the mili-

**On December 6, 130,000 miners went on strike when their contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association expired. About 50,000 other members of the United Mine Workers with separate contracts also walked off the job.**

Negotiations between the union and the BCOA are reportedly still stalled. The key issues the BCOA has refused to discuss are a local right-to-strike clause and restoration of the miners' health benefits. The industry is insisting on a contract provision to force wildcat strikers to pay penalties.

**FURTHER COVERAGE:** Stearns strike, page 4; Harlan County, page 5; Romanian coal miners, page 23.

tant ranks of the UMWA, the corporate architects of this attack hope to weaken the labor movement and intimidate all workers from standing up for their rights.

It is in the interest of the entire working class to lend active support to this critical struggle by coal miners.

The UMWA has been singled out for attack for several reasons. First is the importance of coal in Carter's energy program. Having wrapped his energy plan in the stars and stripes, Carter, along with other Democratic and Republican politicians, will accuse miners of jeopardizing "national security" with their demands for job rights and safe working conditions.

During all the haggling in Washington over the energy plan, not one Democratic or Republican voice has warned of the dangers that the drive for higher coal production will present for miners. Not one has declared support for the just demands of the miners or for their right to strike.

## Government ready

The two capitalist parties stand 100 percent on the side of the coal profiteers. Carter has declined to issue a Taft-Hartley injunction against the strike only because he judges it "not necessary" . . . yet. But the government is standing in the wings, ready to aid the mine owners more openly at the first call for help.

The second reason the UMWA has been targeted is the big-business hatred for union democracy. The industry claims that the democratic gains of the Miners for Democracy movement weakened the union and brought it to the brink of "chaos." It was the moves toward democratic union elections and rank-and-file contract ratification that led to the "unstable" and "unruly" work force, the coal operators declare.

But in fact, the gains of the reform movement strengthened the union. Participation by the ranks of the union in making decisions reinforced the union's power and the membership's confidence in that power. Despite weaknesses of the reform leadership and its program, basic gains still stand—especially contract ratification and the belief by miners that they can and should run their own union. And those are gains the owners of industry hope to wipe out, lest they set an example for the ranks of other unions.

## Issues in strike

Two issues have emerged as central in the contract negotiations.

The first was manufactured by the coal operators as a warning to miners. Up until July of this year each miner and his or her family had a medical card entitling them to full health care.

Last summer the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) slashed those benefits, charging wildcat strikes had "robbed" the health fund, which is financed by royalties on tonnage and hours worked.

Even the *Wall Street Journal* can no longer pass that off as truth. The *Journal* admitted December 1 that without any wildcats whatsoever, the

fund would still have faced difficulties because of increasing health care costs and miscalculations in the fund's budget.

The other fundamental issue is the right to strike. A cumbersome grievance procedure that the coal operators have used to trample on the union contract has moved the right-to-strike issue to the fore during the life of the 1974 contract.

With nothing to lose and everything to gain, the coal companies have shunted thousands of grievances—from the smallest complaint to the gravest safety violation—into a time-consuming, dead-end arbitration procedure. These grievances are stalled for months, while the companies violate the contract with impunity.

This is why tens of thousands of UMWA members believe that a new contract must specifically grant miners the right to strike to enforce their contract.

The coal operators demand a no-strike clause, bolstered with provisions penalizing miners who engage in wildcats.

At the heart of this resistance by coal companies and all industries to the right to strike is what they cherish as their divine right—to run the plants and mines for the highest profit, regardless of the health and safety of workers.

Coal miners are well schooled in corporate greed. In Stearns, Kentucky, 160 miners have been fighting the profit-hungry Blue Diamond Coal Company for sixteen months. They learned from the tragedy at Scotia—another Blue Diamond-owned mine—where twenty-six men died because the company couldn't be bothered with safety measures. Stearns miners don't want another Scotia. They want a UMWA contract—and they'll have to fight to enforce it after they get it.

## Divide and rule

The coal industry is counting on a divide-and-rule strategy for this battle with the UMWA ranks.

The coal operators try to pit retired UMWA member against working miner, threatening a pension reduction because of the strike.

They try to set rail workers and steelworkers against miners, charging that layoffs in those industries will be caused by the strike.

They try to turn consumer against UMWA member, claiming energy

prices will increase because of miners' wages.

But most of all, they try to divide miners themselves with a drive to convince the UMWA ranks they have a weak union incapable of fighting the industry.

Stockpiles are high, they say. Percentage of UMWA-produced coal is far from what it used to be, they say. With no strike benefits, miners will be unable to weather a long strike, they say.

*A strike by miners cannot hurt the coal industry, they say.*

It is the coal operators who need to be taught a lesson. And it will require the teaching skills of the miners, as well as other unionists, students, and the Black, Chicano, and women's movements.

Big business must be shown that not only are miners united, but all working people are of one mind when it comes to defense of the United Mine Workers of America.

## Rail and steel unions

Unionists in the rail and steel industries have a special responsibility to answer the attempts to pit them against coal miners. No, we do not blame the coal miners for layoffs of our members, these unionists can say, we blame the coal operators and the steel corporations and the rail industry, and we stand 100 percent behind the UMWA.

Resolutions of support passed by unions across the country can show the striking miners they do not stand alone. Contributions can aid the financially pressed strikers.

Meetings similar to the one for Stearns strikers in Morgantown, West Virginia, (see page 4) can be organized on campuses, in community centers, and in union halls so that the truth can be told about the miners' strike.

Getting out the miners' side of the story will be critical to the success of the UMWA battle.

The *Militant* pledges to do its part, with consistent, truthful, hard-hitting coverage of this crucial battle. We urge our supporters to help us with distribution of the paper in the coalfields and at factories, campuses, communities, and political gatherings across the country. Our aim is to reach as many strikers and potential strike supporters as possible.

Support the striking coal miners!



**'Our strike is over safety'**

# Stearns miners win support in Morgantown

By Dick Roberts

MORGANTOWN, W.Va.—On the eve of the national coal miners' strike, an inspiring rally was held on the West Virginia University campus December 1 to organize support for striking miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

More than 150 people crammed into the student union room to attend the rally. Sponsored by the WVU Stearns Mine Workers Support Committee, the rally was addressed by Stearns miners and members of the Justus Mine Women's Club.

A third of the people in the audience were also miners. The question-and-answer period was devoted largely to discussion among the miners who kicked back and forth ideas on the problems they face and particularly the problems of the miners in Stearns.

Harry Patrick, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, had planned to come to the rally. But at the last minute, Patrick had to attend an emergency meeting of the UMW International Executive Board to discuss national strike strategy.

"With deep regret I must advise you that I am unable to attend," Patrick said in a telegram to the rally.

"I do hope that I will have the opportunity to attend another fund-raising activity in the very near future at West Virginia University in support of the UMW Stearns miners.

"I would like to express my thanks to the West Virginia University Stearns Mine Workers Support Committee for what you are doing in supporting the finest miners and their families in the UMW."

## Safety

Stearns miner William Taylor told the rally: "What we are striking for is safety."

"We came to Morgantown to gain more support for our strike," Taylor said. The other three people who had driven the eight-hour, 400-mile drive up from Stearns to Morgantown, were Rosemarie Taylor and Cleadus and Juanita Coffey. Cleadus Coffey has been a water pump operator in the Stearns mine for six years; William Taylor, a shuttle car driver for six-and-a-half-years.

"They don't have any air in the working places, and you usually have to crawl over rock piles to get to your working place," Taylor said in describing the hazardous working conditions in the mine.

"If you report to your foreman any defects in the equipment, they don't do anything about it," Taylor said. "A year before we went out on strike Estill Baird was killed in the mine by a roof



Militant/Howard Petrick  
From left to right: Cleadus Coffey, Juanita Coffey, Rosemary Taylor, William Taylor. Dozens of miners turned out for support meeting to discuss issues of safety.

fall. It was reported a month before he was killed, and the company didn't do anything about it until after he was killed."

The company—Blue Diamond Coal—owns the Justus mine in Stearns, site of the sixteen-month-old strike. Blue diamond also owns the notorious Scotia mine in eastern Kentucky, where twenty-six men were killed in a gas explosion in March 1976.

"The Stearns mine has about as much gas as the Scotia mine," Taylor said. "We were afraid that a similar blowup would happen at Stearns."

## Police attack

The Stearns miners showed two videotapes which reveal many details about their struggle and have a compelling impact on any audience which sees them. One of the videotapes shows a demonstration by the Justus Mine Women's Club at the Blue Diamond headquarters in Knoxville, Tennessee, last April.

The other videotape shows the brutal state trooper attack on the Stearns miners and their supporters October 17. A total of 117 people were arrested after the cops savagely beat many demonstrators. The videotape shows this attack and also the protests that followed, as the miners' wives attempted to find out what hospitals their husbands had been taken to and even whether they were alive or dead.

"Ten strikers are still in jail serving six-month sentences," Taylor said. "This includes Mahan Vanover, the picket captain."

When pressed to explain why women got involved in the October 17 battle, Juanita Coffey declared, "You can imagine how us women felt knowing the police were going to move in and beat our husbands up."

The rally unanimously voted to send a telegram to Kentucky Governor Julian Carroll demanding that he withdraw the state troopers from Stearns, where they are helping scabs go into the Justus mine. It also demanded the release of jailed strikers.

A second telegram, addressed to the strikers in Stearns, reported the rally's success. About \$100 was raised to help defray costs of the meeting and the Stearns people's travel.

A commitment by the school's forum committee to give the strikers \$200 was later withdrawn. The Stearns support committee has pledged to fight to retrieve the speakers' fee.

## 'Bought out'

"I don't know why you just can't call up the federal man, and get him to come over to check out the problem," one miner asked the Stearns strikers,

concerning their demands for safety. "That's what we do, and they're over in a half hour."

Federal men are the inspectors from the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA), the U.S. government agency that is supposed to oversee mine safety.

William Taylor answered: "They're bought out. That's the way it is."

"What happens," Taylor then added, "is that the operator finds out what section the inspector is going to visit, and they clean out that section, fix it up, before the inspector gets there."

"Thank you brother," the questioner said, acknowledging the problem.

When there are dangerous mine safety infractions, and the mine operators and government conspire to conceal these, the miners have no other recourse but to strike. This is why the right to strike is so vital to the miners.

Another miner stood up, angry, just to show scars on his arms from the hazardous conditions in the mines.

There was discussion about Judge J.B. Johnson, the federal circuit court judge, who sent Stearns miners to jail following the October 17 attack:

"When we demand that Johnson release our men and get the state troops out, he says he can't do anything about it. He's following Governor Carroll's orders. Carroll blames it on Johnson."

"The judge is absolutely bought out. A company judge."

"They both probably own stock in Blue Diamond."

## Building support

I talked to Brian Williams of the WVU Stearns Mine Workers Support Committee about how the university students had built their committee and the rally itself.

"First of all," he said, "you have to realize the tremendous response there was when we started to build the committee and this meeting. Students wanted to help. They sat at literature tables daily, distributing information on the Stearns strike and getting people to sign petitions to Governor Carroll on behalf of the miners. They went to the mines. They also distributed leaflets in mining communities."

This I could vouch for. You could hardly pass a telephone pole in Morgantown that didn't have a strike rally leaflet on it.

Bronson Rozier, one of four members of the University of Kentucky Stearns Support Committee, told me that when they were passing out leaflets in Morgantown they had met one miner who already knew all about the rally and took a stack of leaflets to distribute at his mine.

I myself noticed a Stearns rally

leaflet posted at a bar in Point Marion, Pennsylvania, a ways north of Morgantown. Point Marion is near mines.

"More concretely," Williams said, "was the widespread endorsement we got for initiating a campus strike-support committee."

The first step had been to talk to campus organizations about the Stearns strike and the importance of student support. "Students can help to build pressure on the Kentucky government which sent in the police to break the strike. They can help raise funds for the striking miners which are desperately needed."

In all, five groups agreed to sponsor a planning meeting that would initiate the strike support committee and begin planning for the first Stearns rally: the Young Socialist Alliance; the WVU National Organization for Women; the campus unit of the Socialist Party, U.S.A.; the Student Administration; and the Student Public Interest Research Group.

"Some twenty-five to thirty students attended the planning meeting of the committee," said Williams, a member of the YSA. "That meeting set the date for last night's rally and set up an open steering committee—open to anyone who wants to help the Stearns strikers—to oversee the work."

Williams told me that at the December 1 rally itself, fifty people including students and miners, signed up as interested in participating in the Stearns strike support committee. "We go from here toward building a really big rally. The national strike will probably be on, and there will be all the more interest in the Stearns strike and in the problems of coal miners generally."

## NYC benefit

NEW YORK—Several hundred people attended "Voices from the Mountains—an evening in support of the striking Stearns coal miners" here December 2.

The benefit featured the film *Harlan County, USA* and was emceed by its producer and director Barbara Kopple.

Mike Clark from the Highlander Research and Education Center in New Market, Tennessee, showed a videotape of the October 17 state police attack on strikers and their supporters.

Scheduled speakers were Lee Potter, United Mine Workers organizer in Stearns; William Worthington, president, Black Lung Association; and Antioch College Prof. Paul Nyden. A number of Appalachian musicians performed.



Militant/Howard Petrick  
Miner shows scars from working in unsafe mine.



# Harlan County, USA: miners win again

By Nancy Cole

The sequel to *Harlan County, USA* was played out in Brookside, Kentucky, recently. It wasn't the violent confrontation portrayed in the Academy Award-winning film. But it was a heady victory for the Brookside coal miners.

For thirteen months in 1973 and 1974, miners in Brookside struck for recognition of the United Mine Workers. It was a heated battle, ending only after a young striker was shot down by a company foreman.

Before the strike, the miners were "represented" by a company-oriented outfit, the Southern Labor Union. Despite its whopping defeat at Brookside, the SLU recently came back for more. It petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for a representation election, after pro-

ducing what it claimed to be the signatures of 30 percent of the miners there.

In the election held last month, the SLU received a total of five votes to the UMWA's 135.

"We just gave the SLU the beating of its life," declared Micky Messer, president of the Brookside UMW local, "and I hope they won't bother us any more."

The SLU has been around for more than twenty years. It's now up to a national membership of 3,000. The UMWA represents more than 170,000 working miners.

Earlier this fall, the SLU announced its plans to challenge the UMWA at six mines in Virginia and Kentucky. One of these is the mine in Stearns, Kentucky, where workers have been on strike for a UMWA contract since July 1976.

The election at Brookside was the

one in the spotlight. "It means a lot to us. Brookside was a symbol," said Jim Bailly, vice-president of the UMWA local in Lynch, Kentucky.

In a nine-to-zero vote, the UMWA also won out over the SLU in a representation election at the Hyde Trucking Company, which hauls coal for the Eastover Mining Company, owner of the Brookside mine.

The week before, the UMWA won an NLRB election at Eastover's nearby Jawbone mine. There the UMWA received 148 to the SLU's 23.

To try to sell itself to the Brookside miners, the SLU relied heavily on its record of compatibility with the coal companies. Miners with the SLU don't miss days of work, it argued, because there are no wildcats or any other kind of trouble with the company.

The company union's publicity

also pointed to the upcoming UMWA strike as a good reason to join the SLU.

The UMWA argued that the SLU does not stand up to the company on safety grievances and that wages and benefits are better with the UMWA.

Several years ago the *UMW Journal* revealed that SLU top Ted Wilson is a coal operator himself, owning interests in two strip mines in Kentucky. The UMWA also has evidence of at least thirteen cases where the coal companies were found illegally supporting the SLU.

It's no coincidence the SLU stepped up its antiunion efforts at the same time the mineowners were readying their attack on the UMWA. But in this case, the vultures were consumed by their intended victims.

UMWA members know what it means to have a union.

## Cleveland teachers say—'No pay, no work'

By Alyson Kennedy

CLEVELAND—Vowing "no pay, no work," teachers here have refused to report to work, all but closing down the public school system.

The teachers have not been paid since November 11.

On December 1, the first full day of the action, 72 of Cleveland's 176 schools were closed. Virtually no teaching took place in those schools that formally remained open.

Over the objections of union officials, the delegate assembly of the Cleveland Teachers Union (CTU) had unanimously passed a no-pay, no-work resolution. It was upheld in a membership referendum November 29 by a three-to-two majority. A rally of 2,000 CTU members December 5 reaffirmed their determination not to work without pay.

Teachers insist the action is not a strike. The board of education has broken the union's contract by holding up paychecks. Teachers are therefore urged to stay home and collect unemployment benefits.

Students are supporting the teachers' action with protests of their own. Five hundred students in two schools walked out. One student in a school without heat wore a sign: "No pay, no heat, no peoples—no school!"

At a demonstration of students outside the board of education December 2, Bryan Jones, a student from East High School, explained: "Our parents pay taxes, and we have a right to know where the money has gone. Why should we suffer from the school board's mistakes? We are in full support of the teachers' no-pay, no-work resolution."

None of Cleveland's 10,000 school employees, who have already gone four weeks without pay, have any assurance of being paid before next year . . . if then.

This latest financial crisis was provoked by a November 16 ruling of the Ohio Supreme Court that two Cleveland banks would suffer "irreparable harm" if a \$15.4 million school loan was not immediately repaid. With the court ruling that the banks have "absolute priority" access to the money being used to operate schools, officials moved to close the schools down.

The court apparently did not consider the harm to Cleveland students "irreparable." The commitment to uphold bank profits was considered a higher obligation than the commitment to maintain public education.

Two days later, however, Federal District Judge Frank Battisti, who is presiding over a federal desegregation order directed at the Cleveland school system, ruled the schools must stay



East High students demonstrating at the Cleveland Board of Education

Militant/Chris Remple

open. School board officials responded by announcing that school employees would go without pay in order to hold aside funds for repaying the bank loans.

The latest shot in this legal ping-pong was a ruling December 2 by the U.S. Court of Appeals upholding Battisti's jurisdiction in the case but directing him to hold new hearings that would include the banks. If the banks are dissatisfied with the results of these hearings they can appeal again.

In the meantime, the order setting aside school operating funds to repay the banks continues in effect until Battisti conducts new hearings and makes further rulings.

One Cleveland bank celebrated the victory with an ad in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* suggesting that public school employees "come in and see us about a ninety-day personal loan . . . to assure a happy holiday season for you and your family."

Behind the legal mumbo jumbo, the real reasons for the school financial crisis are millions squandered by the school board to maintain segregated schools and the mammoth tax giveaways by Democratic and Republican politicians to Cleveland's major corporations and banks.

In his original ruling ordering school to remain open Judge Battisti observed that state and local school boards had "expended millions upon millions of dollars to perpetuate this dual [that is, segregated] system—well over \$100 million for the last year. These dollars were spent in a costly effort to keep Black schools Black and white schools

white. . . ."

The other major source of the financial crisis is the erosion of Cleveland's tax base through tax giveaways to the superrich.

National City Bank, one of the two Cleveland banks demanding immediate repayment of the \$15.4 million school loan, was granted a twenty-five-year tax abatement to expand and renovate properties it owns in downtown Cleveland.

This tax gift to National City amounted to \$14 million. In addition, the bank is entirely exempt from paying city income tax.

The Cleveland City Council further infuriated teachers and parents when, in the midst of the school employee

pay crisis, it voted December 2 to grant additional tax abatements to big business—\$4.5 million in tax gifts over the next twenty years to Gateway Hyatt Hotel and an office building-hanger complex at Burke-Lakefront Airport.

Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio in the 1978 elections, released a statement of support for the teachers.

"This crisis," said Wright, "makes clear the real priorities and loyalties of these Democratic and Republican politicians. They believe it is more important to pay off banks and provide tax gifts for big business than to educate the students of Cleveland and meet the paychecks of working people."

## ...and in Toledo

By Tony Dutrow

TOLEDO—On December 5, 1,700 teachers met here and voted to stay out of school until they are guaranteed pay for their work.

The meeting was called by the Toledo Federation of Teachers in response to the latest school-funding crisis. The TFT represents 2,000 of the school system's 2,500 teachers.

Just three days earlier, four local banks won a court order preventing the Toledo Board of Education from spending any money for wages or other school expenses. The board must first repay \$9 million in bank loans due this month.

Toledo voters had passed an emer-

gency tax levy November 8 to finance the schools through the end of this year. The school board tried to borrow money on the basis of this levy. But a Cleveland bond counseling firm refused to issue an approving opinion of the loan on the technical grounds that the ballot language of the levy was "incomplete."

The school board is asking teachers to work without pay in the hope that the state legislature will pass a bill resolving the problem.

But TFT President Dal Lawrence, reflecting the feelings of the teachers, said that "unless we get assurances that we'll be paid, we won't go back."

# Garza to head up 'Perspectiva Mundial' sales

By Nelson Blackstock

Catarino Garza is the new circulation director of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the biweekly socialist newsmagazine.

Garza, who recently wrapped up a campaign as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, told the *Militant* that he views his new duties as an exciting challenge.

"In a sense I see my work with *Perspectiva* as a continuation of my race for mayor," Garza said. "I'll be doing one of the most important things I did in that campaign, that is, to bring the socialist viewpoint to the Spanish-speaking population in this country."

*Perspectiva Mundial* has just concluded a successful nationwide subscription drive. It was conducted in connection with the *Militant* fall circulation campaign. *Perspectiva* wound up with 1,112 new subscribers. That figure greatly overshot the goal of 500.

Garza's assignment marks a new

step forward in the growth of *Perspectiva*. As circulation director, he will be in a position to work with supporters around the country in expanding the readership.

Not yet a year old, *Perspectiva Mundial* began publication in January 1977.

*Perspectiva* is written, edited, and published in New York City. It has correspondents in several countries in Latin America.

The magazine is aimed at a very special audience—the growing Spanish-speaking population in the United States. They come from Puerto Rico and Mexico, as well as other countries of Central and South America.

"It's interesting to note the recent studies reported in the press that say that these new immigrants are demanding the right to keep their language," Garza said. "That fact alone underscores the need for a Spanish-language socialist press."

*Perspectiva* specializes in coverage of interest to Spanish-speaking people. Two such issues this fall have been deportations and the Panama Canal treaty. Both issues are widely covered in local Chicano and Puerto Rican newspapers. *Perspectiva's* coverage differs in that it features more in-depth reporting and a socialist analysis of the fundamental questions at stake.

In the course of the subscription drive—the first-ever for *Perspectiva*—supporters found a ready audience for the magazine.

"I think it's accurate to say that on the whole we found that *Perspectiva* subscriptions sold quicker than *Militant* subscriptions," Garza said. "That shows the level of consciousness in the Spanish-speaking communities, and

the desire for a Spanish-language publication with a socialist outlook."

The next step after the subscription drive is to move forward to boost the circulation in other ways. Two avenues Garza will be exploring are newsstand and single-copy street sales.

"We recently heard a very encouraging report from Houston," Garza said, "where socialists sold more than thirty *Perspectivas* in a matter of a few minutes to an audience letting out of a Spanish-language theater. That's only a little indication of our potential."

Garza pointed to another example of the role *Perspectiva* can play in the community. A December 9-10 confer-

ence on "Puerto Rican Liberation and Socialism" in New York City is being cosponsored by *Perspectiva* (see page 31). A featured speaker will be Garza.

Garza brings to his new assignment a background of activism in the Puerto Rican movement. As a bilingual teacher and trade unionist, he knows firsthand the problems facing Puerto Ricans.

Garza has been involved in socialist politics for many years. A native of New York City, he joined the SWP when he was seventeen years old.

A veteran trade unionist, Garza has also been active in the National Maritime Union and the United Auto Workers.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson  
CATARINO GARZA

## Perspectiva Mundial

A biweekly magazine that brings a revolutionary socialist perspective on the news to Spanish-language readers.

☐ \$10 for a one-year subscription

☐ \$5 for a six-month subscription

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

Send to Perspectiva Mundial, P.O. Box 314 Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

# Protests demand: free Costa Rican activists

From Intercontinental Press

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica—All charges against Costa Rican Black leader Marvin Wright Lindo were dropped by a court in Limón on December 5.

Wright had been charged, along with six activists from the Limoncito community and two leaders of the Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (OST), with "instigating a riot" in Limoncito on November 23. The OST (Socialist Workers Organization) is a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Wright was not present at the Limoncito events, however, and was able to produce a number of witnesses to verify that fact.

While Wright has been released, OST presidential candidate Carlos Coronado Vargas has been arrested for the second time in eleven days. He was picked up on undisclosed new charges while collecting funds for himself and the other Limoncito defendants in a public park in Limón on December 4.

Coronado and Alejandra Calderón Fournier, OST chairperson and candidate for the national assembly, had been released on bail December 1 after eight days in jail with the six Limoncito activists. All eight had participated in a demonstration of 500 Limoncito residents on November 23 that was brutally attacked by the police. They all remain charged with "instigating a riot."

Marvin Wright Lindo was sought by police for eight days after the November 23 protest. He had gone into hiding after learning that the authorities had ordered him shot on sight.

Wright turned himself in on December 1, accompanied by Trejos and three witnesses ready to testify that Wright had been in San José on November 23.

Wright is the central leader of the Partido Auténtico Limonense (PAL—Limón Authentic Party), which is based among the Black workers of Limón province. He is one of the best-



MARVIN WRIGHT: Black leader out of jail.

known leaders of the labor movement in Costa Rica, and the main leader of the country's oppressed Black population.

The residents of the Limoncito community, mostly Black, have been struggling for twelve years for such basic necessities as clean drinking water, electric power, and sewage lines. On November 23, many of them, mostly women and children, gathered in a spontaneous demonstration to press these demands.

The police attacked the crowd with clubs late in the day, kicking and beating many persons, including pregnant women. They arrested six leaders of the Limoncito community, along with Coronado and Calderón, who were there to express the OST's support for the Limoncito struggle.

The formal charges against these eight are the following: "riot, aggravated assault, instigation of a riot, and intimidating others to participate in a riot." If convicted, they could be sentenced to five to eight years in prison.



CARLOS CORONADO: OST presidential candidate rearrested.

When Coronado and Calderón were released on bail December 1, a crowd of about 200 was on hand to greet them. Everyone then marched through downtown Limón, and the two OST leaders spoke to a crowd of about 400 at a busy street corner. Later that evening a public meeting of 250 at the Limoncito Community Center heard Calderón and a number of community leaders.

Similar demonstrations demanding freedom for the imprisoned activists have taken place on an almost daily basis in Limón. On November 25, more than 1,000 persons held a march that ended in front of the jail.

Committees to defend the prisoners have been organized both in Limoncito and San José. They have been publicizing the Limoncito struggle and raising funds to cover bail for all the prisoners.

Messages of solidarity have come from many mass organizations, trade unions, and student groups. All the unions in Limón—except for those affiliated with the CGT—have expressed support for the struggle in

Limoncito. (The CGT, Central General de Trabajadores, is controlled by the Partido Vanguardia Popular, the Costa Rican Communist Party.)

The government's attitude was spelled out clearly in statements by presidential aide Fernando Volio Jiménez on November 23. He said in a radio interview that the Trotskyist leaders of the demonstration in Limoncito were simply trying to cause trouble, and that the government would act with maximum force to prevent this. "Costa Rica has too many tensions as a developing country for us to permit extremists to create obstacles," Volio said.

The OST answered Volio in a leaflet issued November 25:

The government has launched a campaign to portray the struggle of the residents of the Limoncito barrio as "violent" and "extremist," in order to justify its repressive actions.

The government wants to obscure the truth about the conflict in Limoncito.

During twelve years of inhuman existence in this barrio, without light, without water, without sanitation, the residents have tried to solve their problems, exhausting all the administrative channels.

In face of the criminal inaction on the part of the government, the residents found themselves obliged to carry out action to call their problems to the attention of the entire country.

The OST organized a picket line to greet visiting U.S. Sen. George McGovern when he spoke at the National Theatre in San José on December 2. The picket signs said: "To fight in the streets for water and electricity is not a crime!" and "McGovern: What do you think about the case of Marvin Wright?"

McGovern took questions from the audience after his speech, and Marta Trejos, secretary of the OST, was able to speak for twelve minutes on the Limoncito struggle and the cases of

Continued on page 30



## Hits crackdown on 'aliens'

# Gutierrez debates Castillo on deportations

By José G. Pérez

Texas Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez confronted Immigration Commissioner Leonel Castillo recently in a televised debate on President Carter's proposed crackdown on immigrants without visas, the people the government and big-business-controlled news media brand "illegal aliens."

The debate was taped November 11 as part of the *Texas Politics* series put together by Channel 13, the Dallas Public Broadcasting Service affiliate.

Carter's package calls for doubling the border patrol and refusing employment to undocumented immigrants. It would create a special "temporary resident" category under which immigrants who could prove they arrived before January 1, 1977, would be allowed to stay and work for five years but would be denied social services and civil rights.

"It's interesting to note that the Carter plan has been out since August 4," said Gutiérrez in one sharp exchange. "And not one single Chicano organization or individual, nor Latin organization nationwide, is in favor of this plan except one man, Mr. Castillo, and he gets paid for that."

Castillo seemed momentarily at a loss for words then conceded the point by trying to explain it

away. "Right now, people are staking out bargaining positions," he said.

The TV show began with four brief statements, all previously recorded, three of them at the National Chicano/Latino Conference on immigration held in San Antonio October 28-30.

The statements were by Gutiérrez; Castillo; Pedro Camejo, national field organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in the southwest region; and Rubén Bonilla, Texas state director of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

In addition, two other persons took part in the studio debate: U.S. Rep. Sam Hall (D-Tex.) and Dan Galván, director of the Dallas-area district of LULAC.

In his opening presentation, Gutiérrez said the Carter proposals are "built on faulty logic." Referring to the massive deportations carried out during the 1930s and under "Operation Wetback" in the early 1950s, he explained:

"I think that it's a proposal that's risen out of a phobia, of a scare. . . . We've had two examples to realize that this third effort by Carter comes from that same racism, saying that there's too many Mexicans and too many Latinos here in the United States."

Castillo tried to defend the Carter plan by covering up its most blatantly repressive aspects.

"There's no great force at the border," Castillo claimed. "There's no great equipment buildup. And the plan doesn't contemplate a tremendous increase. It does call for an increase but . . . [it is] long overdue, just given normal population growth."

(In fact, the Carter plan calls for doubling the border patrol, already increased more than 20 percent over the past three years.)

Representative Hall, obviously unfamiliar with the Carter plan, took Castillo's word for good coin and shot back: "I think that's one of the fallacies of the Carter plan, that they do not have an increase in personnel to watch the borders and prevent the illegals from coming into this country."

Having outsmarted himself, Castillo retreated: "With what we have projected we could cut the number of persons that enter in half."

Gutiérrez ripped the calls for more border cops. "You're just going to continue picking on Mexicans."

"I would suggest, as other people have done, that this is an economic problem." He said the money that would be used to hire immigration cops should



LEONEL CASTILLO

go "to promote rural development in Mexico."

"Even if Mr. Castillo got all the border patrolmen and all the computers he needed . . . the ultimate solution is still going to be an economic one rooted in Mexico and those countries that are so depressed and exploited by us to begin with," Gutiérrez said.

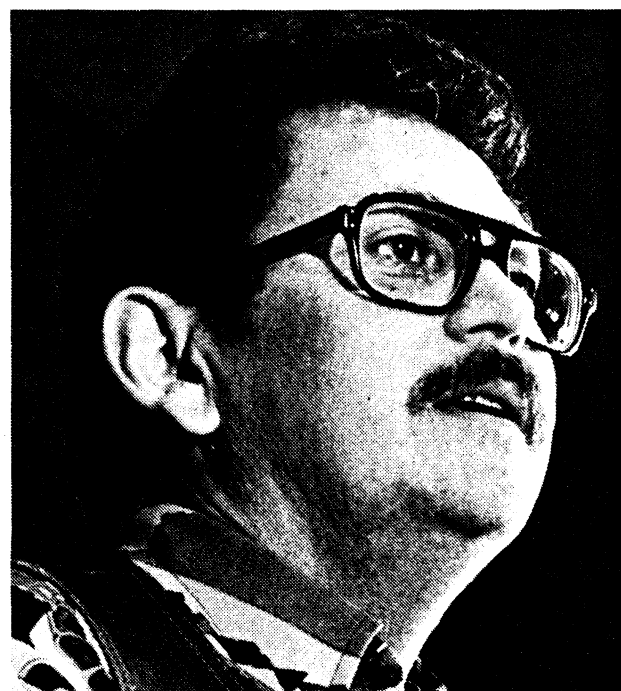
Gutiérrez's comments counterposed to the Carter-Castillo proposals the idea of immediate, unconditional amnesty for all immigrants. "We can't treat this as a police problem," he repeatedly emphasized.

Castillo defended his boss's anti-immigrant package as "practical" and "a compromise."

As for unconditional amnesty, he said, "That's simply not going to have any chance of passing in the United States Congress. . . . That simply won't sell."

Castillo is an expert on selling to Carter and Congress. While he was still the \$14,800-a-year controller of Houston, he used to say no Chicano would ever turn in undocumented people to the immigration cops. "It's a gut feeling you can't help having, that somehow they're my kin, somehow they're my people."

Now that he's the \$50,000 commissioner of immigration he sings a different tune: "Deport them," and "I enforce the law."



JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ

Militant/Harry Ring

## Gov't stalls on Marroquin release date

By Arnold Weissberg

Will the U.S. government release jailed Mexican activist Héctor Marroquín December 15 when his ninety-day sentence for "attempted illegal entry" into the country is up?

Marroquín fled Mexico in 1974 when the Mexican government falsely ac-

**USLA reports that Marroquin would like to hear from his supporters. Send letters to him at Maverick County jail, Eagle Pass, Texas 78852.**

cused him of murder. Despite the fact that he has lived in the United States continuously since then, the Mexican regime has tried to pin several other shootings on him.

Marroquín is seeking political asylum in this country. He faces imprisonment and torture if he is forced to return to Mexico—if he is lucky enough to avoid being "kidnapped" by the police or army.

The U.S. government has not yet acted on Marroquín's asylum request. In fact, the government says it will try to deport him. He was arrested in September as he returned to the United States after attempting to meet with a Mexican attorney.

U.S. law permits the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to keep refugees in jail until their asylum and deportation cases are decided.

However, it is routine INS practice to release refugees on bail or on their own

promise to show up for hearings.

Marroquín meets all the standards for release.

But INS San Antonio District Director Joe Staley has refused to tell Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter, whether he will free Marroquín December 15.

"Staley claims Marroquín isn't in INS custody and that he hasn't made a decision," Winter told the *Militant*. "But that's simply not true. There's an INS hold order on him."

A decision by Staley to keep Marroquín in jail can be appealed within the INS and in the courts. But appeals can take months. Winter wants to start any necessary appeals immediately.

INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/Margaret Winter

has so far remained silent on the release.

Meanwhile, Marroquín's supporters have begun a campaign to win his release when his sentence is up.

At a December 5 press conference, Father Jack McGinnis, a respected figure in the Houston Chicano community, called on the INS to reveal the conditions of Marroquín's release. McGinnis has offered to act as Marroquín's sponsor.

Marroquín's case has won wide support. His request for political asylum, circulated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), has been endorsed by hundreds of people around the country.

For more information, or to make an urgently needed contribution to the defense campaign, contact USLA at 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10014, or call (212) 254-6062.

## Arizona Chicano activist gets 5-8 year sentence

By Joe Callahan

PHOENIX—On November 23, Chicano leader Jesus "Jess" Lopez was sentenced to five-to-eight years in state prison on frame-up charges.

Lopez, a founder and leader of the United Barrio Union, has led many community struggles in Glendale, Arizona. Most recently he was instrumental in initiating a successful class-action suit against the same state prison system to which he has now been sentenced.

Lopez was sentenced by Judge Sandra O'Connor on charges of conspiracy, arson, and placing an explosive in a public building. Following the sentencing, Lopez was immediately hauled off to the county jail.

During the presentence hearing the local executive director of the ACLU, Nancy Hicks, testified on behalf of Lopez. Newspaper reporters Pat Esser and Maria Arellano testified to the Chicano activist's widespread respect in the Glendale barrio. In response, Deputy County Attorney Warren Smoot, charged that Lopez was a "Jekyll and Hyde," who only seemed to be nonviolent.

Lopez is planning to appeal the conviction.

Supporters of Lopez picketed the courthouse before the sentencing. An all-night vigil was held on the eve of the sentencing in front of the courthouse. Lopez had given the judge more than 2,000 signatures demanding his freedom.



# Overcoming myths

By Diane Wang

Only a few years ago Black publications such as *Ebony* magazine were calling "women's lib" (as they labeled it) "a frivolous bid for attention by the most privileged and coddled women in the world who don't know when they are well off."

And just nine months ago a Boston Black paper, the *Bay State Banner*, was warning, "If black women decide to move away from the black civil rights movement in favor of women's liberation, they will alienate themselves from black men and will ultimately be left in the lurch by white women."

The National Women's Conference in Houston should put these myths and fears to rest. The active role played by Black, Hispanic, Asian-Pacific, and American Indian women at the conference demonstrated that the women's movement is not a "white, middle-class" complaint.

Among the almost 1,500 delegates at the conference, 17 percent were Black, 8 percent Hispanic, 3 percent Asian-Pacific, and 3 percent American Indian. Conference organizers did not tally statistics for the more than 10,000 women who came to Houston as observers. But these also included many women of oppressed nationalities.

Why did these women come to Houston?

In part they came because the conference had a mandate to involve women of oppressed nationalities.

But what really stirred women to go to Houston were the recent attacks on women's rights. The cutoff of Medicaid payment for abortion, the attempt in the *Bakke* lawsuit to declare affirmative-action quotas illegal, cutbacks in child care and denial of pregnancy benefits—all these attacks hit women of the oppressed nationalities first and hardest.

At the conference these women were not just window dressing to make the proceedings appear more representative. Rather, the women actively campaigned for specific needs and played a leading role.

Women organized into their own caucuses as Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Asian-Pacific, and Native American women.

Working together, these caucuses decided to amend the National Plan of Action being voted on by the conference. Leaders of a general "pro-plan caucus" at the conference had discouraged any amendment or strengthening of the plan, in the name of unity against right-wing opposition.

Even within the caucuses of oppressed minority women, leaders, who were experienced Democratic Party spokeswomen, discouraged a full debate. In some caucuses delegates were given voice, while observers were not. Debates were cut short because, women explained, the pro-plan caucus heads had set a quick deadline for submitting the amendment.

Some conference organizers no doubt hoped the caucuses would contain and channel women's energies and complaints. The Chicana caucus, for example, attended a reception the first night at the home of Leonel Castillo, commissioner of immigration and naturalization. Despite that, however, several Chicanas from the caucus took part in a picket line the next day against Carter's stepped-up moves to deport undocumented workers.

And the women of oppressed nationalities did force pro-plan caucus leaders to accept a lengthy amendment of the plan's section entitled "Minority Women."

The plan originally had only three paragraphs explaining in a general way that women of oppressed nationalities face double discrimination and require affirmative-action programs

## Lessons from Houston

# Women of oppressed nationalities



Arizona delegation at National Women's Conference

and bilingual services.

The amended resolution explains this double discrimination in more detail. It includes some specific demands, such as American Indian tribal sovereignty, an end to deportation of *mexicana* women with American-born children, and full enforcement of special-admissions programs in education.

Women of oppressed nationalities not only took the lead in presenting that resolution, they also helped amend the welfare resolution, rejecting Carter's phony welfare "reform". Moreover, a Chicana from Washington

State was the first speaker to explain the need for the lesbian rights resolution.

The resolutions passed help answer the charge that feminists are simply out to attack men. Like all the resolutions passed, the "Minority Women" plank is aimed at the real enemy of women's rights—government policies.

As the amended "Minority Women" resolution was passed, women began to sing "We Shall Overcome." That was not just a symbol of the unity forged between the civil rights and women's movements. It was a statement of fact.

## Puerto Rican protest

The Puerto Rican delegation to the National Women's Conference held a press conference in Houston protesting the conference's failure to consider an appeal for Lolita Lebrón, the imprisoned Puerto Rican Nationalist.

Lebrón and four other Puerto Rican Nationalists were jailed in the United States in the early 1950s for acts carried out in support of Puerto Rican independence. One prisoner, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, was released last October, dying of cancer.



Puerto Rican delegate appeals for release of Lolita Lebrón.

The Puerto Rican delegation wanted to amend the National Plan of Action that was before the women's conference to include a demand that President Carter "act favorably on the request of the people of Puerto Rico by granting an unconditional release to Lolita Lebrón."

A delegate explained at the press conference that there is unanimous sentiment in Puerto Rico for release of the Nationalist prisoners. The Puerto Rican Senate and House of Representatives, the island's past four governors, labor organizations, and the leading bodies of the Catholic, Episcopalian, and Baptist churches in Puerto Rico have voiced support for immediate release of the prisoners.

"We believe that charity begins at home," explained the Puerto Rican delegate. "Support for human rights begins at home."

The Puerto Rican delegation, she explained, felt the demand for Lebrón's release would have won a good response at the conference. "We understand the importance of getting the National Plan of Action approved," she said. "But we lament and regret that we were not allowed to present our resolution."

"We believe twenty-three years in prison is enough." —D. W.

# Celebrating new unity

By Shelley Kramer

When the victory of the "Minority Women" resolution set off a spirited demonstration at the Houston conference, I grabbed a floor pass to join in the celebrations and hear what people had to say.

First I visited the Georgia delegation where a group of Black women were talking excitedly. In front of them sat three right-wing delegates who had voted against the resolution and were visibly shaken by their overwhelming defeat.

"I'm very pleased with the resolution, but I'm even more impressed with the reception it received from the majority of the women here," Rosa Stanbuck, coordinator of the state International Women's Year commission, told me.

This resolution demonstrated best the conference theme, "women on the move," Stanbuck observed.

Stanbuck and her companions were particularly excited about the prospects for future work in the conference's Black caucus. "The emergence of the Black caucus has been so important. We won't lose contact in the future. After this conference women will realize the need to continue and become more aggressive."

"I've never been active in the women's movement per se, although I am a member of Delta Sigma Theta, a Black sorority," Stanbuck answered when I asked if she belonged to any women's organization. After a pause she added, "But after this conference I may become a member of NOW [National Organization for Women]."

Next I spotted a circle of Native American delegates embracing and congratulating one another.

"The unity here with minority women, with all women—well it was just beautiful!" Sandra LeBeau of the Cheyenne River, South Dakota, reservation exclaimed.

LeBeau was particularly inspired by her experience in the Native American caucus. "This conference gave me hope that for all the years to come our people will be one people."

LeBeau explained, "It's always been said we can't work together—between tribes or nations. But we can do it. We did it. And it was beautiful."

"Further actions as a caucus will be necessary. This was only the beginning," caucus member Helen Magpali answered when asked how the resolution can actually be implemented.

This emphasis on the need for continued action was repeated by members of the Asian-Pacific caucus I met. Valerie Lee Hess and Elizabeth Lee were standing on the sidelines watching the victory celebration. "I'm pleased with the minority resolution, but I'm looking at it as a beginning, not as an end in itself. It's the beginning of a national network for each caucus and for a united caucus of minority women," Hess remarked.

Lee admitted some skepticism about the government-sponsored Houston conference. But she added, "The minority resolution moved me despite my misgivings. Seeing women cooperate in this way, especially minority women, moved me."

Me too.

## Affirmative Action vs. Seniority

by Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 30 pp., 50 cents  
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The following are excerpts from a speech by Cathy Sedwick given at a forum held November 19 in Houston during the National Women's Conference there. Sedwick is National Chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance.



This morning when I attended the opening session of the National Women's Conference I realized this is a wonderful, historical experience we are taking part in.

I saw Bella Abzug receive the gavel Susan B. Anthony used to convene the Women's Suffrage Convention in Washington, D.C. in 1888. It was a vivid symbol that our movement for equality and full human and civil rights has roots.

NBC, ABC, CBS, reporters from Germany and Japan, and many hometown newspapers were all present, broadcasting the meeting. Why? Because our movement has gained legitimacy.

Our conference is not taking place with the majority of people ridiculing us and laughing, thinking we're strange, but at a time when the majority of people realize that women are discriminated against and should be given equal rights.

The women who met for the first Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 had to have a man convene their conference. Woman knew nothing of parliamentary procedure, because the backward customs of the day kept women from participating and therefore learning how to conduct meetings.

Today we can convene our own meetings. We can climb telephone poles, go into the mines, fly airplanes. Above all, we have the power to organize a movement that can win our full rights.

We can take pride in these accomplishments. Because of this conference, many women who don't know about the history of women's struggle for equality will learn of Seneca Falls, Susan B. Anthony, Sojourner Truth, and many others.

These are the good feelings I felt as a young, Black feminist, watching this historical event.

#### Mixed emotions

But I also had mixed emotions. When the gavel was handed to Bella Abzug I wondered how our foremothers would have felt to know that the head of our conference is a woman who voted for a welfare budget that included the Hyde amendment. That amendment eliminated Medicaid funds

# Fighting for women's rights

## In the spirit of Seneca Falls



for abortion, denying 300,000 women a year the right to decide when or if they will bear a child. Thousands of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, and young women can't afford an abortion and need those Medicaid funds.

Rosalyn Carter was here this morning, representing the president. She brought his greetings and said some words about human rights. But she forgot to mention what Carter said last summer about the poor women denied abortion rights. That's life, and life is unfair.

When Lady Bird Johnson came this morning there was loud applause for the "first lady" from Texas. But there is another first woman from Texas—the Chicana who was the first to die from a butcher abortion as a result of the abortion fund cutoff. That first woman was neither honored nor

mourned this morning.

The National Women's Conference is taking place at a time when the women's movement is facing serious attacks: the failure to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, the cutoff of abortion and child-care funds, the threat to affirmative action in the Bakke suit, forced sterilization, denial of pregnancy benefits.

Women are not alone in having our rights attacked. Many people are experiencing similar threats. Blacks face unemployment. Chicanos face deportations. Young people face cuts in education. Miners, textile workers, and other unionists face union-busting attempts.

We are all paying for a crisis we have no control over. A wealthy few sell things for profit. Now that their greedy, chaotic priorities have created a crisis, they try to put the blame on all

of us.

They tell us we want too much. That we should hate brothers and sisters from Mexico who come to harvest farm produce. That we should each suspect the other of stealing jobs. That we have no other choice but to cut back.

#### Self-reliance

Today Rep. Barbara Jordan said we have to band together and insulate ourselves because the country is moving to the right. She wants us to believe the government is our ally against a growing right-wing majority.

But that is not true. The majority of people support our rights; recent polls show that.

It is the government and the Democratic Party Jordan represents that is implementing what is in fact a right-wing program—restricting abortion, stalling the ERA, cutting needed funds. And it is the majority of people—working people, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women—that we should rely on and organize in defense of our rights.

Jordan said we should buckle down at this conference and then something will happen. But we can't depend on someone else to make it happen. And we certainly can't depend on the White House.

Carter won't give birth to our movement. Despite his loudly proclaimed moral objection to abortion, you can be sure he'd abort the women's movement if he could. Women can only put our human rights proposals into action by depending on our own power and organizing our own movement.

#### Carrying the torch

This morning four young women runners completed a fifty-one-day relay bringing a torch from Seneca Falls to Houston. To me that was a symbol of what an important role young women have in the women's movement. It is young women especially who must carry the torch, and the movement, forward.

We young women have grown up with the second wave of feminism. We expect a great deal. It's clear that, like all other women, we will have to fight for our rights.

Young women are poorly represented at the conference. But in society we are not a small percentage. We have been carrying on struggles on campuses, for abortion rights, for the ERA, against forced sterilization.

We must continue these struggles, win victories, and show the way forward.

And I urge young women with energy, foresight, dedication—women fighting for the women's movement—to become members of the Young Socialist Alliance. Be part of a movement to build a society where oppression based on sex, race, and class is eliminated.

## Join the Young Socialist Alliance at its national convention this month

The YSA will hold its seventeenth national convention in Detroit, Michigan, December 28 through January 1 at the Michigan Inn. To join the YSA or to get more information about the convention, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (listed on page 31) or send in the coupon on this page.

**WEDNESDAY, DEC. 28**  
Registration begins . . . report and discussion on **The U.S. Capitalist Offensive and the Tasks of the YSA** . . . classes . . . slide show on recent work of the YSA

**THURSDAY, DEC. 29**  
Report and discussion on **Black struggle** . . . report and discussion on **Chicano struggle** . . .

workshops on antideportation fight, antiracist struggle, campaign against nuclear energy, defense of political prisoners . . . presentation on world political situation

**FRIDAY, DEC. 30**  
Discussion of Chicano struggle . . . report and discussion on women's liberation . . . workshops . . . rally

for the YSA, with featured speaker **Pedro Camejo**, 1976 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president

**SATURDAY, DEC. 31**  
Classes . . . report and discussion on tasks of the YSA . . . New Year's Eve Party

**SPECIAL FEATURES**  
International guests from France, Spain, Puerto Rico, Canada, and Australia . . . anti-nuclear energy panel will include a speaker from the **antinuke movement in Australia** . . . Defense of Political Prisoners Workshop will include spokespeople for Iranian and Latin American political prisoners.

Return to YSA National Office,  
P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station,  
New York, New York 10003.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

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

☐ Please send me more information about the YSA.

☐ Please send me more information about the convention in Detroit.

☐ I want to join the YSA.



## South Africa

Within the space of three days, events in South Africa have shown again the need to organize a massive display of opposition to the policies of the apartheid regime and to U.S. government and corporate complicity.

- On December 2, a Johannesburg judge exonerated the police torturers and murderers of Black Consciousness movement leader Steve Biko. The verdict followed an internationally publicized inquest into his death.

- Then, three days later, the Vorster regime took another step toward making South Africa's Black majority aliens in their own country by creating the so-called independent homeland of BophuthaTswana.

The U.S. State Department's protest of the Biko verdict pales beside Washington's October veto of United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa. It is a cover for the real plans of U.S. business and the government—to step up investment in South Africa with the backing of Washington's diplomatic and military might.

The Biko verdict and the establishment of BophuthaTswana have drawn renewed criticism from many quarters. Liberal columnists and even the editors of the *New York Times* have decreed these mockeries of justice.

At the same time, supporters of the South African freedom struggle—Black organizations, religious and pacifist groups, and radical newspapers such as the *Guardian* and *Daily World*—have called for protest actions.

What is needed is to unite these forces in a campaign of mass protest to demand:

Lift the bannings! Free South African political prisoners!  
End U.S. economic and military aid!  
End U.S. corporate investments!  
Black majority rule, now!

## Farmers' strike

American farmers have been placed in a desperate situation. Prices for wheat, corn, and soybeans have fallen to less than half their 1974 level. Prices for wheat and corn, in fact, are now below the cost of production.

In October 3,000 angry farmers drove their tractors through President Carter's home town of Plains, Georgia, in protest. Similar demonstrations have taken place in other parts of the country. The protesting farmers have announced they will strike December 14, and refuse to plant corn or buy nonessential goods.

Few things highlight the irrationality of the profit system as vividly as the plight of the working farmer today.

Beginning in 1972, American agriculture went through the greatest boom in its history. With famine stalking India, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, and the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, American farmers began increasing production as fast as they could. Huge sums of money were borrowed from the banks by farmers buying additional land and equipment.

Now, after two years of record harvests, there is what financial writers call "a staggering glut of low-priced grain."

The "glut," of course, has not brought retail prices in supermarkets down. The huge food monopolies have seen to that.

Nor has it made any difference for the millions around the world who continue to go hungry.

But for the farmers who stand to lose their land to the banks it is a disaster.

Carter's "solution" is a program to force farmers to plant 10 percent less corn, barley, and sorghum over the coming year. This decreased production will create future shortages, thus driving up prices and beginning the whole irrational cycle over again.

There should be no limitations on crops as long as people suffer from hunger anywhere in the world. At the same time, the government has a responsibility to guarantee working farmers a decent livelihood. The *Militant* fully supports the actions of farmers demanding increased government subsidies.

Moreover, there should be a moratorium on the repayment of loans taken out by working farmers who are now in distress.

The ruling class has always replied to such demands by attempting to pit workers against farmers. The capitalists claim that high farm prices mean high food prices for consumers.

But the fact is that only a tiny fraction of the money spent by consumers in supermarkets ever finds its way back to the working farmer. The lion's share goes to the same corporate giants that exploit workers in every area of the American economy.

It is in the interest of the labor movement as a whole to support the demands of working farmers and to forge an alliance with them against the capitalist rulers.

### Wants to join SWP

I want to join the Socialist Workers Party. I am familiar with the SWP and its ideas, and I fully support its programs.

I am a construction laborer. I have been a member of the union for eleven years and have watched it steadily get weaker. I would like to gain some instruction on how to fight the take-over of the union by its leaders and how to put the rank and file back into the leadership role.

C. F.

Tacoma, Washington

### New subscriber cancels

I would like you to cancel my subscription to the *Militant* immediately. When I subscribed I had no idea of its Trotskyite propaganda, and now that I know, I wish to have no affiliation with your paper.

I'm not asking for a refund, I merely want my subscription ceased immediately.

J. D.

Easton, Pennsylvania

### Protest neutron bomb

This "enhanced radiation" warhead, better known as the neutron bomb, has me more concerned than the atomic bomb or "H" bomb. This bomb is made to order for local use to destroy enemies of capitalism.

For President Jimmy Carter, who has talked so much about cuts in nuclear weapons systems, it looks like a double cross for the peace-loving people.

Another thing it shows is that capitalism is more interested in buildings than in people, especially if they are their buildings. Of course, every Marxist has known this.

Every rank-and-file worker in this country must protest this neutron bomb. Carter is the president, and he can approve this bomb. We must let him know we are against it. The way it looks now, Congress is in favor of the bomb.

During the wars, there was a big protest against the use of poison gas. I don't see any difference between poison gas and the neutron bomb.

Grady W. Vandiver

Morongo Valley California

### 'Migra' raid in Arizona

In my October 28 *Militant* article entitled, "La Migra deports strikers at Goldwater ranch," I reported that Legal Aid workers were helping in the strike. This is not correct. Legal Aid is not allowed to be involved in labor disputes, and Legal Aid was in no way involved in the farm workers' strike at Arrowhead Ranch.

Joe Callahan

Phoenix, Arizona

### Defense for abortion rights

I am a firm supporter of any woman's right to an abortion, and I am opposed to Congress's attempt to deny that right—ultimately, I feel—to every woman. Not only is it an attack on women's right to self-determination, but it smacks of a hypocritical moralizing on the part of a none-too-moral collection of men, on women's sexual freedom.

However, there has been a disappointing omission by the

proabortion groups and the *Militant* that I feel is an issue. That is, the tragedy of the unwanted child whose mother chose it rather than a back-alley abortionist. The media is full of accounts of children maimed or killed through parental abuse or abandoned to institutions to dissipate. I have no statistics on how many of these children were originally unwanted, but logic would have it that if a child is unwanted from the start, the degree of parental patience could easily be limited.

Do members of Congress and the "right to lifers" propose to take in all these children and give them the love and care they need? Hardly!

Barbara Jacobs

Teaneck, New Jersey

### Wants to know about SWP

I have had the opportunity to read the *Militant* interview with Willie Mae Reid (see November 25 issue). I feel she is a very dedicated woman, and I agree with her views. I would like to know more about the Socialist Workers Party. I am a prisoner without funds, and I would be grateful if I could obtain literature from you. Thank you for your time.

A prisoner

Kentucky

### Send me the Militant

I am writing you this letter because I really do like to read your paper. I don't have any money, so I would like to know if you could send me the paper until I get some money. The *Militant* tells me about the world we live in, and I really like to read it.

A prisoner

Pennsylvania

**The 'Militant's' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York, 10014.**

### Most truthful publication

Enclosed is a check for fifteen dollars for a one-year subscription to the *Militant*. This is a new sub.

The *Militant* has added another literary dimension, and hopefully the most truthful publication to date.

P. J.

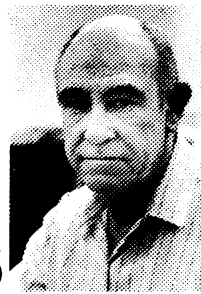
Columbus, Georgia

### 'Indian and proud of it'

At Thanksgiving, I, a Native American, raise my voice to explain to the so-called white majority why I, as many of my Native brothers and sisters, am not celebrating this holiday. Why should we?

Since the "persecuted pilgrims" arrived and decided our shores were their lands, we, the true Americans, have been indoctrinated, have been decimated—there are but less than 1 million of us left within the confines of the United States—have been lied to, have been fenced within arid territories called reservations, have been denied equal rights, have seen our women sterilized against their and our will, and have been pushed to the outer edge of society.





## How to sweeten up the boss

Our lands were stolen, our wildlife was slaughtered, our waterways were diverted, our treaties—which we signed in good faith with the white man—were dishonored, and our race, as well as the remains of our ancestors, were placed under glass showcases within the white man's museums to be looked at but not to be taken seriously. Where are we now?

We are few, but we are strong. We are few, but we will prevail.

We've had it. This land is ours. This land is mine. I am an Indian. I am an Indian—and proud of it.

G.B.  
Los Angeles, California

### Vague, opinionated

Approximately one month ago, I signed up for ten weeks of the *Militant*. After reading several issues I find myself questioning the validity of some of your conclusions. They appear as vague, unsubstantiated, opinionated generalities. So, rather than waste the paper by throwing it away unread, I would like to terminate my subscription.

P. B.  
Olympia, Washington

### Salutes women films review

Stacey Seigle has reviewed *One Sings, the Other Doesn't* and *Julia* (see "Two films about women," November 25 *Militant*) with the respect and love she salutes as the art of *One Sings* director Agnes Varda.

I duplicated her review for my mother and assorted best friends, as I cannot think of anything better to describe the beauty that can be woman-as-we-find-her.

Also due for warm thanks are David Frankel for his magnificent tribute to the Bolshevik revolution, and Miguel Pendás for the sensitively written article on the government's war against the Chicano movement.

S. T.  
Washington, D.C.

### 'PM' and 'Militant' get around

The article by Miguel Pendás on the government's attacks on the Chicano movement (see October 28 *Militant* and October 24 *Perspectiva Mundial*) was quoted and used in Mexico. *El Norte*, a Monterrey, Mexico, newspaper, probably the biggest in the North, featured a front-page article on Saturday, October 29, based on Pendás's article. *El Norte* gave credit to the *Militant* for the information.

Articles based on Pendás's article were also run in newspapers in the interior of Mexico—*El Sol de San Luis Potosi* and D.F. (Mexico City) papers. Arturo Ramírez Yañez  
Houston, Texas

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.

More than 7,000 sugar plantation workers in Hawaii struck the Big Five growers there on November 2. The strike may be a long one, partly because the growers are getting financial relief from the federal government.

The irony of this is that the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which represents the strikers, was instrumental in winning a \$65 million federal subsidy for the "distressed" U.S. sugar industry.

ILWU President Jim Herman, elected when Harry Bridges retired earlier this year, reported recently to the union membership how the Hawaiian plantation workers fell victim to the successful legislative efforts of the union to solve the financial problems of the plantation owners.

Herman's report was published in the November 18 issue of the ILWU paper, *The Dispatcher*. He tells how the union "demonstrated a realistic attitude toward the industry's problems."

Prior to 1974 the U.S. market was regulated by the Sugar Act, which protected domestic producers and fixed a price floor, but no ceiling. This guaranteed profits to the U.S. sugar industry and freed it to gouge consumers for as much as the market would bear.

In 1974 the price of sugar soared to sixty cents a pound, and Congress allowed the Sugar Act to lapse. Sugar speculators then bought cheap sugar on the world market and dumped it on the American market, stealing millions. It was a bonanza for the growers and all their capitalist friends in this country. But under the system of commodity production it couldn't last forever.

In early 1977 sugar prices had fallen below ten cents a pound. The growers claimed they were losing money on every bag they sold.

When the slump hit, the ILWU made no demand for an accounting of what had happened to the superprofits from artificial price inflation. The union did not

demand a public investigation of the growers' bloated bank accounts. Nor did it demand a referendum for the nationalization of the "bankrupt" plantations.

The union's "realistic attitude" dictated, instead, a thirty-day extension of the old contract when it expired last February. This meant no increase in wages for the sugar workers.

"On March 1, with the price situation unchanged, our members in Local 142 did the only reasonable thing," says Herman. "They agreed to a holding action—continuation of the existing contract until November 1, 1977, with retention of attachment 22" (a pledge by the growers not to "liquidate" any plantation).

During the summer the ILWU did what then seemed most reasonable, what any other union leadership seeking class collaboration in the interest of better union-management relations habitually does. They organized a "massive lobbying effort" together with sugar industry representatives, other union officials, and capitalist politicians.

According to Herman, "What we got out of Congress and the administration was a program of support payments to domestic producers to bring prices up to 13½ ¢ per pound."

Herman says the growers, having picked up a cool \$65 million, "now seem to have decided to take the money and run."

"Although the ILWU played a major role in helping the Big Five get these taxpayer-financed subsidies," he says, "the companies are using them as a strike fund to take on the union."

What does Herman think about this? "Well, we had our eyes open," he thinks. "But our work in Washington was a necessary first step, one way to help keep the industry afloat."

Those plantation workers who are on strike must think differently. They surely believe that their union should protect them . . . and stop helping their enemies.

## Capitalism in Crisis

## Andy Rose



## International gloom

Economic slowdown.

Rising unemployment.

Growing dangers of protectionism, trade wars, and a new depression.

That was the bleak outlook foreseen by last month's meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The OECD is made up of government officials from twenty-four major capitalist countries.

*New York Times* reporter Paul Lewis wrote from the Paris meeting, "The United States and its principal industrial allies acknowledged . . . that their plans for heading off a further worldwide economic slowdown were now failing."

At the economic summit meeting in London last May, the OECD countries supposedly agreed to aim for an overall average growth rate of 5 percent a year. The strongest countries—the United States, West Germany, and Japan—were to take the biggest steps to expand their economies.

But, according to the OECD secretariat, it now looks like the average growth rate will fall to only about 3 percent. That means unemployment—already at record levels in several European countries—is certain to continue rising.

In the United States, the official unemployment rate has remained at about 7 percent for nearly a year—while Black unemployment has gone up. Meanwhile, the growth rate of the Gross National Product has fallen steadily.

But, as the *Wall Street Journal* noted in a recent editorial, "where the U.S. finds disappointment, Europe finds despair. None of the European economies enjoyed our rapid first-half spurt. Where American steel companies face shrunken profits, British and German steel companies face huge losses. . . . The British economy seems likely to finish the year without growth. . . . Italy's industrial production is now falling. Production is also falling in Sweden. . . .

The West German economy stalled in the second quarter, showing real growth of only 0.5%."

These simultaneous slowdowns reinforce each other. The capitalists in each country find it much harder to make up for weak markets at home through higher exports. World trade has been slowing down. Far from giving a hand to the weakest economies (especially in the semicolonial countries), the big capitalist powers are moving to restrict imports of shoes, textiles, steel, electronics, and other manufactured goods from these countries.

At the OECD meeting, U.S. officials put the blame on West Germany and Japan for not adopting more expansionary policies. Washington has urged the German and Japanese governments to increase public spending and cut taxes in order to stimulate economic growth.

Both countries have, in fact, announced expansionary measures in the past few months, but on a very small scale. And at the OECD meeting, the German and Japanese delegates made it clear they would go no further. More economic stimulus, they said, would run the risk of increasing inflation.

The irony is that the Carter administration—despite all the ballyhoo about impending tax cuts—is following essentially the same policy. The administration is currently pushing through huge tax *increases* in legislation on Social Security and energy. For most workers, the net effect will be higher taxes, not lower.

U.S. officials—just like their German and Japanese counterparts—say they must give top priority to balancing the budget, reducing government spending as a percentage of national income, and thereby trying to curb inflation.

Thus the governments of all the major capitalist countries seem unwilling or unable to adopt policies they themselves say are urgently needed to ward off the economic dangers they all see approaching. Why this is the case will be the subject of a future column.



**Santa Barbara and Gomorrah**—National Science Foundation researchers are trying to determine the environmental factors behind their finding that up to 14 percent of the gulls on California's Santa Barbara Island are lesbians, many of them maintaining stable relationships. Probably, they don't read their bible or drink their OJ.

**On the alienation front**—"Take the Job and Shove It," the new country-western record by Johnny Paycheck, sold 100,000 copies the first eighteen days out. He says it's currently the most requested number on local C&W radio, with callers requesting dedications to particular bosses.



**Spiritual struggle**—A publisher of religious music has filed a copyright infringement suit against U.S. Catholic bishops, charging nonpaid reproduction of their copyright tunes by local parishes. In a marvelous display of theological brass, the Pope's representatives responded with a countersuit charging violation of antitrust laws.

**A matter of priorities**—The government is currently spending \$6 million a year to advise the public on the danger of smoking and on related research. It is also spending \$78 million a year on subsidies to tobacco growers.

**Thanks, chief**—A government report says air pollution will get worse during the next twenty years because

of energy production. But, the report assures, it won't get as worse under Carter's energy plan as it would otherwise.

**Shopping tip**—The new Stutz d'Italia convertible, featuring a hand-built body and 24-karat gold-plate interior trim, is available for \$129,000. Mink-covered flooring extra.

**Thought for the week**—"It is not possible to legislate social equity without destroying the capitalistic system."—Robert Faberberg, a U.S. irrigation official testifying against enforcement of a regulation limiting individual landholdings serviced by federal irrigation to 160 acres.

## Capitalism Fouls Things Up

### Arnold Weissberg



## Breeder reactor veto

Despite President Carter's veto, the Clinch River breeder reactor project is alive and well. And Carter knows it.

The breeder reactor has been one of the big issues of the Carter administration. Early in his term the president declared his opposition to full-scale development of the experimental breeder reactor at Clinch River in Tennessee.

Initial cost of the project was set at \$2.2 billion. Carter announced he wanted to cut this year's allotment to \$33 million, the cost of phasing out the project. His proposal bounced around in Congress for months and finally emerged last month as an \$80 million appropriation.

Amid much fanfare, the president vetoed the bill, winning approval from some environmentalists and building his reputation as an opponent of nuclear power and a defender of the environment.

Applause, however, is premature, as we shall see.

The breeder is a special kind of nuclear power plant, because it produces more plutonium (a nuclear fuel) than it uses up. The breeder also generates electricity, but all the breeder reactors built so far are relatively small, with about one-fourth the capacity of "conventional" nuclear power plants.

The breeder's unique ability to churn out more plutonium than it uses is highly prized, because world uranium stocks probably won't last more than thirty years. After thirty years, countries that want to operate nuclear power plants will have to rely on fuel from breeders.

That's the argument made in favor of the breeder.

On the other side, plutonium is the most dangerous substance known. A millionth of a gram, inhaled, will cause lung cancer. Thousands of pounds of plutonium already exist. It remains radioactive for nearly 500,000 years.

The breeder's unique talents also create unique dangers. If the liquid sodium used to cool the radioactive fuel core leaks, the fuel can melt itself into a compact mass and explode—an atomic explosion. This nearly happened in a breeder only forty miles from Detroit in 1966.

These dangers should be enough to stop the breeder. But Carter's main concerns lie elsewhere.

The U.S. has been selling nuclear equipment and technology all over the world. Carter wants to be able to control which countries do—or don't—have the ability to construct nuclear weapons. There is strong evidence, for instance, that the U.S. govern-

ment cooperated in covering up the Israeli theft of nuclear materials for bombs.

This in part is what lies behind Carter's campaign against the spread of breeder reactors, a campaign that would look hypocritical if he had approved the Clinch River bill.

Carter also wants to maintain the U.S. near-monopoly on nuclear fuel, a highly profitable enterprise.

The U.S. controls half the world's supply of uranium. Another big chunk is in South Africa. Australia has about a fourth, but there is a powerful movement there against uranium mining. So the U.S. could end up holding all the chips in the world's nuclear card game.

But look again, because the Carter veto is meaningless. The same \$80 million he turned down will come back to him tacked onto another appropriations bill—one that will be a lot harder to veto. And he knows it.

Carter is firmly committed to a nuclear economy. He wants at least 300 nuclear power plants operating in the next twenty-five years.

And there will eventually be only one source for fuel for all those nukes—breeder reactors.

## The American Way of Life

## Carter's cage

A chain link cage topped with barbed wire. That's the Carter plan for undocumented immigrants as practiced by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Los Angeles.

While Carter and INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo talk about phony amnesty plans, nearly half the undocumented people scooped up every week by the Los Angeles INS are spending time in a standing-room-only wire cage.

The INS has a regular jail-type facility where it holds those it apprehends until it throws them across the border. But with the stepped-up sweeps, that facility is jammed beyond its limit.

The INS solution? A specially built wire cage inside an unused warehouse.

No better than a cattle pen, the enclosure is made of chain link wrapped around wooden posts with

barbed wire on top for anyone considering jumping over.

Facilities are minimal, even by INS standards. (It's only a "temporary" shelter until they finish the bigger jail, they explain, so they don't want to waste money.)

There's no heating for the winter, no cooling for the summer. The light is dim, and the ventilation bad.

Often, more than 200 people are packed in at one time. There are only three toilets and two urinals, all out in the open. (That, an official explains, is to protect the "aliens" from themselves and each other.)

People arrested for entering the United States "illegally" are supposed to be entitled to a phone call. But it was just recently that the INS installed a single pay phone in its detention center.

In almost every civilized country people in custody are entitled to sit down. But, again, until recently there weren't even any chairs. Now there are a total of eighty. If the rest of the people get tired, they can relax on the cement floor.

Several INS workers have quit because they couldn't stand the inhumanity they were involved in.

But INS Assistant Director Phil Smith takes a positive view of the situation.

"Most of these [undocumented immigrants] are hearty people," he says. "We've found that the aliens themselves don't mind it a bit."

After they get the new, bigger jail built, they really should preserve that wire cage. It's a wonderful symbol of President Carter's immigration policy—as well as his policy on human rights.

—Joanie Quinn

Final Weeks!

Lee Robinson



# A New Breakthrough in Marxist Economics: Our 20% Off (And More) Holiday Sale!

## BOOKS

- ☐ **American Labor Struggles**  
by Samuel Yellen, 348 pages, \$3.60\*
- ☐ **America's Revolutionary Heritage**  
*Marxist Essays*, edited with an introduction  
by George Novack, 414 pages, \$3.60\*
- ☐ **The Battle of Boston\***  
*Busing and the Struggle for School  
Desegregation*, 286 pages, \$3.20\*
- ☐ **Black Liberation and Socialism**  
edited by Tony Thomas, 207 pages, \$1.95\*
- ☐ **By Any Means Necessary**  
by Malcolm X, 184 pages, \$1.95\*
- ☐ **Cuba for Beginners**  
by RIUS, 153 pages, \$1.60\*
- ☐ **The Great Labor Uprising of 1877**  
by Dr. Philip S. Foner, 288 pages, \$3.20\*
- ☐ **An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism**  
by George Novack, 144 pages, \$1.60\*
- ☐ **An Introduction to Marxist Economic  
Theory**  
by Ernest Mandel, 78 pages, \$1.00\*
- ☐ **Israel: A Colonial-Settler State**  
by Maxime Rodinson, 128 pages, \$1.40\*

- ☐ **James P. Cannon As We Knew Him**  
a collection, 288 pages, \$3.20\*
- ☐ **The Jewish Question**  
by Abram Leon, 270 pages, \$2.40\*
- ☐ **Land or Death**  
*The Peasant Struggle in Peru*  
by Hugo Blanco, 178 pages, \$1.95\*
- ☐ **The Lesser Evil?**  
*The Left Debates the Democratic Party and  
Social Change*, by Peter Camejo, Michael  
Harrington, and others, 128 pages, \$1.40\*
- ☐ **Malcolm X on Afro-American History**  
by Malcolm X, 74 pages, \$1.00\*
- ☐ **The Mao Myth**  
*And the Legacy of Stalinism in China*  
by Tom Kerry, 192 pages, \$1.95\*
- ☐ **Late Capitalism**  
by Ernest Mandel, 599 pages, special 40%  
off—\$15
- ☐ **Marx For Beginners**  
by RIUS, 156 pages, \$1.60\*
- ☐ **My Life**  
by Leon Trotsky, 602 pages, \$3.95\*

- ☐ **The Origin of the Family, Private  
Property, and the State**  
by Frederick Engels, 191 pages, \$2.40\*
- ☐ **Politics of Chicano Liberation**  
edited by Olga Rodriguez, 160 pages, \$1.95\*
- ☐ **Portraits, Political and Personal**  
by Leon Trotsky, 296 pages, \$2.75\*
- ☐ **Pragmatism versus Marxism**  
by George Novack, 320 pages, \$2.75\*
- ☐ **Problems of Everyday Life**  
by Leon Trotsky, 352 pages, \$3.20\*
- ☐ **Prospects for Socialism in America**  
by Jack Barnes and others, 267 pages,  
\$2.40\*
- ☐ **Puerto Ricans in the U.S.**  
edited by Catarino Garza, 63 pages, \$1.00\*
- ☐ **The Revolution Betrayed**  
by Leon Trotsky, 314 pages, \$3.20\*
- ☐ **Sexism and Science**  
by Evelyn Reed, 192 pages, \$2.75\*
- ☐ **Socialism on Trial**  
by James P. Cannon, 184 pages, \$1.80\*

- ☐ **The Struggle Against Fascism in  
Germany**  
by Leon Trotsky, 479 pages, \$3.95\*
- ☐ **The Struggle for Socialism in the  
"American Century"**  
by James P. Cannon, 480 pages, \$3.95\*
- ☐ **Teamster Bureaucracy**  
by Farrell Dobbs, 256 pages, \$2.75\*
- ☐ **Teamster Politics**  
by Farrell Dobbs, 256 pages, \$2.95\*
- ☐ **Teamster Power**  
by Farrell Dobbs, 255 pages, \$2.95\*
- ☐ **Teamster Rebellion**  
by Farrell Dobbs, 192 pages, \$2.95\*
- ☐ **The Transitional Program for Socialist  
Revolution**  
by Leon Trotsky, 252 pages, \$2.40\*
- ☐ **Woman's Evolution**  
by Evelyn Reed, 491 pages, \$3.95\*

\* 20% off regular price.

TO ORDER: mark boxes next to your selections with ✓ (for myself) or ✗ (for a friend), fill out coupons, clip page, and mail to:

**PATHFINDER PRESS** 410 West St., New York, NY 10014

Send these books/cassettes (✓) to me.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosed is my check or money order for \$\_\_\_\_\_.  
Charge my credit card: VISA (Bank Americard)  
MASTER CHARGE

Credit Card number: \_\_\_\_\_

Master Charge Inter-Bank number: \_\_\_\_\_

Expiration date: \_\_\_\_\_

Minimum order on credit cards: \$7.50

Send these books/cassettes (✗) to my friend, with the Marx  
character greeting card.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Sign the greeting card from \_\_\_\_\_

— Do not enclose card.



super special!

## CASSETTE TAPES

- ☐ **The Minneapolis Strikes and the  
Revolutionary Party**  
Four talks by Farrell Dobbs given in 1965.  
Five cassettes. Regular price \$25. Holiday  
offer \$15.
- ☐ **Lenin on the National Question**  
Two talks by Tony Thomas. Regular price  
\$12. Holiday offer \$10.
- ☐ **The Marxist Theory of the State**  
Three talks by David Frankel. Regular price  
\$12. Holiday offer \$10.

\* Choose any three cassettes marked in this  
way for \$15.

- ☐ **Defending the Revolutionary Party and  
Its Perspectives**  
Three talks by Al Hansen on the 1953  
dispute in the SWP known as the "Cochran  
Fight". Regular price \$15. Holiday offer  
\$12.
- ☐ **Feminism and Women's Biology**  
A talk by Evelyn Reed given in 1975. Regular  
price \$7. Holiday offer \$6\*.
- ☐ **The Role of Women's Liberation in the  
Socialist Revolution**  
A talk by Mary-Alice Waters given in 1976.  
Regular price \$7. Holiday price \$6\*.
- ☐ **Afro-American History**  
Three talks given by George Weissman in  
1967. Regular price \$15. Holiday offer \$12.

- ☐ **Malcolm X: the Man and His Ideas**  
A talk by George Breitman given in 1965.  
Regular price \$7. Holiday offer \$6\*.
- ☐ **The Trend of the Twentieth Century**  
A talk by James P. Cannon given on the  
32nd anniversary of the Russian Revolution  
in 1949. Regular price \$7. Holiday offer \$6\*.
- ☐ **What Socialist America Will Look Like**  
A talk given by James P. Cannon in 1953.  
Regular price \$7. Holiday offer \$6\*.
- ☐ **The Theory of the Permanent Revolution  
and the Revolutionary Party**  
Two talks given by Joseph Hansen in 1961.  
Regular price \$12. Holiday offer \$10.
- ☐ **Marxism and Existentialism**  
A talk by George Novack. Regular price \$7.  
Holiday offer \$6\*.

- ☐ **The Role of the Intellectual in the Party**  
A talk by Joseph Hansen given in 1968.  
Regular price \$7. Holiday offer \$6\*.
- ☐ **Building the Revolutionary Party**  
Two talks by Farrell Dobbs given in 1968.  
Regular price \$12. Holiday offer \$10.
- ☐ **The History of the SWP (1940-1965)**  
Six talks by Harry Ring. Regular price \$30.  
Holiday price \$25.
- ☐ **The Founding of the Young Socialist  
Alliance**  
A talk by Peter Camejo given in 1973.  
Regular price \$7. Holiday price \$6\*.
- ☐ **The Marcus Garvey Movement**  
A talk by Tony Thomas given in 1972.  
Regular price \$7. Holiday price \$6\*.



# Why women are angry about sterilization

Picture this: you've just delivered a baby. You're in some pain, a little groggy from anesthesia. Some one brings you official-looking forms. It's a hospital, where there are always papers to sign, so you dutifully put down your name.

Days—or perhaps years—later you find that the papers gave a doctor permission to sterilize you.

Or imagine that you are getting welfare assistance. Maybe you've recently had a baby. Or perhaps a caseworker visited and didn't like your lifestyle. "You better have your tubes tied," the doctor or caseworker threatens, "or you won't get any more welfare."

This has happened to thousands of women in this country. And in recent years it has happened more and more often. In 1974 it is estimated there were three times as many sterilizations performed as in 1970.

The government pays for about 100,000 sterilizations each year. In contrast, it pays for hardly any abortions, now that the Hyde amendment has cut off medicaid funds for that service.

For women the issue is clear: *the decision to bear a child or not belongs to the woman.* Neither the government nor the hospitals have any right to force either motherhood or sterilization upon us.

Faced with protests and lawsuits against

## AS I SEE IT

forced sterilization, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) recently announced new guidelines. Supposedly these guidelines will prevent social workers, hospitals, and prison officials from using HEW money to force women into being sterilized.

HEW has tentatively scheduled a hearing on the new sterilization guidelines for January 17 in Washington, D.C. Regional HEW offices will hold local hearings on the guidelines between January 17 and the end of February in Atlanta,



Right to choose is at stake in sterilization and abortion issues

Militant/Ellen Lemisch

Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Kansas City, Philadelphia, New York, San Francisco, and Seattle.

Those hearings should be interesting. What will Black women have to say about their experiences with forced sterilization? Someone may point out a pertinent 1970 government study. It showed that while 5.6 percent of the college-educated white women polled had been sterilized, 9.7 percent of the Black women had been sterilized.

If Puerto Rican women testify they can report that 35 percent of all women of child-bearing age in Puerto Rico have been sterilized. Someone may use the apt word "genocide" to describe the policy of government coercion.

In New York, women may cite studies showing that Hispanic women in that city are six times as likely as white women and three times as likely as Black women to be sterilized.

Maybe HEW will hear from the Chicanas in Los Angeles who are suing a hospital for sterilizing them against their will or without their knowledge.

Then there's the case of Norma Jean Serena. She is the American Indian suing the social workers and doctors who had her sterilized. A medical form described Serena's sterilization as "medically necessary" to treat a "socio-economic" ailment.

Thousands of other American Indian women could speak as expert witnesses on this topic. According to the Government Accounting Office, between 1973 and 1976 at least 3,406 American Indian women were sterilized. In fact, some doctors estimate that one-fourth of all women treated at Indian Health Service hospitals were sterilized.

These women may also have some harsh words about how meaningful official guidelines are. According to the government report, thirty-six of the American Indian women who were sterilized were less than twenty-one years old. The operations on them were done despite a court-ordered moratorium on sterilization of young women.

If you want to attend local hearings or testify, contact the HEW office in one of the ten cities mentioned.

—Diane Wang

## Va. drive for ERA sparked by union women

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—"When I think of equal rights I think of everybody—men and women. If they have the ability and the capacity, let them do it, whether they're a woman or a Spanish-speaking man."

This is the fiercely defended view of Lizzie Corbin, a Black meat cutter here for seventeen years. Corbin's commitment to equal rights recently led her in a new direction: leading a fight for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Corbin is co-coordinator of Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), the coalition born at an October 30 conference of 225 unionists in Richmond, Virginia. Twenty-three unions throughout Virginia endorsed a proposal approved by that meeting calling for a three-month campaign in support of the ERA. The drive is to culminate in a demonstration in Richmond on January 22.

The day before I interviewed Corbin near her workplace, a Safeway supermarket in northwest Washington, she was elected third vice-president of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Local 593. Her local of 4,800 workers covers Metropolitan Washington, including areas in Maryland and Virginia.

She "got into" working on the ERA drive, Corbin explains, "knowing how the economy is."

"Labor should be organized to help everyone. The economic conditions force us out here to work, so we should fight for the best we can get."

In Corbin's mind, the ERA is an important part of that fight. "Title VII [of the Civil Rights Act] has been so



Militant/Nancy Cole

Meat cutter Lizzie Corbin. "On January 22, people should come to Richmond to be seen and heard."

weakened. With the ERA, they won't be able to go around it anymore."

The idea of a labor campaign to win the ERA began in Local 593's women's committee. The committee is barely a year old, begun in late 1976 by Corbin and three other women. Their goal was to teach other women in the union organizational skills and to familiarize the whole union with women's issues and problems.

"There is so much misconception about the ERA. We thought we should do something for our women by educating around the ERA," she says.

Corbin knows from the history of her own trade the discrimination women have faced and still face.

"During World War I there were head meat cutters who were women. That showed women were capable of doing the job. Now there are no women head meat cutters."

She adds, "Women have to support their families, just like men."

Before the early 1960s, the majority of workers in any given meat department were women. Then automation set in, "and the women were gradually replaced." The remaining jobs, you see, were too "strenuous" for women.

Corbin never found it too strenuous. She likes her job—weighing, wrapping, and displaying meat.

About two or three years ago, women started breaking into meat cutting jobs. Local 593 is now about 40 percent women.

The new women have faced a lot of harassment, but Corbin thinks it's getting better. As for herself, she is still subject to "petty harassment" from her bosses, mainly because of her union activity.

"For instance, when the store manager found out my union was sending me to the International Women's Year conference in Houston, he tried to give me a hard time about when my day off would be that week. 'I am the store manager,' he informed me, 'the union does not run the store.'"

Corbin believes her local union is what a union should be, and the ERA campaign is an example of that. "Unions should open up more, involve the whole membership."

Although she's been a union activist for years, this is the first time she has

ever been involved in anything like a mass demonstration. "I was always looking at things from a distance until I realized you have to get involved."

"The ERA needs people to come out and rally to let the legislative bodies know we want it passed," Corbin says. "On January 22, people should come to Richmond to be heard and seen."

### Merits labor's 'all-out support'

"The ERA, which would give women a legal weapon in their struggle against discriminatory barriers, warrants the labor movement's all-out support," explains the action proposal approved by the October 30 union-sponsored conference on the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia.

The proposal urged unions to establish "Pass ERA" committees to generate discussion and education on the ERA among union members.

The conference also designated January 16-22 "Pass ERA in Virginia Week" to be marked with "rallies, meetings, demonstrations, and other activities of a visible nature." This will lead up to the rally and demonstration in Richmond on January 22.

For more information, contact Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), 1022 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 2310, Arlington, Virginia 22209. Telephone: (703) 522-0880.

# Nuclear foes win Atlanta free speech fight

By Don Davis

ATLANTA—The first teach-in here against nuclear power attracted attention beyond the 150 who attended the November 11-12 event at Georgia State University.

Unknown persons outside the university, who apparently did not like seeing the antinuke argument presented, pressured the Georgia State administration into taking disciplinary action against the Young Socialist Alliance for its role in the event.

The YSA, which cosponsored the teach-in and reserved campus space for it, was banned from using university facilities for the remainder of the fall quarter.

That turned out not to be the last word, however. After a week-long protest campaign by students, faculty, and community groups, the administration backed down and restored the YSA's rights.

It was not the first instance in Atlanta of efforts to squelch protests against nuclear power.

Recent newspaper reports have documented the Georgia Power Company's secret police force, which has spied on activists who opposed rate hikes and nuclear power.

In this case, the university claimed the YSA had violated school rules because non-campus groups took part in the meeting and because the YSA member who signed the room reservation form did not attend part of the event.

The administration backed off from the first allegation when the YSA pointed out that the administration had, one week prior to the Teach-in for Survival, given approval to post the program, which listed all twenty-two cosponsoring organizations including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the American Civil Liber-

ties Union, Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Socialist Workers Party, and others.

As for the second charge, the YSA noted that nowhere in school regulations does it say the person signing a room reservation form must attend the event.

The real reason for the school action emerged in a meeting between Assistant Dean of Students Alice Young and YSA chairperson Joanne Kuniansky.

Young said that forces outside the university had complained about the teach-in to her bosses. "And I mean the president [of the university] and the Board of Regents," Kuniansky quoted Young as saying.

But when Kuniansky tried again to see the dean, she was told that Young could not speak further with the YSA except in the presence of other school officials.

From then on, the university denied that there had been pressure.

Hundreds of students and faculty members, meanwhile, signed petitions protesting the school's action. Letters, telephone calls, and telegrams of protest poured in from numerous groups, including *Critical Mass Journal*, Atlanta Clergy and Laity Concerned, Georgia State Women's Coalition, Georgia Public Interest Research Group, Georgians for Clean Energy, Southerners Mobilizing for Survival, and others.

Reports on the controversy appeared in the newspapers and on television.

As a television crew waited outside, Dean of Students William Baggett met November 22 with the YSA and its supporters. The following day, he lifted the ban after Kuniansky signed a statement attesting a member of the YSA had attended the event.

## 123 arrested at Oregon antinuclear protest

By Taffy Harris and Paul Freeman

PORTLAND, Ore.—One hundred twenty-three people were arrested November 25 as they attempted to sit in at the Trojan nuclear power plant in Rainier, Oregon. The protesters were arrested two hours after they blocked gates to the plant.

The 123 reached the site in a steady rain. Bart Withers, plant superintendent, ordered them to leave, but they vowed to stay until police removed them.

Shortly afterward, forty state troopers arrested the unresisting demonstrators for trespassing, dragging some of them through puddles and dunking them.

Twenty people were released on a total of \$2,000 bail. The rest were set free on their own recognizance.

Some 200 people picketed the Portland headquarters of Portland General Electric (PGE) the next day, calling on the company, which owns Trojan, to shut the plant.

The actions were organized by the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance, an Oregon-based anti-nuclear power group. The TDA was organized in June after the occupation of the construction site of a nuclear power plant in Sea-

brook, New Hampshire.

Last August 6, 1,000 people rallied against nuclear power at Trojan, and 82 sat in and were arrested. Their trial opens December 12. The TDA plans to use that mass trial to educate the public about the dangers of nuclear power.

On November 23, the TDA held a rally of 150 people at Portland State University. Speakers described the costs and dangers of nuclear power, and making a strong case for stopping construction of nuclear power plants and shutting down plants that are already operating.

Sandy Richards, a state representative, explained that PGE spent \$1 billion on the project and had hiked its electric rates 95 percent since 1970.

Richards and other speakers pointed to the dangers from the thirty-one tons of radioactive waste generated by Trojan every year, including 600 pounds of plutonium. No one has come up with a safe method of disposing of radioactive by-products. They are simply dumped in a pool of water beside the reactor.

Barbara Willard, a spokeswoman for TDA, discussed the activities of the group.



Anti-nuclear power pickets in Portland, November 26

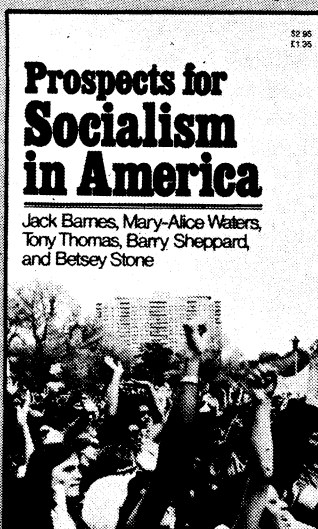
Will Neuman, a teacher at Portland Community College, told the rally that insurance companies refused to provide coverage for nuclear accidents.

PGE, Neuman said, is liable for only .01 percent of the possible property damage from a major accident at Trojan.

# Did you subscribe to the 'Militant' this fall?

If you did, you—along with our 15,540 other new subscribers—will soon receive a letter in the mail. It explains how you can receive an important free book when you renew your subscription for a year. The book is called *Prospects for Socialism in America*. Written by five leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, *Prospects* details the socialist view of how working people can take effective action around the problem we face today—action that is part of a broader strategy to achieve socialism.

We're making the same offer here both to readers who haven't yet subscribed and to longtime subscribers. Just clip and mail the coupon below.



☐ Enclosed is \$15 for one year of the *Militant*. Renewal ☐ New ☐

Send me my free copy of *Prospects for Socialism*.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

Mail to: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York 10014



# No to racism at home and abroad

## Howard University hosts spirited pro-rights rally

By Omari Musa

WASHINGTON—For many generations Howard University has played an important role in the Black movement here and across the country. Not only has it been a center of Black scholarship, but it has also been an important organizing center in the ongoing struggle for Black emancipation in the United States.

Thus, it was only fitting that Howard University open its doors to the nearly 250 antiracist fighters who attended a spirited rally here December 2. The rally was the kickoff for the National Student Antiracist Strategy Meeting called by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

The broad range of speakers at the rally reflected NSCAR's involvement in the struggle against racist discrimination on many fronts.

Through its participation in such struggles—from defense of victims of racist frame-ups to the fight against deportation of undocumented immigrants—NSCAR has expanded its influence and authority as a staunch champion of the rights of oppressed minorities.

Testimony to this fact came from Deborah Haugabook, cochairperson of

the rally, who announced in her opening remarks to the rally that just that afternoon SCAR activists at Howard University had received a letter from the campus administration recognizing the student group as an official organization.

### Reverse 'Bakke'

Banners hung at either side of the speakers platform, singling out some of the key struggles against racist oppression SCAR chapters have been involved in: "Stop the deportations," "Black majority rule [in southern Africa] now," "Defend affirmative action, reverse Bakke."

James Harris, NSCAR national staff coordinator, pointed to the urgency of the fight to overturn the *Bakke* decision.

"If Bakke wins this case on the logically absurd grounds of 'reverse discrimination,' then no affirmative-action program in this country is safe. All will be called into question.

"One of the most significant things happening today," Harris said, "is the call by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision for a national march on Washington April 15.

"It is a bold and decisive move. It is

a correct move. And everybody who stands for equal rights and against racial discrimination has a duty to help make the April 15 demonstration as large as possible.

"There can be no business as usual. We're in for a battle. We have to prepare for the battle and do it now. Blacks, women, Chicanos, Asian-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and trade unionists are all affected by the *Bakke* decision," said Harris. "It is time to unite."

Yoshinori Himel of the Asian and Pacific Americans Federal Employees Council supported Harris's call for unity to defend affirmative action.

"Working alone," Himel said, "no group can defend affirmative action for racial equality against the *Bakke* decision and other attacks. It will take many different groups working together in a unified cause. By working together, we can defeat *Bakke*."

### Zimbabweans ask support

One of the highlights of the rally was the participation of four Zimbabwean students. The students are being victimized by Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh.

They are part of a group of twenty-five students who came to the United States to get a university education. They were told before leaving Zimbabwe that the program was not political.

But in reality, the students were to be trained to take high posts in a future neocolonial government in Zimbabwe.

Upon learning this, eight of the

students quit the program.

Nelson Thema, one of the eight, told the rally, "When we found out the implications of this program, we decided to make our stand very clear both to CMU and the world. So we went on television and radio to explain that we were not going to be part of a program designed to create people who would be a stumbling block to the people's revolution. We were not going to be trained to become Western puppets."

"We also found out that this program was timed to coincide with the British and U.S. efforts to achieve a so-called peaceful transition to a Black majority government in Zimbabwe."

The CMU administration responded by giving the students two choices: continue in the program and shut up, or be sent back to Rhodesia.

"If we go back, the Smith regime will take us from the airport to jail," Thema said. "In fact, one of the deans had a package of tickets ready to give anyone who refused to stay with the program."

Thema called on those at the rally to help publicize the Zimbabwean students' case and aid their fight to remain in the United States and attend the schools of their choice.

### Deportations

Je'sy Chancy Manigat from the National Council of Churches Office of Haitian Concerns spoke of Haitian refugees' fight against deportation.

"Today there are over 2,000 refugees in Miami—200 of them are in jails," said Chancy Manigat. "Before 1972

## NSCAR backs call for anti-'Bakke' protests

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the National Student Antiracist Strategy Meeting sponsored by NSCAR December 3 in Washington, D.C.

At a Berkeley, California, press conference on November 26, 1977, the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD) announced plans for a national demonstration in Washington, D.C., on April 15, 1978. This demonstration will protest the *Bakke* "reverse discrimination" decision presently being reviewed by the U.S. Supreme Court. In addition, the NCOBD plans a national week of education and action against the *Bakke* decision and racism on February 19-25, and local demonstrations on April 8.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) endorses this call by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

Where chapters of the NCOBD exist, NSCAR chapters will work with the NCOBD in building student support for the Washington, D.C., demonstration. Where chapters of the NCOBD do not exist, NSCAR chapters will build campus support activities for the NCOBD demonstrations and help to initiate broad-based campus and city-wide anti-*Bakke* coalitions to build the spring activities.

NSCAR chapters plan to carry out the following steps to build the spring actions:

1. Seek endorsements for the national demonstrations and educational week from Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian-American, labor, and women's organizations and individuals. (Copies of endorsements should be sent to: NCOBD National Office, P.O. Box 3026, South Berkeley Station, Berkeley, California 94703. (415) 549-3297; and NSCAR National Office, 160 Fifth Avenue, #615, New York, New York 10010.)

2. Produce educational material on *Bakke*, in support of affirmative action and quotas. Although support for quotas need not be the focus of broader city-wide coalitions, NSCAR views quotas as essential to enforce affirmative-action programs and plans to educate students and the population at large on the importance of supporting quotas.

3. Step up the educational campaign to overturn *Bakke* and defend affirmative action through regional conferences, debates, forums, rallies, and speaking engagements. These activities will be an important way to build the spring actions, in particular the April 15 national demonstration in D.C.

NSCAR views the *Bakke* decision as a concerted racist attack by the U.S. government on the rights of



Militant/David Nudel

NSCAR helped organize October 3 and 8 anti-'Bakke' protests called by NCOBD and Black American Law Students Association.

Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian-Americans, Native Americans, women, and students. *Bakke* and the scores of other anti-affirmative-action cases now before the courts point to the need to build a new civil and human rights movement. The February 19-25 educational activities, April 8 local actions, and the April 15 national anti-*Bakke* demonstration in Washington, D.C., are all steps in the right direction.

We urge student groups, labor unions, women's organizations, and civil rights groups of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian-American, and Native American communities to actively support and build the spring anti-*Bakke* activities called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision. **DEFEND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION!**

**REVERSE BAKKE!**  
**ALL OUT APRIL 15!**



# broad

Haitians did not have problems getting into the U.S. But since then the Duvalier regime has gone on a big public relations campaign to convince the world that people in Haiti are no longer tortured and murdered.

"The U.S. is helping the regime with its campaign," she said. "To grant political asylum to Haitian refugees would put the lie to the propaganda flowing from Duvalier."

But the threat of deportation is rooted in other factors as well, Chancy-Manigat said.

"The U.S. government is using Mexicans, Chicanos, and Haitians as scapegoats. It is trying to blame us for unemployment here."

"But in the southern part of the U.S. Haitians have been coming 'illegally' to cut sugar cane and in the North to pick apples. Whenever the U.S. needs Caribbean workers for cheap, hard jobs, there is no problem."

Chancy-Manigat concluded her remarks by thanking NSCAR for putting the Haitian people's struggle on its agenda and helping in the campaign to win political asylum for Haitian refugees. She urged rally participants to continue their work in the fight against deportations.

This same theme was expressed by Frank Shaffer-Corona, a member of the D.C. School Board. Corona predicted that the question of deportations "is going to be the human rights issue of the 1980s."

Howard University Prof. James Garrett also addressed the rally. Noting the rally's success, Garrett said, "I'm glad to see the growing participation of



JAMES GARRETT



CLIFTON GRAVES



ANNE SHEPARD



Militant/Onari Musa

NELSON THEMA



JE'SY CHANCY-MANIGAT



JAMES HARRIS

more people in the fight for their democratic rights.

"If we decide to struggle with NSCAR," he said, "we should do it with the idea of changing things. The idea here is to understand and bring about change. And by change I mean the transformation of the social structure of this country."

Anne Shepard, the only one of the

Wilmington Ten out of jail, appealed to the rally to continue the fight to free the other nine civil rights activists.

Elizabeth Young, who, along with Kenneth Chin, was arrested on frame-up charges by the U.S. Secret Service, called for support to their case and those of other Asian-American frame-up victims.

Other speakers included noted scho-

lar and Pan-Africanist C.L.R. James; Clifton Graves of the Black American Law Students Association; D.C. City Council member Hilda Mason; Ron Walters of the African Heritage Studies Association; D.C. SCAR activist Miesa Patterson; Jon Hillson, author of the *Battle of Boston*; and Bert Baker from the Howard University Caribbean Students Association.

## Broad antiracist drive set at nat'l strategy meet

By John Hawkins

WASHINGTON—More than 150 students and others active in antiracist struggles across the country met here December 3 at the Howard University School of Social Work. They decided to mount a nationwide education and action campaign to overturn the *Bakke* decision and defend affirmative-action programs in hiring and education.

The *Bakke* decision, currently before the U.S. Supreme Court, charges the University of California Board of Regents with "reverse discrimination" for operating a minority-admissions program at its Davis medical school.

The National Student Antiracist Strategy Meeting was sponsored by the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Participants in the meeting came from more than a dozen cities—from as nearby as Philadelphia; Baltimore; and Raleigh, North Carolina; and from as far away as New Orleans, Atlanta, Cincinnati, and Chicago.

The meeting greeted with enthusiasm a proposal made by NSCAR National Coordinator Tony Austin and National Staff Coordinator James Harris.

The proposal called on NSCAR chapters and student activists to go all out to help organize the winter and spring anti-*Bakke* protests called by the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision.

At a meeting of its national coordinating committee over the November 26 weekend, the NCOBD issued a call for local and regional anti-*Bakke* protests February 19-25 and April 8, and for a national march on Washington April 15.

### NSCAR's role

In his report on the state of the antiracist movement, Harris outlined NSCAR's role in antiracist struggles since its founding.

"We began around the school desegregation issue in Boston," he said, "an issue we saw would have national implications."

"We expanded our antiracist activi-



Militant/Lou Howort  
NSCAR leader Miguel Zárate

ties to defending victims of racist repression."

Most prominent of the defense cases NSCAR has been active in was that of Joanne Little. However, since NSCAR's founding, its chapters have been active in defense of such frame-up victims as the Wilmington Ten, Gary Tyler, Dennis Banks, the Dawson Five, and the four Puerto Rican Nationalists.

Harris pointed to NSCAR's activities in defense of the freedom struggles in southern Africa, including the tours NSCAR organized last spring for Tsietshi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo, two leaders of the June 16, 1976, Soweto, South Africa, rebellion.

### Against deportations

"Besides our efforts around busing, struggles in southern Africa, and numerous defense cases," Harris continued, "NSCAR has now begun work against the racist campaign being whipped up by the U.S. government and reactionaries to deport undocumented immigrants living in this country."

"For example, NSCAR played a major role in building the recent National Chicano/Latino Conference in San Antonio—the broadest ever in the Chicano movement, including all the major Chicano and Latino organizations."

As part of its involvement in helping organize participation in the conference, Harris said, NSCAR sent one of its leading activists, Miguel Zárate, to San Antonio to work on the conference staff. With its active support to the conference, NSCAR has become more involved in the Chicano and Latino movements and has taken on the fight

Continued on page 30

## NSCAR elects Harris

WASHINGTON—"The Carter administration's promises have proven to be worth less than nothing to Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asian-Americans," said James Harris, as the National Student Antiracist Strategy Meeting drew to a close. "And the growing awareness of that fact is bound to spark a wave of struggles against the continuing assault on the rights and standard of living of oppressed minorities."

Harris, twenty-nine, is the newly elected coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

A native of Cleveland, Harris has been involved in the antiracist movement for more than a decade. He was a founding member of the Black Student Union at Cleveland State University and a leading organizer of Black opposition to the Vietnam War.

In Atlanta, where Harris lived before joining the NSCAR staff in New York earlier this year, he helped lead the struggle of that city's Black community and its supporters in 1975 against a series of police killings. He was also a founding member and leading activist in Atlanta SCAR.

# Steel notes...

**PITTSBURGH POLLUTION VOTE:** A referendum on the November ballot in Pittsburgh read: "Should county and municipal elected officials fight to change the federal environmental laws in order to preserve existing jobs in the steel industry?"

The wording of the referendum and the procompany media blitz by area politicians were designed to get one message across—you have no choice. Give up clean air and water, or your job may be taken away. It was a crude attempt to force working people—the victims of both pollution and layoffs—to endorse further attacks on their own standard of living.

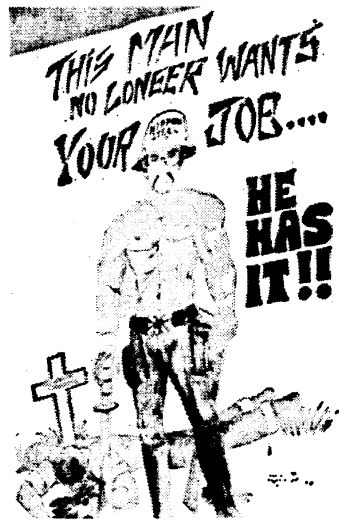
Top officials of the United Steelworkers—who have in the past backed industry demands for delays or exemptions from pollution standards—admitted there was no evidence that environmental controls cause layoffs. But instead of forthrightly condemning the referendum blackmail and campaigning for a "no" vote, the USWA leaders called for workers to "ignore" the ballot question. The Group Against Smog and Pollution (GASP) took a similar position. Both groups evidently believed a big "yes" vote was inevitable and feared a head-on fight with the companies.

Howard Beck, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh, argued, "Steelworkers suffer most from the toxic pollutants produced at the workplace. These are realities we cannot afford to ignore. We must make a stand and come down for a 'no' vote."

Many commentators were surprised when more than 36 percent of Pittsburgh voters rejected the referendum. More voters registered their opinion on this question than any other ballot issue. The vote confirmed Beck's assertion that a strong, united effort of labor and environmental groups could have convinced working people to repudiate the steel companies' deadly swindle.

**STRIKE AT CERRO COPPER:** About 700 steelworkers, members of USWA Local 4294, struck the Cerro Copper plant in Sauget, Illinois, November 6, after voting overwhelmingly to turn down the company contract offer. The main issue is pension benefits—some 40 percent of the workers at Cerro have worked there for twenty-five to thirty years. The company offered increases in pension benefits that would apply only to future years of service. Thus the workers closest to retirement would have benefited least.

Strikers maintain that Cerro was counting on younger workers to vote for the proposal, which included wage increases totaling \$1.30 an hour over three years. Local 4294 President Charles Pettus said that the company's divide-and-conquer strategy "backfired on them. It just served to unite us."



**RACIST FILTH:** This vile, racist poster is displayed by officials of USWA Local 2603. Its crude message gets across the essence of the anti-import hysteria peddled by the McBride leadership of the USWA: that foreign workers—not the U.S. steel profiteers—are the enemy of American steelworkers. It so happens that the biggest increase in steel imports this year has come from Europe, not Japan. But the racist "yellow peril" image is best suited to McBride's gutter-level appeal to backward, xenophobic, anti-working-class prejudices. It ought to stand as a warning to all union activists about the logic of the anti-import drive.

**SAN FRANCISCO FORUM HITS IMPORT SCARE:** The anti-import scare being pushed by the steel industry and the union officialdom was condemned by speakers at a Militant Forum in San Francisco November 18.

Carl Finamore from USWA Local 1304 pointed to monopoly pricing and the profit drive as the real causes of the current steel crisis. "The steel bosses don't want to spend money expanding production because foreign competition is cutting into their profits," he said. "They would rather produce less and charge higher prices. A key part of this anti-working-class strategy is to reestablish the U.S. steel companies' monopoly by reducing imports." Finamore said union support for this policy won't save jobs—it will only lead to more layoffs as the companies press for higher productivity and profits.

Percy Edmund, a union activist for thirty-two years and recording secretary of USWA Local 50, called "for the labor movement to revive the spirit of solidarity and unity in action to fight the attacks of the employers." Local 50 has been on strike against Federated Metals in San Francisco since October 1.

Speaking from his experience in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers union, which merged with the USWA in 1968, Edmund condemned red-baiting as an antiunion tactic. "Every contract time you could count on our leadership being subpoenaed to appear in Washington amidst charges that we were all communists," he said. "This played right into the plans of the company, who took advantage of any divisions in our ranks caused by prejudices against the right of radicals to function in the union."

Nat Weinstein of the Socialist Workers Party also spoke, urging a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay and expanded steel production to meet social needs. "It is impossible," he said, "for working people to move forward by supporting procompany proposals such as seeking a ban on imports. Production should be organized to meet the needs of society; to do that we must wrest political control away from the small minority that presently runs things."

—Andy Rose

## Pullman strikers picket Wall St., demand talks

By Andrew Pulley

CHICAGO—Striking steelworkers from four states traveled to New York City December 2 to protest the antiunion actions of Pullman-Standard.

Four United Steelworkers of America locals with a total of 6,500 members have been on strike against Pullman, a manufacturer of railroad cars, since October 1.

The company has refused to negotiate and is using foremen and other scabs to continue work on cars inside its plants.

On December 2 Wall Street was honoring the one hundredth anniversary of Pullman's listing on the New York Stock Exchange. In fact, Wall

Andrew Pulley, a member of USWA Local 1834, is on strike against Pullman-Standard.

Street itself was temporarily renamed "Pullman Street."

While stockbrokers and investors celebrated, eighty strikers came by car and bus from Bessemer, Alabama; Butler, Pennsylvania; Hammond, Indiana; and Chicago to picket outside the stock exchange. The action was officially sponsored by the international union and the striking locals.

Some of our slogans were "100 years is too damn long," "No contract, no work," and "Stop the scabbing." We also protested aid to Pullman's strike-breaking by New York subway officials, who have sent inspectors into the struck plants to OK cars being built by scabs.

Instead of negotiating, Pullman has launched a letter-writing propaganda campaign to all employees aimed at starting a back-to-work movement.

In these letters Pullman President "General" James McDivitt, the former astronaut, tries to justify the company's main demand—elimination of the right to strike over local grievances involving incentive-pay rates.

McDivitt says binding arbitration would be a "neutral," "orderly," and "peaceful" way to settle grievances. He argues that since the union gave up the right to strike in basic steel with the experimental Negotiating Agreement, so should we!

But workers in basic steel know that



Daily World  
Pullman-Standard strikers picket outside New York Stock Exchange December 2.

settling grievances through arbitration is a hoax. Only a tiny fraction of grievances are ever settled to the workers' satisfaction.

The right to strike is the only muscle we have to bring the company to terms. Far from being an example to follow, the no-strike agreement in basic steel has weakened the union.

McDivitt says in a strike hundreds of workers may go without pay to settle disputes affecting only a few. Nothing could more clearly expose his union-busting intentions. Solidarity—using our united strength for our fellow workers—is the essence of unionism. That's what Pullman wants to destroy.

McDivitt further claims that strikes cause Pullman to lose business to foreign companies. Unfortunately some of our union leaders have gotten behind Pullman in a "Buy American" campaign.

But it is the company's drive for profits—not our wages—that is responsible for the high price of Pullman cars. Pullman's "patriotism" is just a cover for profiteering and strikebreaking.

## California steelworker 'shot'—incentive system to blame?

By Frank Mikula

NEWARK, Calif.—In many ways the working conditions for members of United Steelworkers of America Local 5649 here at Cerro Metal Products are like those of other steelworkers.

The plant is old and looks more like a museum than a mill.

Cerro insists on squeezing the last bit of production out of the old, poorly maintained machinery. As a result, burns, cuts, broken fingers, and even loss of limbs are not uncommon.

Recently Tom Tomasko, a furnace tender, was "shot" in the chest when a bullet exploded in his furnace. The live round was among spent bullet and artillery shell casings that are melted in the furnace along with other scrap metal.

At the time of the accident Cerro had not been checking for live shells, even though other furnace tenders have been "shot" in similar incidents.

After an investigation of the accident, the California Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) is now requiring that shells be inspected and certified as inert before being used.

It is unclear how effective this will be as a safety measure, however, since Cerro was supposed to be using only

shells certified as inert to begin with.

Luckily, Tomasko was not seriously injured. In response to the anger expressed by the workers about the incident, Cerro has not used any shells since then.

Discussion with other furnace tenders about the incident called attention to another dilemma facing workers throughout the industry—the incentive system, under which workers are paid at a low base rate plus a "bonus" on their productivity.

The logic of the incentive system forces workers to work so fast in order to make a living wage that injuries often result.

After the explosion in Tomasko's furnace, there was a lot of discussion among union members about demanding that Cerro stop the use of bullet casings altogether.

The response of some furnace tenders, however, reflected the economic pressures felt by working people today. The bullet casings melt faster than most other scrap metal, so their use allows furnace tenders to earn more of the desperately needed incentive pay.

The incentive system forces workers to choose either a decent income or safer working conditions. In my opinion, we have a right to both.



# Strike still on, despite return of two locals

By Stu Singer

DULUTH, Minn., Dec. 7—The iron range strike is not over, but two more locals have gone back to work.

On December 6 the United Steelworkers locals at Reserve Mining Company—Local 4757 in Babbitt and Local 5296 in Silver Bay—began returning to work.

Ore ships immediately began loading taconite (iron ore) pellets off the docks in Silver Bay.

The ships that carry ore to Chicago-area and other steel mills can operate on the Great Lakes only until about the end of December, and the companies are anxious to ease

the pressure on their dwindling ore supplies.

The locals voted together by secret ballot December 5 with about 75 percent of their 2,400 members voting. The members voted by a six-to-one margin to return to work.

The contract the Reserve strikers voted on has one serious weakness: the company negotiators never signed it.

The proposal to the membership was based on a widely publicized "handshake" with the company and a statement signed only by the union negotiators as to the verbal agreement they had reached with the company.

Union negotiators say the company agreed to progress on important health and safety issues and to incentive-pay coverage for up to 92 percent of the work force.

But a USWA international official, who was instrumental in pushing the settlement through, said that the only accurate figure is a minimum of 75 percent coverage. In the absence of a signed contract it is obviously impossible to tell what the final terms will be.

The return to work at Reserve puts more pressure on the other locals to go back, probably for less than the 100 percent incentive coverage they are demanding.

But District 33 Director Linus Wampler and the presidents of the eight locals still on strike have made it clear that no more locals will return to work without a signed contract.

As Willard Anderson, president of Local 2660, told a solidarity meeting in Minneapolis last night (see story on back page), "Even with a signed contract the companies have been known to break it. But their refusal to sign with Babbitt-Silver Bay indicates that the final signed contract they get really depends on what the locals still on strike can get."

## Mesabi Iron Range: notes from a strike

By Stu Singer

EVELETH, Minn.—In unionized plants throughout the country, company officials show their contempt for workers by daring them to "file a grievance" whenever they have a complaint. The grievance procedure is notoriously ineffective in defending working conditions.

Here on the Mesabi Iron Range, steelworker pickets stop and check the identification cards of all foremen and other management personnel entering or leaving the struck plants.

When the bosses complain about waiting in line to be checked out by the union, they are told to "file a grievance."

\* \* \*

Eveleth Taconite's Thunderbird mine is located in Eveleth, a small town near Virginia, Minnesota. The mine is jointly owned by Oglebay-Norton Company and Ford Motor Company.

On Friday, November 25, the steelworkers in that local voted by a two-to-one margin against a back-to-work proposal brought in by a majority on their negotiating committee.

The vote came as a big surprise to the company, which had maintenance foremen preparing the equipment to start up. These foremen were doing work union members do when the plant is operating.

On the Monday after the vote, forty to fifty pickets showed up and refused to let maintenance foremen into the plant anymore.

\* \* \*

Gene Skraba was elected vice-president of USWA Local 6860 at Eveleth Taconite just a few weeks ago. There was a special election because the local president took a job as a staff representative for the international union, and the former vice-president moved up.

Gene was the only one out of five



GENE SKRABA: "This strike is setting an example for all unions."



Striker checks ID of management employee at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant

Militant/Stu Singer

local union negotiators who pushed for rejecting the contract offer. But he won the majority over to that stand.

"This strike is setting an example for miners and all other unions," he told the *Militant*. "The companies are acting like they are trying to destroy the unions."

Gene, who is thirty-four years old, has worked at Eveleth Taconite for thirteen years. Before that he attended college in Wyoming for a few years on a football scholarship.

He grew up on a farm near an Indian reservation and made a strong point about his sympathy for Native Americans and the plight of oppressed minorities in general.

Gene said his wife is reading a book about socialist leader Eugene V. Debs. He praised the *Militant* for its accurate coverage of the strike. "It is important that the story be known all over," he said. "The general public is being misled by the bigger news media."

\* \* \*

The plant with the youngest work force on the iron range seems to be the one outside Virginia owned by Inland Steel. The Minorca plant is a brand new facility. It was in full operation only from April to August of this year, before the strike closed it down.

USWA Local 6115 at Minorca was organized late in 1976 and was not allowed to vote in last February's election for district director and international officers.

According to Steve House, a twenty-three-year-old assistant picket captain, when the local was being organized the international promised the members could vote. But the union brass changed their minds when they realized this local would just add more votes to the big iron range majority for insurgent Ed. Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate.

Steve is from Arkansas. He and his wife live in a trailer with their young

child. They are living on thirty dollars a week in strike benefits, plus five dollars for picket duty.

Steve is from a union family. His uncle is an AFL-CIO organizer in Arkansas, and he can remember seeing his uncle's car shot up by right-wingers because of a unionization drive.

"The strike might go until spring," Steve said, "but we haven't stayed out this long to go back without getting something."

\* \* \*

The largest local on the range is at U.S. Steel's Minntac facility in Mountain Iron, a couple of miles outside Virginia. Local 1938's office in Carpenters Hall in downtown Virginia is the closest thing to a central office for the striking locals.

Local 1938 President Joe Samargia is one of the main leaders of the strike. Thirty-five years old, he is a fifteen-year veteran of the mines and a third-generation miner.

Samargia's feelings about U.S. Steel involve his entire life and family. His grandfather came here around the turn of the century from what is now Yugoslavia. He worked in an underground mine for U.S. Steel and took part in the 1916 strike.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Joe talked about his background, similar to that of many strikers here.

"In 1932 U.S. Steel fired my grandfather because he had a Roosevelt sticker on his car. They didn't let him work there again until 1942, when they had a shortage of workers because of the war."

"My father and my uncles would never work for U.S. Steel because they hated them so bad. I worked for Reserve Mining Company for seven years, and I was tired of driving so far to work. I said to my father, 'U.S. Steel is hiring.'

"He said, 'Don't work for them sons of bitches.'

"But I did. And it ended up me and my brothers are both union members at U.S. Steel, and my older brother is in management. He crosses our picket line every day."

"I always tell them, it doesn't pay to hate the company and not fight them. You're better off within the ranks trying to get someplace, trying to change things. Because somebody is going to work for them. You're better off working for them and fighting them. Running away doesn't do any good."

The 1916 strike on the range was led by the revolutionary socialists and syndicalists of the International Workers of the World.

The strikers stuck with their radical IWW leaders despite a refusal by the Minnesota AFL to provide strike support while the IWW was involved. But the deepgoing radicalism of that time was crushed and partly forgotten after the 1916 strike was defeated.

Although there was a struggle by the miners in 1926, unionism didn't win on the range until 1942.

Joe's knowledge of labor history helped shape his attitude toward red-baiting within the union movement.

"Every time there was a union revolt of a kind like in 1916," he said, "that's what they used against people. What the hell—they used it against Sadlowski."

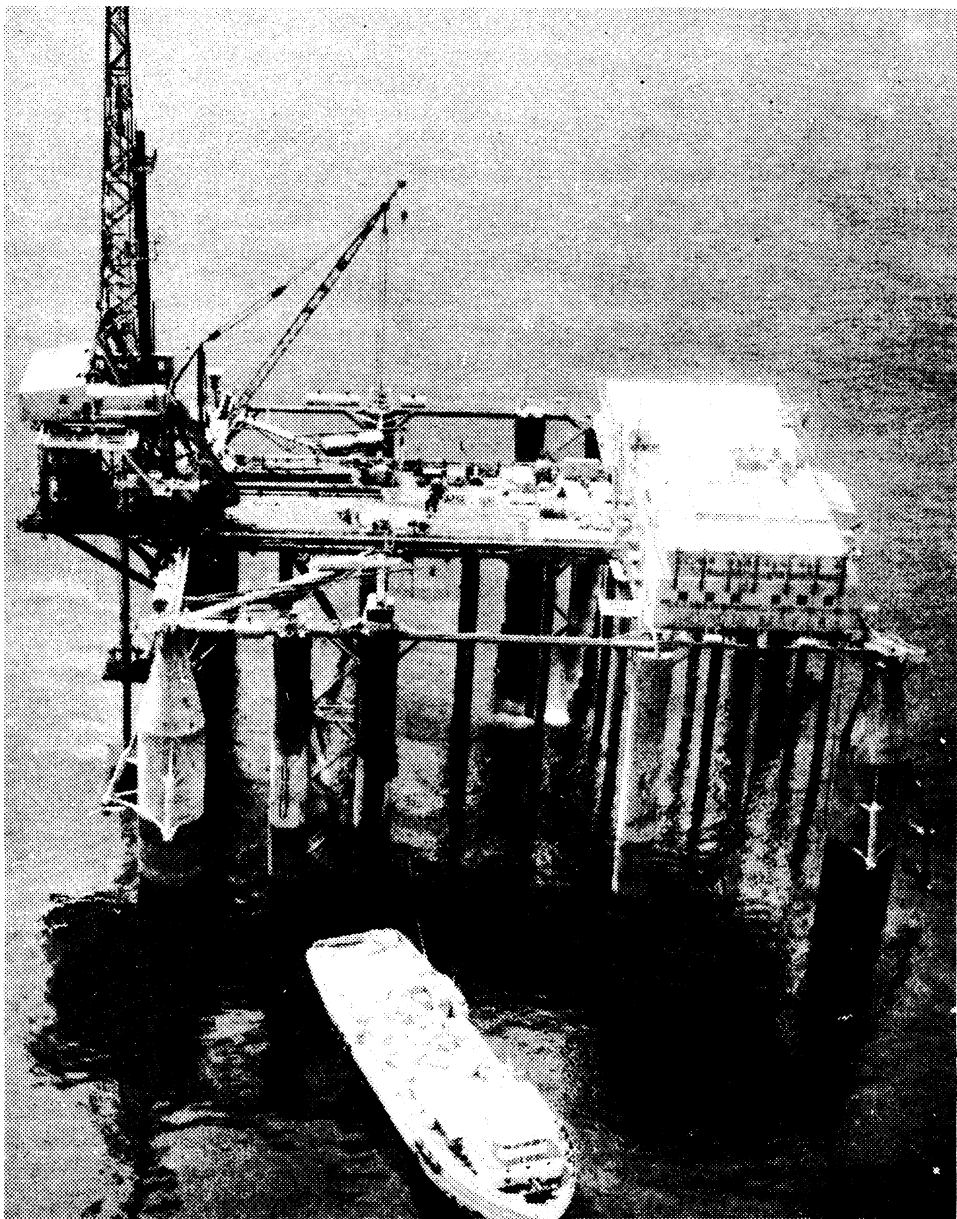
"In those days the company used it against the people, and now the union uses it against the people. The international union is using it against the rank and file, that 'there are communists within our ranks, and they are trying to defeat us' and all this kind of garbage."

"What [steel baron Andrew] Carnegie and them thought up as an idea to defeat the unions, now the unions are using to oppress people, to keep them under their thumb."



# Is Angola on the road to socialism?

## In reply to 'Guardian'-Part II



Gulf oil installation off Angolan coast. Under MPLA government most major imperialist holdings have not been nationalized.

### By Omari Musa

The December 9 issue of the *Militant* explained why the *Guardian* news-weekly's political support to the current government in Angola is against the interests of Angolan workers and peasants.

The *Guardian*'s error is not an isolated misjudgment. It flows from the paper's strategy for revolution in colonial and semicolonial countries, a strategy that reflects its Maoist political orientation.

The *Guardian* claims that revolutions in these countries must be limited to "the stage of national independence won by joining different strata of the population to defeat imperialism." (By "different strata" the *Guardian* means different social classes, including the capitalists.)

Only at some later stage does it become appropriate for the masses to struggle to rid themselves of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

This is the two-stage theory of revolution. The practitioners of this "theory"—from Joseph Stalin to Mao Tsetung—have palmed it off under different names at different times: people's front, bloc of four classes, and united front against facism.

The *Guardian* calls its version the "united front against imperialism."

The essence of the two-stage theory is the call for a programmatic bloc

between the workers, peasants, and capitalists.

Proponents of this view start by pointing to some basic truths about colonial and semicolonial countries.

They observe that many economic and social features of precapitalist societies predominate in the colonial world. As a result of imperialist domination, these countries have not gone through the type of capitalist industrial development that occurred in Europe or the United States. That being the case, it is necessary in these countries to carry out many of the same tasks—such as national independence and land reform—that bourgeois-democratic revolutions did in Europe and America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Democratic tasks remain to be solved in the advanced capitalist countries as well. The most important are ending national oppression and establishing women's equality.)

From these correct observations, however, the proponents of the two-stage theory draw a false and dangerous conclusion: that the oppressed masses need a political bloc with the "progressive" bourgeoisie—that is, with democratic capitalists interested in national economic development.

Once the workers and peasants have thrown out the imperialists and put "their own" capitalists in the driver's

seat, the two-stage theoreticians say, the country can move forward economically and politically and lay the basis for the fight for socialism in the future.

They argue that today the workers and peasants are still too weak to win national independence and other democratic demands without the bourgeoisie.

But there is a problem.

In order to have such a bloc with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, the workers and peasants must limit their demands to what the capitalists will go along with.

Stripped of all "anti-imperialist" rhetoric, this means the subordination of the workers and peasants to the program of their capitalist exploiters and opposition to a socialist revolution.

### Roots of the debate

History has shown time and again that the two-stage theory is wrong. In fact, this theory was argued out before and during the Russian revolution sixty years ago.

There were three positions in the debate.

The Mensheviks—like the *Guardian* today—held that the workers and peasants movement should put the "progressive" bourgeoisie in power. The capitalists would sweep away all Tsarist semifeudal rubbish, organize a capitalist parliamentary government, grant democratic rights, and give the peasants land.

Socialists, in the Menshevik view, would become the loyal opposition. They would pressure the capitalists to make reforms. After the bourgeoisie developed Russian capitalism fully, socialism could then be put on the agenda.

The logic of their position led the Mensheviks to bloc with "their" capitalists against the unfolding revolution.

For the Mensheviks, the Russian revolution was the "stage" during which the bourgeoisie should be hoisted into power.

### Lenin's view

Lenin, the central leader of the Bolshevik Party, initially accepted the idea that Russia would first have to go through a bourgeois-democratic stage. But he disagreed with the Mensheviks in one key aspect. He rejected their support for the liberal bourgeoisie, advocating instead a revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants against the capitalists and their parties.

Lenin argued that the Russian capitalists were incapable of accomplishing even the immediate bourgeois-democratic tasks, such as land reform. However deep their differences with Tsarism and the landed nobility, their fear of the growing young Russian proletariat overshadowed these considerations, making them shrink from the very tasks necessary for the further capitalist development of Russia.

So there was no point in subordinating the workers and peasants to an allegedly "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie.

The workers and peasants had to fight independently of and against all sections of the Russian capitalists. The workers and peasants themselves had to take power to accomplish the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

### Trotsky's position

Trotsky developed the theory of permanent revolution as a result of the experience of the 1905 revolution in Russia.

He agreed with Lenin that the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of revolutionary leadership. He also agreed the only way the immediate tasks of the Russian revolution could be carried out was by the workers and peasants taking power.

Trotsky took these positions a step further.

First, while agreeing with Lenin that the Russian workers could not make the revolution without an alliance with the poor peasants, Trotsky maintained that this crucial alliance would have to be forged under the leadership of the urban working class. Only this class had the social power and cohesion needed to lead that struggle and the political program to pull Russia out of its economic backwardness.

Trotsky believed that once the workers, in alliance with the peasants, took power, they would be forced to take measures against capitalist property to fulfill their demands. He argued that in order to achieve these tasks, the revolution could not stop at some arbitrary "bourgeois-democratic stage," but would have to grow over almost immediately into a socialist revolution.

This is exactly what happened when the Russian revolution broke out in February 1917. And Lenin supported Trotsky's position in practice. When he returned from exile to Russia in April 1917, Lenin had to wage a bitter fight against Stalin and other Bolshevik leaders to win the party to the perspective that a socialist revolution, not a bourgeois-democratic revolution, was on the agenda.

Trotsky was a close ally of Lenin in that fight.

With the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union in the mid and late 1920s, the old Menshevik theories were dusted off to justify support for capitalist forces abroad. It is this resurrected Menshevism that the *Guardian* today defends.

### Cuban revolution

Cuba provides a more recent example of why there can be no separate "bourgeois-democratic stage" in colonial and semicolonial countries.

The leaders of the Cuban revolution were not working-class socialists, but petty-bourgeois nationalists. Their program called for the end of the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and implementation of the 1940 constitution.

Castro's July 26 Movement organized a popular revolt against Batista. They crushed the army and the police forces. But the first government was dominated by "progressive" Cuban bourgeois forces.

## UNITA and SWAPO

Last week's article pointed out that during the civil war between the three major Angolan liberation groups, two of them—the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—collaborated with Washington and with a South African expeditionary force that invaded Angola.

Such collaboration "put the Angolan independence struggle in serious danger," the article said, pointing out that the *Militant* had condemned UNITA and FNLA for this action.

Prior to the civil war, the UNITA had been allied with the South West Africa People's Organization

(SWAPO) in neighboring Namibia. SWAPO is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule.

After its defeat in the civil war, the UNITA turned against SWAPO. According to *Washington Post* correspondent Leon Dash, UNITA President Jonas Savimbi told him this summer that "we will never let them [SWAPO] operate against the South Africans again. Never! Not unless we are defeated."

Any attempt by the UNITA to obstruct SWAPO's efforts to free Namibia would be a stab in the back to the independence movement and a blow against the Black freedom struggle throughout southern Africa.

—O.M.



Headline of January 1, 1959, Cuban newspaper reads: 'Batista flees.' Sabotage by foreign and domestic bourgeois forces soon convinced Cuban revolutionary leaders that capitalism had to be overturned to win genuine national independence and land reform.

According to the supporters of the two-stage theory, this bourgeoisie should have completed the bourgeois-democratic revolution—that is, turned the land over to the peasants and freed Cuba from the fetters of U.S. economic domination.

But something else happened.

The Cuban capitalists resisted sweeping land reform.

They resisted the nationalizations of imperialist property.

They opposed government control of foreign trade.

The Cuban capitalists showed their true colors by joining with Washington to organize counterrevolutionary terrorist groups to overturn the revolution.

The Castro leadership was faced with two choices: Either capitulate to the blows of U.S. imperialism and local capitalists, or deepen the revolution by taking more radical measures.

They chose the latter course.

They pushed the Cuban capitalists out of the government. They mobilized and armed the Cuban workers and peasants to crush the counterrevolutionary groups, nationalized all major industry both domestic and imperialist owned, instituted a government monopoly of foreign trade, and began to implement a planned economy.

By October 1960 capitalism had been overturned and a workers state established in Cuba.

Once again it was proven that local capitalists in the colonial and semicolonial countries are incapable of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution. That task had to be accomplished by the workers and peasants.

Cuba took the path of permanent revolution. It proved that socialist revolution was possible in colonial countries.

### Popular Unity in Chile

Since World War II there have been many opportunities for socialist revolutions in colonial and semicolonial countries.

Chile during President Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government of 1970-73 is a case in point.

The Chilean working class and peasantry were straining to break the shackles of imperialism and local capitalists. But they were betrayed by the leaderships of the Communist and Socialist parties, which had no intention of fighting for socialism. These parties sought to maintain at all costs their governmental bloc with the "progressive" Chilean capitalists and "democratic" Chilean generals.

The price demanded by the capitalists, not surprisingly, was the maintenance of capitalism.

Through their struggles, the Chilean masses won many gains during the period of the Popular Unity government. They were unable, however, to develop an alternative leadership to

the SP and CP, which held many of the top governmental posts, including the presidency.

The masses of Chilean workers and peasants were tricked by their CP and SP misleaders into believing that the Popular Unity government was their government, rather than the government of their bosses and landlords. Thus, the workers were not organized to fight to take power in their own name and establish a real workers government.

As a result, the capitalists and their generals bought the time they needed. In September 1973 they drowned the growing mass struggles in blood.

Allende's Popular Unity government was a bourgeois government. It included capitalist politicians and sections of the officer caste. Programatically it did not go beyond capitalism.

The *Guardian* gave political support to that bourgeois government, albeit with "criticisms." It looked to the Popular Unity to lead Chile to socialism.

The *Guardian* never demanded that the SP and CP break with the bourgeois forces in the Popular Unity government. Nor did it outline a course of struggle against CP and SP's class collaboration.

In this sense, the *Guardian's* position was just as bankrupt as that of the CP and SP.

The two-stage theory of revolution supported by the *Guardian*, other Stalinists, and middle-class nationalists has proved itself to be a strategy for no revolution at all. It is a strategy for defeat.

### Africa

For the past thirty years, Africa has been seething with revolt. In Algeria, Egypt, Zanzibar, Guinea, Kenya, and Ghana, mass revolts played a big role in winning formal independence.

Yet in none of these countries did the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships of the liberation struggles prove capable of breaking with capitalism. After winning formal independence, these leaderships used their governmental positions to foster the development of a domestic capitalist ruling class.

Instead of embarking on the road of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution, these new governments imposed repression and bloody dictatorships on the workers and peasants.

Today these capitalist regimes are still closely tied to imperialism. Their economies exist solely for plunder by imperialist corporations. Local capitalists rake off enough to ensure themselves a life of ease.

The workers and peasants continue to eke out an existence and have very few, if any, democratic rights.

The lesson the Cuban revolution holds for the Angolan masses is this: in order to kick out imperialism and institute thorough agrarian reform, the workers must take the lead in making a socialist revolution.

The current government of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is not following the Cuban example. It is not expropriating the major imperialist and local capitalist holdings. It is not mobilizing the workers and peasants to go forward.

On the contrary, the MPLA leadership is fighting to hold the masses in check, using arrests, repression, and strikebreaking tactics. This gives the young and weak Angola bourgeoisie an opportunity to grow stronger.

Unfortunately, the Cuban government, which collaborates closely with the Angolan regime, is today defending measures that are quite different from those they themselves followed seventeen years ago in toppling capitalism and achieving true national independence.

### The way forward for Angola

The road to victory for the Angolan workers and peasants can only be traveled by doing what the Cubans actually did in their own revolution. The Angolan masses can only break out of the imperialist stranglehold by rejecting the strategy of defeat proposed by the *Guardian*.

The MPLA leadership is anti-working class. It fears the independent mobilization of Angolan workers and peasants against imperialism and local capitalists.

What is needed is a new leadership: a leadership organized in a revolutionary socialist party whose perspective and program are anticapitalist. Such a leadership would orient toward nationalizing Gulf Oil, Diamang, and other imperialist holdings and putting them under workers' control. The same would hold for the property of Angolan capitalists.

Revolutionary socialists would lead agricultural workers and poor peasants in establishing representative committees to expropriate the huge private estates and set up agricultural cooperatives.

Revolutionary socialists would fight for freely elected worker and peasant committees to install a workers and peasants government.

This government would establish control over foreign trade and—under the direction of the worker and peasant committees—establish a planned economy.

A revolutionary government would seek to cut across animosities among the different nationalities by supporting their right to self-determination, including secession. It would propose a voluntary union of the different national groups based on equal rights.

Revolutionary socialists would fight for full equality for women in all sections of the government, trade unions, and the worker and peasant committees.

A workers government in Angola would seek to extend the revolution by giving material and political support to the struggle against the white settler regimes in Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa.

It would arm the Angolan workers and peasants to defend their interests against imperialist intervention and attempted capitalist restoration.

This is the path of the permanent revolution. The fight for socialist revolution is the only way to win real independence, self-determination, and social justice for Angola.

### FURTHER READING

**The Third International After Lenin** by Leon Trotsky. 348 pages, \$3.45; cloth, \$10.00

**Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War** by Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas. 160 pages, \$2.45; cloth, \$9.00

**Marxism vs. Maoism: A Reply to the 'Guardian'** by Tony Thomas. \$.60

# Students debate Panama Canal treaty

By Doug Clark

RALEIGH, N.C.—One hundred people listened to a panel of "experts" debate how best to protect the interests of U.S. imperialism in Panama at a panel discussion here November 17 on the University of North Carolina campus.

Four of the panelists favored the Panama Canal treaty, while panelist James Lucier, who is Sen. Jesse Helm's chief legislative assistant, expressed opposition. But none questioned the right of the U.S. to be in Panama in the first place.

The event seemed more like a carefully orchestrated public relations ploy by the State Department than an open and democratic debate on the issues related to the Panama treaty. This impression was reinforced by the distribution at the door of a Department of State brochure containing a statement on the treaties by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

At the same time, members of the UNC Young Socialist Alliance and the Raleigh Socialist Workers Party distributed leaflets containing the joint declaration of the SWP and the Revolutionary Socialist League (LSR), the Trotskyist group in Panama, condemning the treaty. The declaration explains how the treaty legitimizes the U.S. military and economic presence there, as a violation of the just aspirations of the Panamanian people.

The organizers of the panel consciously excluded from the event anyone who would favor full and immediate sovereignty for the Panamanian people.

Panelist Riordan Roett, who is president of the Latin American Studies Association, stated: "We are not giving away our national security interests. We are gaining control over our national security interests. These treaties protect those interests."

Just in case the message hadn't gotten across, Prof. Samuel Williamson emphasized that U.S. troops and ships would have unrestricted access to the canal for at least the next twenty-three years.

The first questioner from the audience, speaking for the Young Socialist Alliance, denounced the treaty as a violation of the Panamanians' right to self-determination, and explained the undemocratic nature of the treaty plebiscite in Panama, which took place in an atmosphere of repression, with prominent opposition leaders exiled, and without adequate time for full public discussion.

About half the questioners from the floor, whether for or against the treaty, seemed to favor the idea that the Panamanians have the right to control their own affairs. "We had no right to be there in the first place!" one woman stated, although she mistakenly believed the treaty to be a step forward for the Panamanians. UNC Prof. Joseph Tulchin, editor of *Latin American Research Review*, revealed the true essence of the treaties for the Panamanian people: "Personally, I find the difference to be totally illusory, though in a technical sense, there may be a difference for Latin American diplomats and politicians. In terms of *realpolitik*, when push comes to shove, the U.S. will defend its interests no matter what."



## 'Cadence: serious about jazz & blues

Cadence. *The American Review of Jazz & Blues*. Route 1, Box 345, Redwood, New York 13679. Sample copy one dollar. Twelve issues, eight dollars. Outside USA, ten dollars.

*Cadence* is a forty-eight-page "unslick" jazz and blues magazine. It is put out on a four-figure shoestring budget by Bob and Kathy Rusch.

The magazine was started nearly three years ago on "\$1,000, a wing, and a prayer," Bob Rusch, a former *Downbeat* staff writer, told me.

Now *Cadence* is simply the best magazine in the field. It features interviews, oral histories, news, and complete coverage of the entire record scene. Rusch says, "We respect all serious areas out of the Black musical heritage."

Rusch discussed his background: "I've been interested in jazz all my life. When I was a teen-ager, I used to hang out around Birdland, Cafe Bohemia,

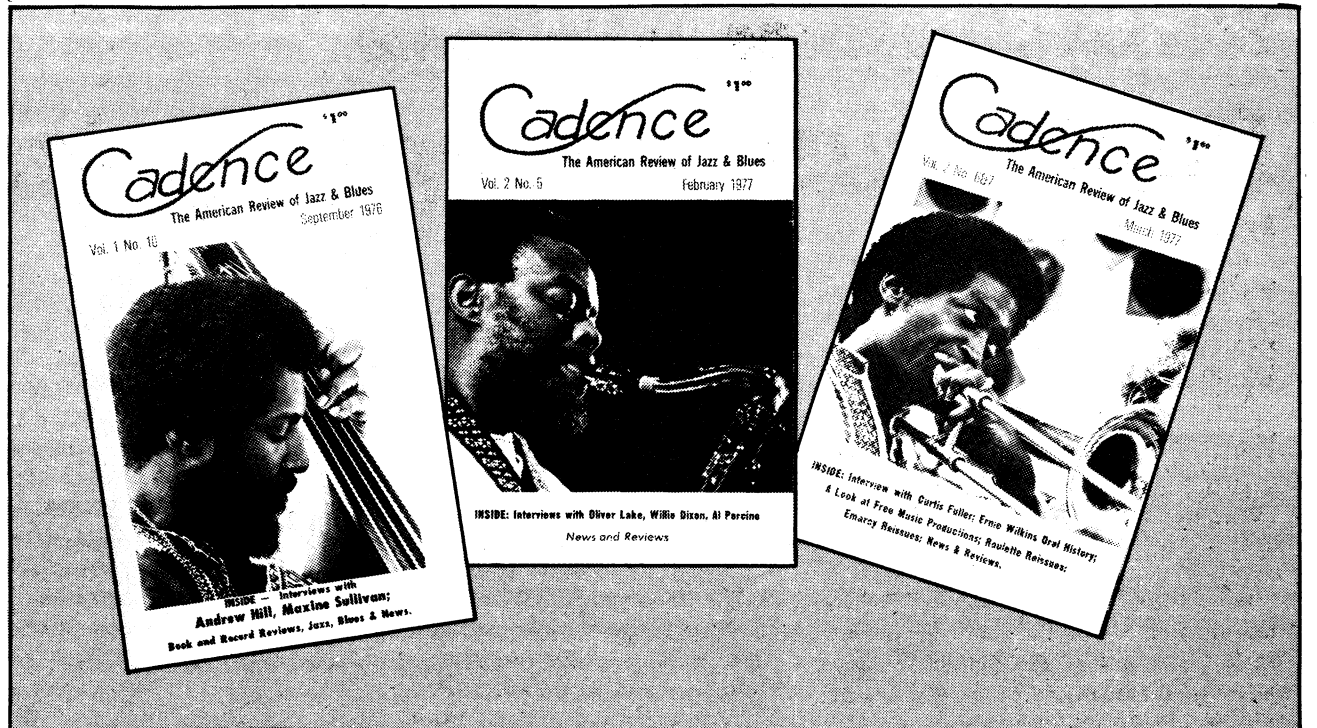
## Periodicals

and the whole bit. I was a 'gofer.' I used to go to recording sessions, and I'd just tag onto any musician.

"I was always interested in jazz. I began collecting jazz literature and amassed—which is the best word for it, I guess—and indexed the largest collection of English jazz literature in the world.

"I did that for many years and ran a jazz bibliographical service. All that meant was if people wanted research on something, I could go to my indexed files and whip out a card on Sidney Bechet or Lee Wiley or something and give you all the articles, discography, chapters, and books, or anything else on them in any English magazine or book from 1919 to 1973."

The fine Schomburg Library in Harlem acquired Rusch's collection of 6,000 indexed magazines. Lincoln Center and the Smithsonian said they too were interested in his collection, but it was the hard-pressed Schomburg that was willing to pay Rusch what the magazines had cost—not counting the two years of labor it had taken him to index them.



Rusch wrote for *Jazz Digest* and *Jazz Journal* as well as *Downbeat*. He says that in the sixties, a lot of valid music was not covered by the press.

He wrote reviews on this new music, but *Downbeat* wouldn't print them.

In one review Rusch wrote that a date by saxophonist Sonny Stitt sounded as if it were made solely for the money. Stitt earlier admitted to having sometimes made money dates in the past. It's a fact of life in the music business. But *Downbeat* frowned on Rusch's honesty and refused to print his review. So Rusch quit.

*Downbeat* wants to do favors for big label advertisers who are spending \$3,000 on full-page ads, he was later told by Dan Morganstern, a central *Downbeat* and jazz world figure, who also quit the magazine.

Rusch says that at *Cadence*, record producers don't have to "grease any palms to get a good review. . . . We call them the way we see them. . . . That kind of corruption is not useful to anyone, especially the artist, who depends on feedback for growth and development."

Rusch believes that most serious work, from Eubie Blake to Andrew White, from ragtime to avant-garde, is coming out on independent labels, not on those of the big record companies—and therefore is ignored by mass-circulation jazz magazines such as *Downbeat*.

Many of these independent labels are owned by the artists themselves. They have been messed over creatively—and financially—by the big companies.

Rusch pays special attention to them, writing about them in a *Cadence* column called "Speaking My Piece."

*Cadence* also gives a lot of space to European and Japanese imports. "Some of the best music is on these labels, and the public can learn about their existence in few places," Rusch says. Many record stores are now stocking this material, and much of it is distributed through the New Music Distribution Service and Record People in New York City.

Rusch comments that, paradoxically, it is possible that the next big innovation in jazz might be made by a white European.

*Cadence* is chock full. It recently printed interviews with Ray Charles, Ray Coniff, and Ella Fitzgerald, to name a few better-known jazz personages. A good book or two could be made if a publisher reprinted the rich and fascinating oral histories *Cadence* has carried.

"You'll find things about the Jazz and Blues scene in *Cadence* you won't find in any other magazine in the world," a promotional flier claims. "If you are serious about Jazz and Blues interest we think you'll like *Cadence*."

I agree.

Check it out for yourself. —Michael Smith

## 'Experience of a Soviet' psychiatrist

Labour Focus on Eastern Europe. A *Socialist Defence Bulletin on Eastern Europe and the USSR*. Bottom Flat, 116 Cazenove Road, London N16, England, Nine issues per year for fifteen dollars.

The September-October 1977 issue (number four) of this useful magazine includes such features as:

- "Experiences of a Soviet Psychiatrist" by Dr. Marina Voikhanskaya.

Voikhanskaya spent thirteen years working in various Leningrad psychiatric hospitals. In 1973, she states, "I discovered that in section 8 of my hospital, the section for the most seriously disturbed, there was a man who was quite sane—an artist who had been put there by the KGB. I visited him almost everyday over a period of several months and I can say confidently that he was in no need whatsoever of hospitalization."

Because of her protests against such practices and her refusal to collaborate with them, Voikhanskaya herself became the target of KGB investigations. She was ostracized and finally demoted. She now lives in England where she continues to campaign against political repression in the USSR.

*Labour Focus* contains the text of Voikhanskaya's speech to the 1977 World Psychiatric Association Congress in Honolulu. She played an instrumental role in persuading delegates there to pass a resolution condemning the abuse of psychiat-

ric treatment in the USSR.

- The Klymchuk Affair. Helen Jamieson reports on the case of Andy Klymchuk who, as a British tourist in the Ukraine in August 1977, was arrested for allegedly carrying written materials hostile to the Soviet government.

A *Labour Focus* editorial denounces the antisocialist and antidemocratic nature of a government which considers it a state offense simply to possess critical literature. It warns that the Kremlin may try to use the Klymchuk case to raise the specter of "foreign agents" as a pretext to launch a new crackdown on dissent in the Ukraine.

- Czechoslovakia. Document Number 12 of the Charter 77 group is reprinted, describing the impoverishment of literary work in Czechoslovakia due to the bureaucratic tightening since 1969.

For example, the Union of Czech Writers, established in June 1968, had nearly 400 members. It was banned after the Soviet invasion in August 1968 and replaced by an approved writers union, which had 40-50 members at first and now has 164. Thus, only 164 Czech writers have permission to be published and function as writers in the entire country!

In the late 1960s, there were numerous literary journals (seventeen are named in the document). These have all been abolished and replaced by one literary monthly.

- Poland. "On 24 July, after a widespread campaign of protests inside Poland and abroad, the

Polish authorities released the last remaining workers jailed for participation in the successful strikes and demonstrations against price rises in June 1976. The authorities simultaneously released members and activists of the Workers' Defence Committee . . . who had been arrested after the death of the Krakow student activist, Stanislaw Pyjas in May."

Peter Green describes how this victory reveals the crisis confronting the bureaucratic rulers in Poland. The militancy of the workers, students, and intellectuals—and the support they have from the workers and students movements in Europe—have so far made it impossible for the bureaucrats to impose their austerity plans.

*Labour Focus* also features a document by a Silesian miner in Poland on the pervasive violations by officials of safety and health regulations in the Polish coal mines as the bureaucracy tries to enforce speedup in coal production.

- Yugoslavia. The "Praxis Group" of dissident Marxist philosophers in Zagreb has issued a document, "The Meaning of the Struggle for Civil and Human Rights," the text of which is printed in *Labour Focus*. Supporters of this school of philosophy, which has existed since the 1960s, have been under persistent attack by the Tito government. However, because they have broad support in Yugoslavia and abroad, they have not been arrested.

—Marilyn Vogt

## Workers' upsurge in Romania

# Regime uses troops against coal miners

By David Frankel

Recently, reports on the biggest working class protest in Romania since the establishment of the Stalinist regime there at the end of World War II have begun to filter out of the country.

Although the biggest action was a strike by mine workers in the Jiu Valley in August, other protests were reported in September in textile mills at Brasov and in the huge "August 23 Heavy Machine Factory" in Bucharest.

The protests began August 1 in the coal mining town of Lupeni. According to a November 21 dispatch from Lupeni by *New York Times* correspondent David A. Andelman:

"Although only about 580 miners regularly go into the pit at Lupeni and 5,000 work above ground, by the end of the strike's first day, more than 35,000 workers from dozens of surrounding mines and towns had poured into the village, spilling across the town square, down the side streets and up toward the hills."

According to an earlier report by Anca Mihailescu in the October 27 issue of the British Trotskyist weekly *Socialist Challenge*, the strike was touched off by a government announcement in July that miners' pensions would be reduced by 30 percent beginning in January 1978.

Other demands of the strikers included better working conditions, free movement of workers, improved food supplies, a six-hour working day, retirement at age fifty, and abolition of unpaid compulsory labor.

When initial efforts to disperse the miners by force failed, the authorities sent two members of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party to the strike area. However, the miners detained them and demanded to meet with President Nicolae Ceausescu in exchange for their release.

When Ceausescu arrived on August 3, Mihailescu reports, the strikers shouted, "Down with the proletarian bourgeoisie." Nevertheless, the president promised that some of the demands of the strikers would be met, and the miners agreed to return to work.

"For two weeks, things did improve," one miner told Andelman. "There was

more and better food, clothing. A new pension law was published quickly even though it was never formally approved. But within two weeks, that was all over. Then the troops came."

By September 1, at least 2,000 soldiers had moved into the Jiu Valley. The entire area was declared a "prohibited area," and communications with other parts of the country were cut off.

When Andelman went to the Jiu Valley in November, it was still being patrolled by troops. However, things had calmed down enough for Ceausescu to visit the area earlier that month. During that visit, he had himself named an honorary miner.

Additional information on the events in Romania appeared in the November 28 issue of the French Trotskyist daily, *Rouge*. An interview with Paul Goma, a leading Romanian dissident, appeared in that issue.

The last part of that interview, in which Goma comments on the workers movement in Romania, follows.

\* \* \*

Goma: What's really bad in Romania is to see how the government has open contempt for the working class, perhaps even more than in Poland or Czechoslovakia. The most cynical measure they took was last year, when Ceausescu named the same person minister of labor and president of the unions. It's unbelievable. That's not even cynicism, it's foolishness.

The workers don't have even a token means of defense. They are entirely at the mercy of the state plan and the way it is carried out. Sometimes workers do not get paid for four or five months, even if the setback in the plan is not their fault but results from an earlier stage of production.

With respect to the unions, Romanians are beginning to say that they are experiencing more and more of the drawbacks of the capitalist system and fewer and fewer of the advantages of a socialist system. During the "Stalinist" period, vacations at the seashore or in the mountains were free for workers and their families, as were health care and medicine. This is no longer the case. There is a charge for everything, except in cases of syphilis or tuberculosis.

It's interesting to see how our movement, which wasn't as organized as in Poland or Czechoslovakia, has snowballed, and how workers have become a large part of it.

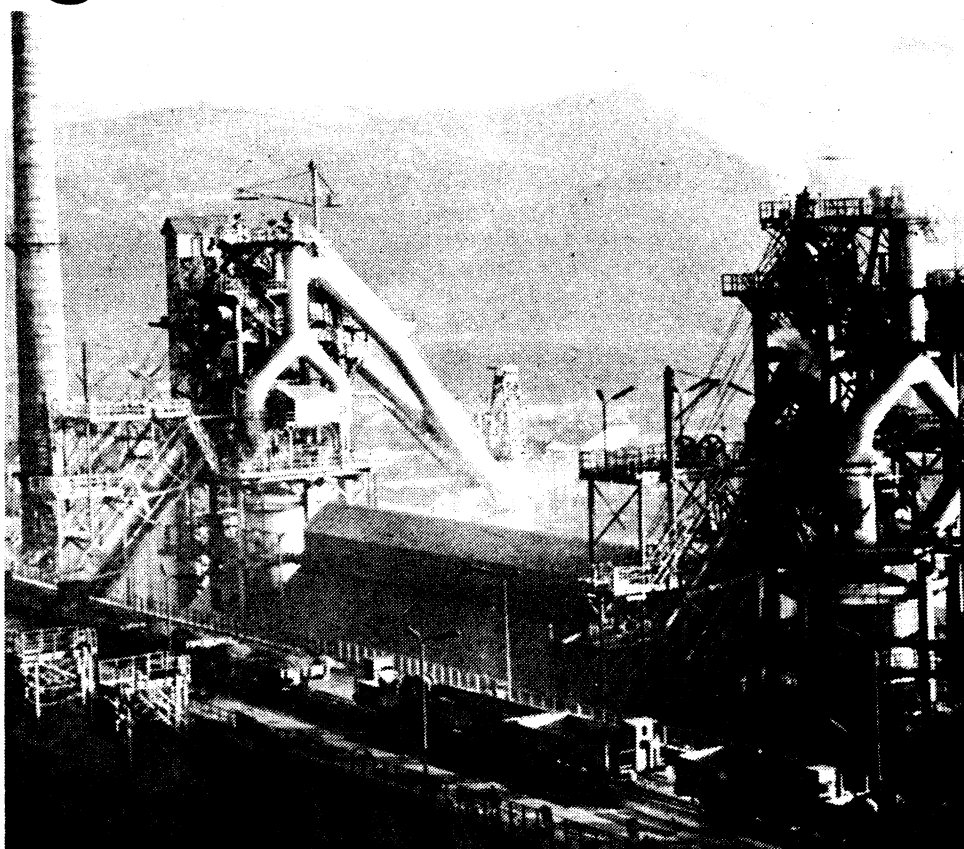
Q. How do you explain this?

A. Their courage can be explained by the fact that they have less to lose than the intellectuals. In case of repression, the disruption in their lives—unless they are imprisoned—would be less than for someone who was president of the Writers' Union and who finds himself out of a job.

When the repression started, the workers were the ones who were treated the worst. Paraschive, a worker who has fought for years to restore democracy in the CP, was tortured. They poured wood alcohol down the throat of Mihail, another worker.

Q. Have there been movements in Romania demanding that the unions act like unions, demanding greater democracy in the party, and so on?

A. Prior to 1977, there were already signs of discontent. In Brashov, in the



Romanian steel plant. Bad conditions and bureaucratic rule have provoked widespread opposition among Romanian workers.

tractor and truck plants, there were uprisings in which the workers destroyed machines and wrote, "Down with Ceausescu." "We want workers' rights," "We are trade unionists, where is the trade union?" and so on. That was in 1976. But even this year, after our movement was crushed, and after the repression of the miners, signs of discontent were shown. At the August 23 steel mills, the largest ones in Bucharest, at the port of Constantza, and at the Galatz steel combine, party officials were jeered and even jostled. The most well-known of those roughed up was General Dinca, the mayor of Bucharest, who was slapped and spat upon by the workers at the August 23 plant.

Q. But the best-organized movement was the miners' strike in August 1977?

A. They revived a form of organization almost a century old, the "council of elders." Of the thirteen members of this council, elected by the strikers, a majority were party members. The strike was very sober and disciplined. They didn't let themselves get carried away by anger. This sector of the working class has some of the strongest traditions in Romania, going back to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The great strike of 1929 was led by one of these "councils of elders."

When Ceausescu arrived, three days later, the workers asked him how much he made—the official wage scale in Romania is from one to five. "Even if you make five times as much as we do, we want to know how Mrs. Elena Ceausescu can have so many furs, which she wore walking through the ruins of the earthquake.

"After the earthquake, you see, the Ceausescus were shown on television several times a day in one or another part of the city, giving orders for the rebuilding work, and each time the TV showed that Elena Ceausescu was wearing a different fur.

Q. Four thousand miners' families, about 16,000 persons, were expelled from the Jiu valley after the strike. We have no information on the fate of the

most militant strikers. And yet, among the Western workers' parties, particularly the Italian, Spanish, and French CPs, or the trade unions, we did not see the slightest statement of support parallel to those made by the French General Confederation of Labor, for example, after the Ursus and Radom events in Poland. This silence was not surprising, given the special relations between the Bucharest regime and the so-called "Eurocommunist" CPs. What is your view of this?

A. It's true that in Romania, unlike what is happening in other Eastern European countries, the influence of Eurocommunism on the dissidents is practically nil.

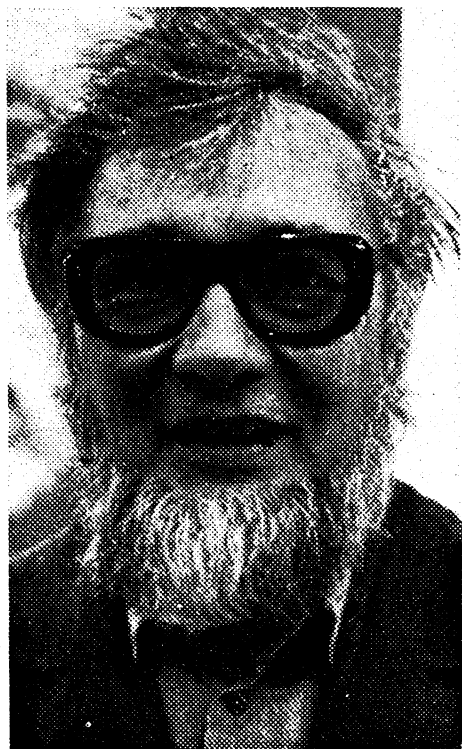
We do not know the content of the discussions that took place a little more than a month ago between Verdrets and the French CP delegation that went to Bucharest. That would have been interesting, because Verdrets was the one in charge of repressing the miners.

If I were malicious, I would say that the French CP could have put this meeting to good use to prove to the entire world that it is prepared to honor its election promises.

For us Romanians, it's a disgrace that the Romanian CP sent as a representative someone who was up to his ears in the repression against the miners. But the French CP should not have ignored the role that Verdrets played. Was there a Communiqué in *l'Humanité* [French CP daily], some statement on the miners' strike?

Q. No, nothing.

A. Well, then, if there was nothing, it was complicity. If the Eurocommunists want to take their distance from repression in Eastern Europe, the French CP should have taken its distance from the Romanian CP. Knowing the Romania government's sensitivity about its reputation, we see what importance such statements could have, especially since they would not be coming from sectors that the Romanian government could classify as enemies of the working class.



GOMA: "The government has open contempt for the working class."



## Workers win big wage increases

# Argentine junta backs down in face of spreading strikes

By D. Marcelo

From *Perspectiva Mundial*

BUENOS AIRES—Beginning in mid-October, important sectors of the working class began to enter into struggle, despite a plethora of antilabor laws and fierce repression.

These mobilizations were preceded by several months of multiplying conflicts, which were of varying scope but were always limited in their extent. They remained isolated and were prevented from making any broader impact by the censorship and self-censorship of the entire press. Many of these little wars, however, resulted in some victories for the workers, at least as regards one aspect of their struggle—the fight for higher wages.

Moreover, during the nineteen months of military rule the true face of the dictatorship's economic program has been revealed. In the last quarter, the phony arguments used by the regime in its attempts to conceal the continuing acceleration of an already high rate of inflation were exploded by economic reality. By the end of September, according to the government's own statistics, real wages had fallen to 60% of their March 1976 level. During the month of October, the official index of the price of an average worker's "market basket" rose by 14%.

Discontent began to be expressed openly in the unions, especially among public-sector and civil-service workers. At the same time, various sectors of the bourgeoisie itself began an unconcealed campaign against the excessive greed of the financial interests, whose major representative in the country, Martínez de Hoz, runs the Ministry of Finance.

### Renault strike

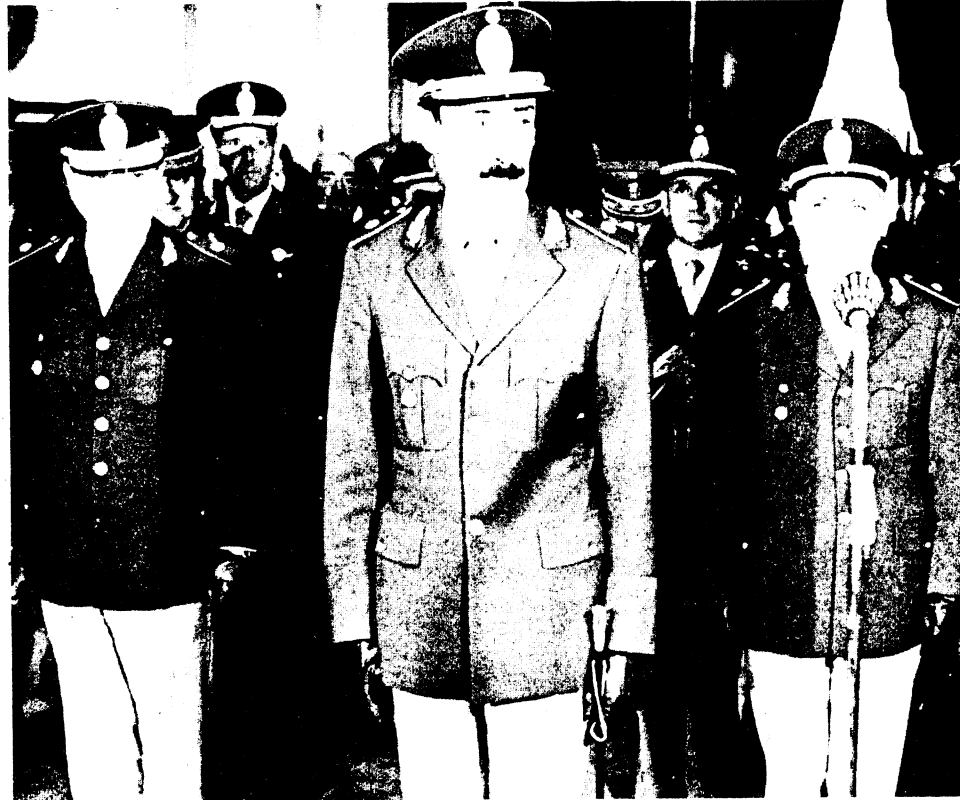
In mid-October, the IKA-Renault workers in Córdoba demanded a 50% wage increase. The bosses countered with an offer of 15%. The workers rejected this and began a sit-down strike. The next day the army came into the factory and forced them back to work at bayonet point.

In one section of the plant, in an obvious provocation, an officer lectured the workers, telling them that they ought to obey their superiors and not demand wage increases, just as soldiers do not go on strike for higher wages.

The reaction was immediate. All sorts of projectiles began to rain on the officer, and a pitched battle broke out. The military, needless to say, did not hesitate to open fire. The tragic result was that four workers were killed.

Although news of this event was totally blacked out by the press, even in the city of Córdoba itself, the workers responded with a massive walkout. The next day, October 14, they came to work, punched in, and immediately left the plant. Without any legal organization and facing ruthless repression, 6,000 workers mobilized en masse and in a united way.

The next day, the bosses, backed up by the minister of labor, announced in the daily papers that anyone who did



Leaders of military regime (above) lost battle with workers

not show up for work Monday [October 17] would be automatically fired, without the right to compensation of any kind. This was to be done on the basis of Law 21,400, also known as the "Industrial Security Act," under which workers can be dismissed and given sentences of up to nine years in prison for the simple act of joining together to make a demand on a boss or backing up such a demand by a show of strength.

Although the workers were forced to call off their strike, it lasted for four days and broke through the curtain of silence in the national press.

Furthermore, the IKA-Renault workers won a wage increase bigger than that initially offered by the company, and many of those who had been fired were reinstated. The management in a number of auto plants in Greater Buenos Aires tried to head off similar mobilizations by granting raises of up to 40%.

However, the main thing was that in the Córdoba conflict, the workers had managed to force their way back onto the streets and had raised the perspective of strikes in defense of wages for the entire country.

Confronted with worker unrest and demands by the trade-union bureaucrats, the National Telephone Company granted an increase in real wages (by means of various bonuses) of 100%.

In the rail industry, workers' base pay was 2.6 million pesos a month, or US\$52 at the prevailing rate of exchange. In the context of the other struggles starting up, a railway strike broke out. The main demand was for a minimum wage of 10 million pesos.

### Spontaneous walkout

A spontaneous work stoppage by the smallest union in the industry, the switchmen, on just one line in the national capital, spread immediately to the other two unions—the Unión

Ferroviaria (Railway Workers Union), which organizes yard workers and is under military trusteeship; and the *Fraternidad* (Brotherhood), which organizes conductors and guards. The strike spread to the five other lines and did not remain confined to the capital but extended to the country's other main rail centers.

Two days later, the five subway lines in Buenos Aires joined the strike. Other unions of workers employed by the government joined in the struggle, including the ground crews of the airlines and 350 pilots, who threatened to resign en masse.

In Rosario, in addition to the railway workers, the workers in the National Grain Board operations, the water and electrical utilities, and on the docks went out on strike, along with members of the Association of Government Workers.

In the face of this widespread explosion, the government was paralyzed. Its internal contradictions came out into the open, and the press reported clashes between the ministers of labor and finance.

On October 30, in its regular Sunday commentary, the army general staff said: "Let us think carefully. Natural and foreseeable differences of opinion . . . must not lead us into head-on confrontations, from which it will be difficult to pull back."

In other words, the military was trying to make a deal with the union bureaucracy by offering wage increases of 20% to 25%. But in this widening strike, the bureaucracy had little chance of being able to exercise any control.

Of course, the Coordinating Committee of Public Employee Unions, set up a few months ago by the bureaucracy to fill the void left when the *Confederación General del Trabajo* (CGT—General Confederation of Labor) was put under military trusteeship, could not entirely fail to play a role. It has

been trying to channel the unrest of the rank and file by issuing demands for wage increases.

However, the strike was called and maintained by going around and against the union leadership. From the very beginning, the bureaucracy tried to call off militant actions. But the activity of the ranks themselves outside the union structures brought the unions to life and enabled the workers to utilize these instruments—unquestionably the only ones that yet exist—to coordinate and carry through the struggle.

Assemblies of rank-and-file workers and workers delegates were held, where the bureaucracy was voted down time and time again. This is what made it possible for the conflict to continue to spread rapidly and on the initiative of the workers themselves. Caught between two fires, the bureaucracy, which was openly trying to stop the strike, was often forced by the rank and file to help them in their struggle.

This contradiction in the role of the bureaucracy had to be resolved quickly because the stakes were high and because signs were already appearing that the walkouts were developing into a general strike. (The workers in private mass-transit companies began to carry out isolated strikes, and other unions of state workers began to demand wage increases.)

### Junta's dilemma

However, the government was in a dilemma. If it cut off the "dialogue," throwing all its repressive force against the workers, as the minister of finance suggested, that would mean abandoning any attempt to reconstitute an effective union bureaucracy.

On the other hand, if it agreed to a sizable wage hike, that would mean giving up the attempt to balance the budget, letting inflation run rampant, opening the door to big increases in wage levels in all sectors, and, in a nutshell, altering its entire economic policy, which could not be done without bringing on a political crisis.

The government split over which road to take, giving the strikers some breathing space. The bureaucracy proved powerless to control the rank and file, and this rang an alarm bell in the minds of the bourgeois ideologues.

The ultraconservative daily of the English-speaking community, the *Buenos Aires Herald*, which unconditionally backed the minister of finance, described the situation in stark terms in its October 30 issue:

The railway union leaders, such as heads of the Railway Workers Union, the Brotherhood, and the Switchmen's Association, were not behind this strike, and to hear them tell it, they do not support it. This may be a tribute to these labor leaders' sense of "responsibility," but it is not necessarily a good sign. If even the most respected union leaders, backed up by the massive weight of the military government with its arbitrary antistrike legislation, cannot keep the workers on the job, then things have taken a bad turn. . . . The long delay in carrying out a reform of the trade-union movement is dangerous.

After four days out on strike, the railway workers went back to work because the bosses promised to grant their demands. The subway workers, however, voted in an assembly to continue their strike as long as necessary to win their demands.

Meanwhile, of course, the repression was at work. There were arrests, kidnappings, and murders. But the step to be expected in such a situation, the drafting of the workers into the army, was not taken.

Moreover, the repressive measures that were resorted to proved to be counterproductive. A worker urging his fellow workers on the General Roca

# World news notes

line to continue to struggle was murdered. The result was that the line did not accept the government's offer of a 40% raise and resumed the strike.

After staying out on an all-out strike for five days, the subway workers had agreed to return to work, just to comply with the formal requirement that the increase not be granted under the pressure of labor action. Then, when they heard about the arrest of some of their comrades, they immediately went out again en masse. Nor did the kidnapping of a leader of the light and power workers intimidate the 2,400 members of this union who had called a seventy-two-hour strike in Rosario.

On Wednesday, November 2, the struggle had been going on for eight days, and railway workers all over the country had gone back on strike after rejecting the government's offer. It was at this time that the minister of the interior—for the first time in nineteen months—clamped down prior censorship on the entire press. This was to prevent publication of the rumor going around in leading circles that the resignation of Martínez de Hoz had been called for.

## Big gains for workers

The minister of finance did not resign. But the price he paid to keep his position was to abandon his own economic plan. It had become impossible to hold the line any longer.

The state oil workers, private oil workers, retail and warehouse clerks, and post-office employees were all beginning to plan actions. Two private mass-transit lines essential for bringing workers into the capital city had been shut down.

Municipal workers walked off the job, raising demands that must have struck fear into the government and the bosses. They called for a minimum wage of 10 million pesos, restitution of social services, legal recognition of shop stewards assemblies, and rehiring of laid-off workers as well as defense of jobs.

The government, which had already announced a 100% increase in family allowances, granted wage raises of 38% to 43% to all the striking unions. It promised another big raise within sixty days and no reprisals. At the same time, it began to enforce Law 21,400, as it had been threatening to from the very beginning but had not yet dared do.

Pockets of resistance remained. The railway-yard workers in Rosario tried to keep up the struggle. But most workers went back to their jobs. Left isolated, the Rosario workers called off their strike, following a tumultuous mass meeting. The walkout had lasted twenty-four hours.

The limits of spontaneous action by the rank-and-file workers had been reached. A whole series of moves by the government and the union bureaucracy combined to bring the struggle to a halt before it could develop into a general strike.

Unexpected wage concessions by the government were combined with selective but bloody repression. Coercion was brought to bear by means of Law 21,400. Finally, the concessions gave the bureaucracy a basis for regaining control over the workers.

At the outset, the militancy of the workers swept over the obstacles placed in their way by the bureaucracy. The momentum of this upsurge made it possible for the workers to utilize the unions in their mobilization. But the absence of independent organization and a revolutionary political leadership gave the dictatorship and the bureaucracy the advantage they needed to regain control.

Despite all the shortcomings, there is not a shadow of a doubt that the outcome of this struggle was a resounding victory for the strikers and for the working class as a whole.

The dictatorship had summarily rejected wage increases for state workers. It ended up having to grant increases that in many cases, counting increments in family allowances, went as high as 60%, with the promise of additional increases within two months.

Such a settlement represents a mortal blow to the dictatorship's economic plan. Most important, however, is the political result of the battle.

## Capitalists unhappy

In fighting for a decent wage, the workers had to confront the dictatorship, to challenge all its laws and question the authority of the military government. And they did this so massively and with such power that they took even the most farseeing bourgeois leaders by surprise.

"This development should open up a new period of reflection about the course of the Process of National Reorganization," *La Nación* said.

"It was the workers who won this test of strength," the *Buenos Aires Herald* lamented.

"A new element will have to be taken into account in drawing the picture of the Process of National Reorganization," said *Clarín*.

"An irreversible process has begun," *La Opinión* said. "The collective-bargaining mechanism has started functioning again to determine wage adjustments."

This is only the beginning for the workers. The dictatorship is still on the offensive, and will continue to press its advantage. But the first political result of this battle is going to be that the government will move more quickly to conclude agreements with the union bureaucracy and to "reorganize" the workers movement.

New and growing possibilities are going to open up for the working class to reorganize its forces independently and to fight the dictatorship every inch of the way for its democratic rights.

Along with this, there will be greater opportunities to build the revolutionary party of the working class.

## Rhodesian torturers in action

Torture is just part of a day's work for Rhodesian troops fighting to maintain white-minority rule. Further proof of the methods used to try to terrorize the Black majority has been produced by Associated Press photographer J. Ross Baughman.

Baughman, who convinced the commander of a Rhodesian cavalry unit to take him along on a patrol, says he saw the troops loot, burn down the huts of African villagers, beat a Black politician, and torture his wife and daughter.

Although much of Baughman's film was either confiscated or spoiled by Rhodesian authorities, he managed to smuggle some photographs out of the country. One shows a youth with a noose around his neck. The other end was tied to a soldier's saddle. The captive was forced to run behind the horse or be dragged.



Blacks being 'questioned' by Rhodesian soldier

## Marcos orders new show trial

Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos has ordered a new trial for his principal bourgeois opponent, former Sen. Benigno Aquino, Jr. Aquino's case drew international attention when he was sentenced to death by a military court November 25 on trumped-up charges of subversion, murder, and illegal possession of firearms.

The frame-up was particularly embarrassing to the U.S. government, which is in the middle of negotiations with Marcos for a new agreement on American military bases. Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Bay Naval Base—the two largest U.S. military bases in the world outside of the fifty states—are both in the Philippines.

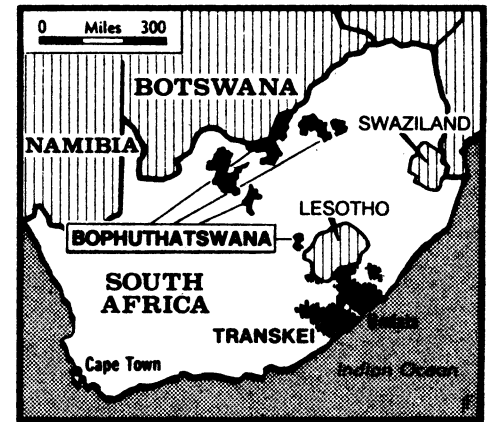
## New 'homeland' set up in S. Africa

On December 6 the South African regime declared the independence of BophuthaTswana, the second Black "homeland" established by the racist government in Pretoria.

Under its apartheid scheme, the South African government plans to set aside 13 percent of the poorest land in the country for the 80 percent of the population that is Black. As "independence" for the various Black enclaves is declared, the African population will be deprived of even formal citizenship in the white areas of South Africa.

Thus, 1.5 million people of the Xhosa nation living in white areas can be deported at whim to the Transkei "homeland," set up more than a year ago.

More than half the Tswanas in South Africa—a total of 1.27 million persons—have been put in a similar position. Although they live and work in white areas and many have never even seen their supposed "homeland," they now have citizenship only in the six separate pieces of land that make up BophuthaTswana.



Christian Science Monitor

## Three million demonstrate in Spain

More than 3 million people demonstrated across Spain for home rule in various regions December 4, according to a UPI dispatch from Madrid.

One person was killed and dozens injured in the southern city of Málaga when police attacked the protesters. The police attack occurred after some of the more than 200,000 marchers in that city took down government flags from buildings.

The huge size of the demonstrations was particularly significant since they were centered in Andalusia in the South and Galicia in the Northwest, rather than in the more politically turbulent Basque country and Catalonia. Galicia in particular has long been viewed as a conservative stronghold.

The Spanish regime has already been forced to grant limited autonomy for Catalonia, an oppressed nation with a population of 7 million. Negotiations on home rule for the Basque country, another oppressed nation, began two months ago.

## Yugoslav regime frees some dissidents

The Yugoslav government has declared an amnesty that will result in release or reduced sentences for 218 political prisoners. Mihajlo Mihajlov, the best-known Yugoslav dissident, was released November 26 as a result of the amnesty. He had been serving a seven-year prison sentence for publishing articles abroad that were critical of Yugoslavia's dictatorial regime.

"I do not intend to be quiet," he told reporters upon his release.



Striking auto workers in Buenos Aires in January 1976. Recent strike wave was first since dictatorship came to power in March 1976.



## Mexico: trade unionist explains crisis facing working people

By Alberto Rodríguez  
From Perspectiva Mundial

[The following interview with Alonso Bassanetti was obtained at the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy held in San Antonio October 28-30.

[Bassanetti is work secretary of the national executive committee of the Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores del Instituto Nacional de Energía Nuclear (Union of Workers of the National Nuclear Energy Institute), an affiliate of the Tendencia Democrática del Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores Electricistas de la República Mexicana (TD del SUTERM—Democratic Tendency of the Union of Electrical Workers of the Republic of Mexico).

[Bassanetti attended the conference as a representative of the Frente Nacional de Acción Popular (FNAP—National Front for People's Action), one of the most important oppositionist groupings in Mexico.

[Bassanetti has not had an opportunity to check his comments.]

*Question. What is the reason for your participation in this conference?*

*Answer.* The organizations that belong to the Frente Nacional de Acción Popular were invited to participate and to support this conference. It was decided to participate and I was sent as a representative.

Basically we are trying to give our point of view about the problem of the undocumented Mexican workers here and at the same time to establish much more stable ties of solidarity than those which presently exist.

*Q. Why are Mexican workers forced to emigrate to this country?*

A. This fact is characteristic of Mexico. It results from the economic crisis that affects the Western world—a crisis that affects most critically the Third World countries, the underdeveloped countries.

This crisis has affected Mexico through the devaluation [of the peso in 1976] and the flight from our country of \$4 billion. And also because of a mistaken economic policy of giveaways to transnational enterprises, of giveaways to imperialism.

This has meant such a sharpening of the economic crisis that each day it becomes more difficult for Mexicans to subsist. Each day there is a larger work force but fewer jobs. Each day the gap between what workers demand and what is offered widens.

At present in our country, taking as an example the situation in Mexico City, there has been since the devaluation an unemployment rate of 40 percent. That is, nearly half the population of Mexico that could be working is unemployed.

*Q. Could you give us an example of the conditions facing the Mexican people today?*

A. Well, you can see truly grave and dramatic phenomena. In the streets, you find not only children but also grown-ups cleaning the windshields of cars, or offering to do any kind of favor to earn a few pesos [One peso equals 4.4 U.S. cents]. The number of robberies and crimes is growing as a result of the conditions present in the country.

And, on the other hand, far from offering any solution to these problems, the government responds only with demagoguery, which—even if it sounds very radical—is totally incapable of solving these economic problems that become social and political problems.

*Q. I'd like you to say some more on this question since it deserves much consideration. Could you go deeper into the situation the Mexican people are living through, showing us one concrete case.*

A. Well, the problem of the devaluation is the fundamental one, and it means the following: The percentage by which our money is devalued is the

percentage by which the buying power of a worker's salary is cut. In addition, this devaluation takes place together with a policy of freezing wages, while prices are free to rise since the government has no effective control over prices.

Under these conditions it is easy to see that twenty pesos used to buy a given quantity of milk, sugar, etc., but now you are going to be able to buy less than half as much with those same twenty pesos. And, despite this, salaries remain the same, so not only do you have to do without new clothes, without secondary necessities, but also the capacity to obtain food, of subsistence, is reduced.

These cases are very dramatic. Health indicators such as the index of digestive illnesses, of anemia, etc., have risen, which is truly alarming.

I want to emphasize that what I'm talking about here are unionized workers, workers who have an instrument they can use to defend themselves.

Now imagine the conditions of those workers who aren't organized—the great majority of farm workers and the great majority of urban workers.

The reason for the emigration of workers from Mexico is that right now the country is unable to guarantee them subsistence.

*Q. Could you tell us what is being done in Mexico to oppose the Carter plan on immigration?*

A. In reality, what is being done is very little since the independent workers movement and the independent mass movement are just beginning to learn about the problem. Contact between people on both sides of the border is indispensable, since this is a problem that is common to both sides. And this contact is just beginning to happen through this conference.

As to the official movement, which we really shouldn't call movement but rather state control of the movement,



Mexican slum-dwellers buying food. Inflation has hit poor hardest.

what is being done is to issue demagogic declarations that undoubtedly do not contribute to solving the problem.

In many cases, these are merely official declarations that look to shore up Mexico's position in relation to possible aggressions from the United States against Mexico over certain advantageous contracts.

For example, a discussion on the export of natural gas from Mexico to the United States and the building of a pipeline to do this is on the agenda.

Of course, the Mexican government is looking out for its interests, is looking to get the best agreement possible for the gas pipeline and the financing of the project.

That is, all these declarations, all the government does and says about the immigrants have political motives. These are different from the motives that one should really have when dealing with this problem.

Nevertheless, we believe the problem is one affecting workers. And from that point of view, what's needed is solidarity and collaboration on both sides of the border. It is necessary to establish a common front of struggle, since only this can guarantee a real and permanent solution to the problem. Without such a common front, we'll always remain in the same situation.

## Repression in Bermuda

## Colonial regime calls in troops

By David Frankel

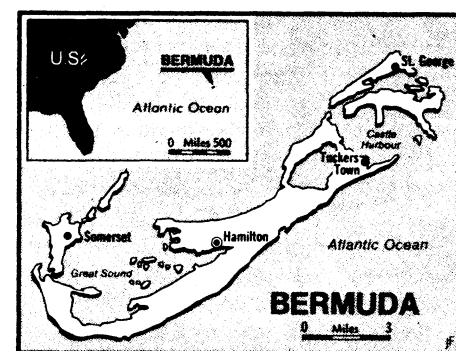
Bermuda's colonial regime was forced to call on British troops December 3 after two days of angry protests against the executions of two Black men. Within twenty-four hours, the first of 260 battle-clad soldiers were flown into Bermuda, landing at a U.S. Naval air station.

The executions—the first in Bermuda in more than thirty years—were carried out at dawn on December 2 in the British colony's 150-year-old Casemates prison. The job was done by a hangman brought in specially from Britain.

Bermudan authorities refused to issue a stay of execution despite the fact that the lawyer for Larry Tacklyn,

one of the condemned men, had filed notice of her intent to appeal the verdict to the Privy Council in London.

Anger among Blacks, who compose two-thirds of Bermuda's population,



Christian Science Monitor

was intensified by the double standard of justice for Blacks and whites in the colony. A campaign against capital punishment led by the largely Black Progressive Labor Party in the week prior to the executions included a petition with 13,128 signatures against the death penalty. This amounts to nearly 24 percent of Bermuda's 55,000 people.

Nevertheless, the colonial government went ahead with the hangings, described by opposition leader Lois Browne-Evans as "barbaric" and "a primitive act."

Both Tacklyn and Erskine Burrows, the other convicted man, have been political activists. Although Tacklyn maintained his innocence, Burrows

said he had shot the former colonial governor and the governor's aide in 1973 as a protest against the "evilness and wickedness" of colonial rule.

Browne-Evans, who served as Tacklyn's lawyer, condemned the rule of the white minority, saying: "Repeatedly, in one form or another, the voice of the Bermudan people has fallen on deaf ears, and, in the Bermudan way, we have swept a backlog of sociological, economic, and political inequities under a manicured facade to fester."

Prime Minister David Gibbons, a wealthy white merchant and landowner, answered the charges made by Browne-Evans by referring in a December 5 statement to the "high standard of living" on the island. Even more serious than the estimated \$5 million in property damage that occurred during the protests, Gibbons said, "are the attempts to damage national unity and harmony. . . ." Meanwhile, hotels scheduled special "rum swizzle" parties to take their guests' minds off the events outside.

## Books banned in witch-hunt

# Germany: 'two-fisted democracy' in action

By Duncan Williams

FRANKFURT, West Germany—At its official opening, the Frankfurt Book Fair was announced as "a forum of free thought." This year, it came only one month after the Moscow Book Fair held in September.

Participants in the Moscow fair were barred from bringing some books into the USSR. Other books were confiscated at the fair itself. These events, of course, were widely publicized in the capitalist press.

No books were seized at Frankfurt, but it can only be called the height of hypocrisy to talk about "a forum of free thought" in West Germany today. Under the slogan "No freedom for the enemies of freedom!" the West German government is attacking the most fundamental democratic rights.

### Police patrol exhibition

At the official opening of the Frankfurt Book Fair on October 12, Dr. Bernhard Vogel, minister president of the Federal Republic of Germany, told assembled publishers and authors, "You can observe in these days and weeks how we take pains to fight terrorism with the means that our liberal-democratic constitutional state, which considers itself a 'two-fisted democracy,' has at its disposal."

Within days, book fair participants had the opportunity to sample the government's version of democracy. A brutal crackdown on leftist groups and individuals and a general dragnet throughout the country followed the hijacking of a Lufthansa airliner and the killing of Hanns-Martin Schleyer, the West German businessman who had been kidnapped in September.

All facts suggest the government also arranged the "suicide" of Red Army Faction members Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Raspe in Stammheim prison.

But the government's operations also struck closer to home. For the first time in the twenty-nine-year history of the book fair, armed police patrolled the exhibition halls. They traveled in teams of two, one with a machine pistol and the other with a device for detecting bombs. This was just the latest indication of the steadily mounting repression in West Germany during the past two years.

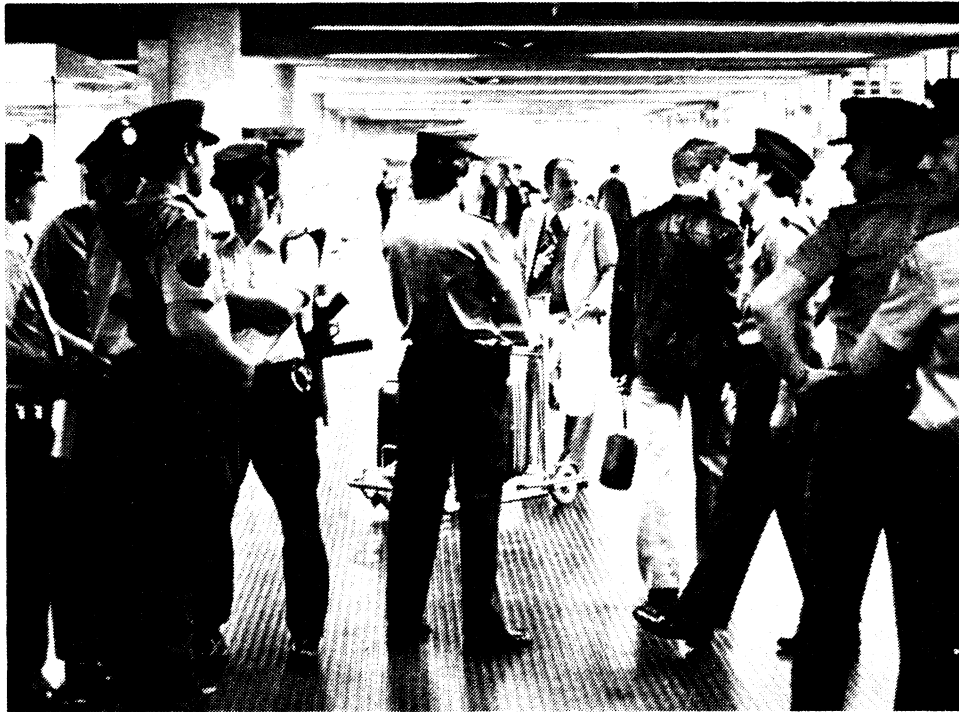
One of the first casualties of the government's "two fisted" struggle against "terrorism" has been freedom of the press, especially in book publishing. Two events during the fair illustrate this fact:

On October 14 a house near Bonn, the residence of several employees of the pdw Verlag [progress dritte welt Verlag—third world progress publishers] was raided by the police, presumably in a search for "terrorists."

According to a press release from pdw, a helicopter landed on a grassy clearing next to the house while approximately eighty policemen with machine pistols, helmets, and bullet-proof vests cordoned off the street; the door was then broken down and the house searched.

On the same day, pdw was cosponsoring a forum at the book fair on anti-Zionist literature in the Federal Republic of Germany. The publishers charge that the raid on their employees' home was because of their publication of books on the Palestinian struggle.

On the last day of the fair, October 17, thirteen members of Agit, a Berlin printing collective, were arrested, one



German government is fostering police-state atmosphere

while on his way back from the fair. They were all charged with "supporting a terrorist conspiracy," because they printed *INFOBUG* (Information of Berlin's Undogmatic Groups).

### Watch what you print. . . .

The government was not able to find the editors or authors of *INFOBUG*, so they arrested the printers, claiming that printers identify with the content of whatever they print. Yet according to an appeal for support from thirteen bookshops and publishers in Berlin, the Agit collective has also printed material for the Lutheran church, the postal union, and other organizations for which they do not take responsibility.

In Berlin, as in many places in the world, there are hundreds of printers who produce political, religious, or other material that they do not necessarily even read, much less identify with.

So the charge raises a bigger question. Can a printer be held responsible for the content of what he or she prints? The answer, in the Federal Republic of Germany, is yes.

Paragraph 88a of the criminal code makes anyone who "disseminates, publicly exhibits, displays, performs, or otherwise makes accessible or produces, procures, supplies, stocks, offers, advertises, [or] praises . . ." any material deemed to promote "anticonstitutional support for criminal actions" liable to prosecution.

This law has been in effect since January 1976, when it passed the West German parliament unanimously. In its short life, it has already created an unofficial self-censorship in the publishing and distribution of books.

An article by Kai Hermann in the October 6 issue of the liberal weekly magazine *Stern* details the situation:

Shipments of books have been seized, and the drivers of the vans have been held on charges of anticonstitutional activity. Among the books considered to constitute an incitement to violence and an "armed breach of the peace" are Charles Bettelheim's *Class Struggles in the USSR 1917-1923*; a book on the independence struggle in Tanzania; and Franz Mehring's historical classics on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German history.

The vague wording of paragraph 88a, notes Hermann, means that any

book distributor or bookseller must be aware of the contents of every book handled and must make a judgment as to whether each book violates some section of the criminal code.

The situation is even worse for libraries. Hermann quotes a secret memo circulated to employees of the American Memorial Library in Berlin, which has a collection of about 1 million volumes. "It should be borne in mind," the memo says, "that the Library as an institution cannot break the law, only individual librarians." In case of a suspected incitement to anticonstitutional activity, "the issuing librarian . . . will be subject to criminal prosecution."

### Forbidden books

After examining the new criminal laws, the library administrators found seven categories of books currently "legally forbidden" in West Germany. Accordingly, in the secret memo to employees they propose "to operate

censorship as generously as possible, in the spirit of guaranteed freedom of opinion and information." To be censored are various "writings from Eastern and Western publishers with national socialist, socialist, and communist ideas."

"Problematic" literature will be kept in the storeroom, "somewhat removed from the reach of the uncritical." Books in this category can still be ordered from the catalog, but anyone attempting to do so should be asked in for a discussion with the head librarian.

Other uses of the law, as documented by Hermann, include the armed seizure of a book on the Haymarket martyrs and the predawn arrest of the co-owner and three employees of a Tübingen bookshop, on the charge of "supporting a criminal conspiracy," because the shop sold a book called *Revolutionary Anger*.

The Berlin Buchladen-Kollektiv receives regular visits from the police, who take with them any new titles that might be grounds for criminal prosecution.

The self-censorship forced on the commercial and library distribution of books has inexorably begun to reach to book publishing as well. "The editors at Luchterhand Verlag deleted a passage of dialogue from their translation of Régis Debray's autobiographical novel *The Individualist*," writes Hermann.

At the fair, sixty-seven publishers from ten countries signed a protest declaration against "the severe restriction on the freedom of thought and expression brought about by legal measures and by many less formal pressures which inevitably arise from these legal measures, creating a climate of fear and intolerance."

An international coordinating group of the signers has been formed to gather information. For information on the group and its activities, contact Jules Geller, Monthly Review Press, 62 West Fourteenth Street, New York, New York.

## German witch-hunt hits lawyer

By Susan Wald  
From Intercontinental Press

Klaus Croissant, a West German lawyer well known for his defense of the democratic rights of members of the Red Army Faction, was extradited by French authorities at midnight on November 16.

Croissant was taken to Stammheim prison to await trial on charges of "setting up and running a system of communications among prisoners belonging to a criminal organization." If convicted, he faces six months to five years in prison—provided, of course, that he escapes becoming a "suicide" victim like Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe, and Ingrid Schubert.

A storm of protest greeted the French government's decision to hand Croissant over to West German authorities. On the evening of November 18, 20,000 persons marched in Paris.

A representative of the Union of French Lawyers said that the court's decision meant that "a lawyer has been handed over for having seen to

the defense of his clients."

Neither the French nor West German government has produced the slightest shred of evidence linking Croissant to terrorist actions carried out by the Baader-Meinhof group.

Croissant was arrested in Paris on September 29 on the basis of a September 10 West German arrest warrant accusing him of, among other things, being an accessory to murder and genocide, including conspiracy to set off a nuclear explosion.

The public prosecutor's office tacitly admitted the phoniness of these charges by basing its recommendation that Croissant be extradited on the lighter charge contained in an earlier warrant—that of aiding the exchange of information among prisoners belonging to the Red Army Faction.

A November 18 editorial in *Le Monde* said that the judges had based their decision on "a weighty record, but one in which assumptions replaced facts."



# Prisoner's daughter tours U.S. cities

By José G. Pérez

More than 1,200 people attended meetings to hear Zoraida Collazo during a speaking tour of northeastern U.S. cities in mid-November.

Collazo, daughter of one of the imprisoned Puerto Rican Nationalists, spoke out for the release of her father and his comrades. Her tour was organized by the U.S. Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists.

The five—Irving Flores, Lolita Lebrón, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Oscar Collazo, and Rafael Cancel Miranda—were imprisoned in the early 1950s for actions carried out in support of Puerto Rican independence.

Earlier this fall, President Carter freed Andrés Figueroa Cordero in the midst of mounting protests spurred by reports that the prisoner had but weeks to live. Figueroa Cordero suffers from incurable cancer.

The four remaining in jail are the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere. Oscar Collazo, who was imprisoned first, is now the longest-held prisoner of the federal government incarcerated on any charge.

Zoraida Collazo's tour took her to Storrs and New Haven, Connecticut; Boston, Amherst, and Northampton, Massachusetts; Newark and New



ZORAIDA COLLAZO

Militant/Benito Martínez, Jr.

Brunswick, New Jersey; Philadelphia; and New York City.

One high point of the tour was a rally held at Columbia University in New York on November 19. Some 225 people attended, most of them Puerto Ricans or other Latinos.

The meeting was led off by Puerto

Rican protest singer Roy Brown. In addition to Collazo, speakers were: Martin Sostre, a former political prisoner; Annette Rubenstein, longtime civil libertarian; and Ruth Reynolds, a pacifist who was imprisoned in Puerto Rico for three years in the early 1950s for her support to independence.

During her talk, Collazo recounted the history of Puerto Rico's colonial oppression, first under Spanish rule, then under North American domination.

She explained the repressive campaign that led to the 1950 proindependence rebellion and the armed protests in the United States for which the five Nationalists were imprisoned.

She also appealed for support to the U.S. Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists in its activities.

That committee, together with the Puerto Rican National Committee to Free the Nationalist Prisoners, is organizing a delegation to present President Carter with petitions demanding release of the remaining prisoners by Christmas.

The delegation, which will be composed of prominent U.S. and Puerto Rican religious leaders from varied denominations, will urge Carter to grant the Nationalists a Christmas pardon.

The delegation has asked to meet with Carter around December 20. A vigil will be held outside the White House in support of the delegation when it goes in to meet with Carter.

For more information on the campaign to free the Nationalists contact the U.S. Committee at 80 Fifth Avenue, Room 1204, New York, New York 10011.

## White jury accepts insanity plea

# N.Y. cop gets away with murder of Black youth

By José G. Pérez

New York cop Robert Torsney has gotten away with murder.

On November 30, an all-white jury declared Torsney not guilty, by reason of insanity, of killing a fifteen-year-old Black, Randolph Evans, in front of the housing project where Evans lived with his family in the East New York section of Brooklyn.

"I wasn't surprised by the justice that was done," said May Jones, a cousin of Evans. "It's a racist system and society, and this trial was a subterfuge from beginning to end."

By coincidence a memorial service on the first anniversary of Evans's funeral took place the night the verdict was handed down. Some 200 community residents angrily discussed the verdict and how they could have prevented it.

Annie Brannon, Evans's mother, was one of those who spoke. "Where were you when it was a lily-white court? You talk about pigs. You should have picketed the precinct."

After Evans's death there had been protests, but these died down quickly.

"Thank God you are alive, you are free," Brannon told the meeting. "We've got to pull together if we're ever going to beat this system."

The racist whitewash was so transparent even the *New York Times* published an editorial saying they were "jolted" by it.

These are the facts of the case: Torsney and his partner answered a report of an armed man at the housing project where Evans lived. Finding nothing, they were leaving the building when Evans and five others approached.

Evans asked Torsney a question. Torsney put a bullet through Evans's head at point-blank range. Torsney calmly walked back to his patrol car, ejected the spent cartridge and reloaded.

When he heard Evans was dying, Torsney cracked, "Those square-nosed bullets will do it every time."

At first Torsney was preparing a not-

guilty plea on the basis of self-defense. He said Evans had pulled a gun. No one else saw the gun. No gun was found.

Then Torsney found himself a psychiatrist willing to testify on his behalf. Still it took Dr. Daniel Schwartz almost a year to come up with a plausible diagnosis.

The doctor said Torsney suffered from a rare form of epilepsy, "automatism of Penfield," which he said makes people do things they aren't aware of.

Torsney has no history of epilepsy. Tests of his brain activity don't reveal epilepsy. Schwartz admitted the diagnosis was uncertain because he's never seen Torsney in a seizure. The sole basis for the conclusion is Torsney's claim that he thought Evans had a gun. Schwartz reasons that since Evans didn't have a gun, Torsney couldn't have known what he was doing when he fired.

The prosecutor played along with the game. He let the defense select an all-white jury, and spent so much time

bantering with Torsney's defense attorney that at one point the judge told jurors to ignore the antics of "the Sunshine Boys."

The prosecution had its own shrink who also said Torsney was mentally ill, but that his illness didn't quite fit the law on insanity defense.

Most cynical of all involved appeared to be Dr. Schwartz, who the *New York Times* described as having a reputation "as a kind of psychiatric hired gun, willing to provide expert testimony for either side."

"An insanity plea does not depend on psychiatric testimony as much as it does on the likeability of the defendant and on whether the jury thinks he is a danger to the community," Schwartz told the *Times*.

Torsney will now go to a mental hospital until he can prove he is no longer a "danger to himself or the community." That's expected to take sixty days, the minimum period he must be hospitalized.

# S.C. rally backs J.P. Stevens organizing drive

By Linda Millwood

SPARTANBURG, S.C.—Workers from forty J. P. Stevens textile plants gathered here November 20 for a rally to support union organizing efforts at Stevens.

There were more than 1,000 participants in the rally, including Stevens workers, other members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), union officials, and a large number of supporters.

One banner behind the platform said, "Organize the Unorganized—Activate the Organized." That theme was what brought the Stevens workers to the rally, which they seemed to view as a new stage in the organizing drive.

Charters were presented to the or-

ganizing committees of eleven plants in Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, North Carolina, and Connecticut.

Harold McIver from the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, who chaired the rally, told the crowd that a majority of workers had now signed union cards in eighteen Stevens plants—those eleven and seven in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina.

The union won a representation election at the Roanoke Rapids plants in 1974 but Stevens has refused to sign a contract.

ACTWU Secretary-treasurer Jacob Sheinkman told the rally, "Today in Spartanburg we are declaring the independence of J. P. Stevens workers from the tyranny of J. P. Stevens;

Spartanburg and the rest of the South will not be the same after this meeting today."

It was evident, however, that ACTWU officials are still relying mainly on the consumer boycott of Stevens products and on Democratic politicians to win this battle.

ACTWU Vice-president Sol Stetin emphasized in his remarks the passage of a labor-law reform bill by the House of Representatives, the fact that Carter has "agreed to sign" the bill if it is also passed by the Senate, and the need to elect more "friendly" politicians.

The first of four resolutions passed at the rally by delegates from the plants was a statement of intent to keep organizing. Remarks from the

floor indicated sentiment for concentrated organizing in all the Stevens plants at the same time.

Another resolution encouraged lobbying and letter-writing in favor of the labor-law reform legislation. Union officials expect such legislation to curb Stevens's illegal practices such as firing prounion workers.

A third resolution expressed thanks to the AFL-CIO and other unions.

On the fourth resolution, an amendment was made from the floor to change the wording from "calling on" Stevens and its chairman, James Finley, to allow employees to organize and negotiate contracts to "demanding" that they do so. The amended version passed by unanimous voice vote.

# Nazis arrested in Mpls. attack

By Gillian Furst

MINNEAPOLIS—Four members of the American Nazi Party attacked and beat up a young man at the University of Minnesota on December 2. The four men were arrested and charged for misdemeanor assault by the university police.

A group of five or six Nazis were picketing a rally for the *Militant* sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance inside Coffman Memorial Union.

The main speaker at the meeting was Pedro Vázquez, a Chicano socialist and a leader in the antideportation movement. The Nazis carried signs saying "White power," and "Close the borders."

The victim, Richard Hillman, a twenty-seven-year-old University Hospital worker, was attacked by the four men as he was entering Coffman Union at 8:00 p.m. He had nothing to do with the meeting that was going on inside but was attacked because he made it clear that he did not like what the Nazis stood for. He was taken to University Hospital for treatment of facial cuts and bruises.

The day after the assault a news briefing was held to protest the Nazi attack. Norm Overby, a Black civil rights activist; Pedro Vázquez; Manuel Guzman from the Minneapolis Chicano community; and Jim Carson, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the recent mayoral election here, united to denounce the terrorist tactics of the Nazis.

Carson pointed out that "this is an attack on freedom of speech and freedom of association."

He said this was not the first time

the Nazis had used physical intimidation against socialists and members of the oppressed nationalities in Minneapolis. But, he pointed out, "for the first time, the Nazis were caught in the act." Carson called on the Minneapolis city authorities to prosecute the offenders to the full extent of the law.

Norm Overby, who works with the Minneapolis Urban League, noted that the Nazis' victim was white. "This incident demonstrates that if you are white and your ideas conflict with [the Nazis'], your color is not going to protect you. If you have any attitudes against assault and violence, racism, or sexism, you automatically, whether you choose to or not, make yourself an adversary to this party."

Guzman called the attack "an indirect affront to Pedro [Vázquez]'s right to free speech."

Deportation, he said, "is a Chicano issue. Deportation is one of the main problems that has been affecting our people for some time. I call upon all Chicanos in the Twin Cities area to voice their opinions and viewpoints in regards to this incident and to support any and all individuals who wish to denounce this type of activity."

Vázquez explained his position on Carter's deportation plan. He said the plan is in effect a "racist attack on Brown people, Blacks, and any one who looks at all 'alien.' Undocumented workers aren't committing any crime, they are just looking for jobs to feed their families."

Vázquez encouraged Chicanos, Blacks, and all supporters of civil rights to unite against incidents of violence in the Twin Cities. "The Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan are against not

only Blacks, Chicanos, and socialists; they are against women and unions as well. All these groups should unite against them."

The *Minnesota Daily*, the University of Minnesota campus paper, ran an editorial denouncing the Nazi assault.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock  
Pedro Vázquez, whose meeting was target of Nazi attack, urged united response to right-wing violence.

## Defeat for Calif. antilabor initiative

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—California antilabor forces have suffered a defeat in their efforts to put a union-busting initiative on the state ballot.

The measure would have totally outlawed strikes by public employees and banned the union shop in state agencies.

Backers of the initiative had tried to gather the 500,000 signatures needed to qualify the measure for the June 1978 ballot.

On the eve of the December 1 deadline they announced they were at least 20,000 short of the necessary minimum. The gap would have been much wider after invalid signatures were eliminated.

Those circulating the petitions obviously ran into significant public resistance. They spent a minimum of \$250,000 on the effort and employed professional petitioners as well as volunteer right-wingers.

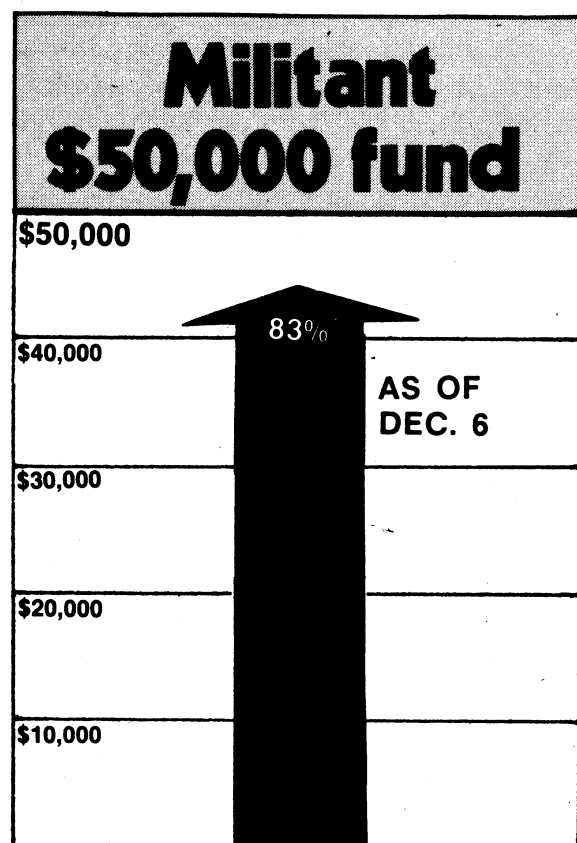
The effort enjoyed the support of the chamber of commerce, the California Manufacturer's Association, Ronald Reagan, and others.

John Henning, executive secretary of the California AFL-CIO, said, "It's a credit to the good sense of the people of California that this antiworker petition was rejected."

In announcing the failure of the drive, Dan McGurk, cochairperson of the sponsoring "Committee for Citizens' Rights," said, "We're tired and discouraged."

## Militant readers give generously...

*Militant* readers are responding generously to the special fund appeal we made to all our subscribers just before Thanksgiving. So far, nearly forty readers have sent in a total of \$760, for an average contribution of \$20. Amounts ranged from \$1 up to \$100.



Since one of our readers has promised to match dollar for dollar every contribution received during the final month of the four-month drive, this response has pushed us \$1,500 closer to our \$50,000 goal. This is an important boost toward making that goal by our December 15 target.

As of December 6 we had collected \$41,892, or 83 percent of the goal.

The largest single chunk has come from rallies for the *Militant* held throughout the country. Pledges totaling \$4,800 have yet to be collected from those rallies, and there are several more rallies to come.

In addition, many *Militant* readers sent in contributions earlier in the drive. Responding to our recent appeal, one subscriber wrote, "Here is a second contribution. I hope the *Militant* will continue to grow!"

This response shows that our readers value the news and socialist analysis the *Militant* brings them each week. That's why they are eager to help us meet the challenge of rising costs.

"I live with a small pension and many expenses that just don't stop coming," one reader wrote us. "But despite all my difficulties, I couldn't

remain indifferent to your appeal. I want to help the *Militant* continue its work of struggling for that pure ideal of socialism."

A college reader from St. John's University in Minnesota wrote, "I don't necessarily agree with everything the *Militant* believes in and advocates, but at least you don't sell out to the highest bidder, as so many newspapers and magazines do today."

We are proud in knowing that our readers can be sure of that, sure that the *Militant* tells them the truth. But to do that we must rely on our readers for support, rather than on the commercial advertising that keeps the big-business-controlled media afloat.

Help us by sending in a contribution during the last week of our drive.

I want to contribute:

☐ \$500    ☐ \$250    ☐ \$100

☐ \$50    ☐ \$25    ☐ \$10

\_\_\_\_\_ Other

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

Make checks payable to: **The Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.**

## ...as fund drive enters final week



# ...NSCAR

Continued from page 17

against deportations as a permanent campaign.

"And now," Harris said, "we are deeply involved in the fight to overturn the *Bakke* decision—a fight that in many ways is one of the most important."

Harris explained that prospects for mounting successful campaigns around all the issues confronting antiracist forces today are as good, if not better, than ever.

## Disillusion with Carter

He pointed to recent polls indicating a growing disillusionment with the Carter administration's commitment to solving the pressing problems of oppressed minorities and of the population in general.

The Carter administration has shown where it really stands on such issues as jobs, deportations, school desegregation, affirmative-action programs, women's rights, and South Africa by continuing without basic change the policies of the Nixon and Ford administrations.

In this context, Harris pointed out, things for oppressed minorities are getting worse. And the need for a nationwide counteroffensive against the attacks on their rights and living standards is increasingly urgent.

NSCAR outlined this perspective, he said, in its *Full Equality Now* statement issued last spring.

The call by the NCOBD for a national march on Washington April 15, Harris said, offers an opportunity to make this perspective a reality.

"The NCOBD and the Black American Law Students Association," Harris explained, "were responsible for bringing thousands out into the streets on October 3 and 8. These demonstrations were made up of many people who had never before participated in demonstrations or political activity."

"The demonstrations were militant in their tone and attitude and employed the method of direct action. And one recurring theme at all of them was the need to reorganize the protest movement of the sixties, to build a new movement like the civil rights movement—a concept we've been pushing since our inception."

## 'Bakke' a major issue

"We believe that affirmative action, symbolized in the *Bakke* case, has become a major political issue in the country today, and that it is the forefront of the racist offensive by the government, big business, and reactionaries against Blacks, Chicanos, Asian-Americans, and Puerto Ricans. It is also being used as one of the battering rams against women's rights and to deepen race and sex divisions in the labor movement."

"Besides *Bakke*, there are more than 2,000 so-called reverse-discrimination

suits in the courts today. The only way to meet this attack is to bring masses of people into action."

How NSCAR plans to help organize the winter-spring actions in defense of affirmative action was outlined in the proposal submitted to the meeting by Harris and Tony Austin.

During discussion under Harris's report SCAR activists and supporters from different cities discussed antiracist activities in their areas.

Maura Rodriguez, a former NSCAR staff member, reported on NSCAR's role in building the Chicano/Latino conference and its activities in the fight against deportations. Saladin El-Tabuk of Chicago SCAR discussed the fight there to desegregate the schools.

Robb Wright, a Boston Teachers Union activist, described the interest in the *Bakke* decision in his local and the nationwide revolt within the American Federation of Teachers against the pro-*Bakke* position foisted on the union by AFT President Albert Shanker.

William Boone, a student at Medgar Evers College in New York City and a member of the City University of New York Student Senate, reported on plans by CUNY students to help build the winter-spring anti-*Bakke* protests.

At workshops and panel discussions on southern Africa, deportations, and affirmative action and the *Bakke* decision, SCAR activists exchanged experiences and mapped further plans for ongoing activities.

The meeting also heard and approved a report by Maura Rodriguez on organizing NSCAR chapters across the country.

Harris, who along with Austin submitted the major action proposal to the meeting, was elected NSCAR's national coordinator.

In explaining his decision to step down as coordinator, Austin said that he planned to remain active in the antiracist struggle in Newark where he now lives.

# ...Wright

Continued from page 6

Wright and the others who face jail terms.

International solidarity can help in winning the release of Carlos Coronado and the other victims of the Costa Rican government's repression. Telegrams and letters demanding the dropping of charges against the eight activists, and an end to police harassment of the OST, should be sent to Costa Rican embassies or consulates, or to President Daniel Oduber Quirós, San José, Costa Rica. Send copies of such messages along with statements of solidarity to the Comité de Defensa de los Presos de Limón, c/o Marta Trejos, P.O. Box 949, San José, Costa Rica.

# Calendar

## ALBANY, N.Y.

**THE CASE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER.** Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

## BERKELEY

**WHAT HAPPENED AT THE IWY CONFERENCE?** Speakers: Carol DeBerry, president, East Bay CLUW; others. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 845-3111.

## CAMBRIDGE, MASS

**CLASSES ON SOCIALISM.** Thursday, 7:30 p.m. Dec. 15: Making a revolution. 2 Central Square, 2nd fl. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

## CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE

**THE 'BAKKE' DECISION: THREAT TO CIVIL RIGHTS.** Speakers: Richard Wright, Black American Law Students Association; Paul Bigman, National Lawyers' Guild & National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision; Cecil Lampkin, SWP. Fri., Dec. 16, 7:30 p.m. 2251 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

## DETROIT: WEST SIDE

**DANGERS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY.** Speakers: Dave Petzel, Safe Energy Coalition; Irene Brown, Consumers for Pure Food; Dean Denno, SWP. Sun., Dec. 11, 7 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

**CHINA AFTER MAO.** Speaker: Robin Maisel, SWP. Sun., Dec. 18, 7 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

## HOUSTON

**MEETING TO SUPPORT MESABI IRON RANGE STRIKERS.** Speaker: Joe Samargia, president, USWA Local 1938. Thurs., Dec. 15, 8 p.m. IBEW Local 716 Hall, 2501 Crawford. Ausp: Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Mesabi Iron Range Strikers. For more information call (713) 473-8351, 926-5263, or 236-8813.

## KANSAS CITY

**REPORTS FROM NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.** Speakers: Linda Pinsker, NOW; Zenobia Ellis, Federally Employed Women; Ruth Summer, UMKC Women's Union; representative, SWP. Sun., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

**VIEWPOINT: THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY DISCUSSES WHAT ROAD TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.** Speaker: Scott Cooper, SWP. Fri., Dec. 16, 7:30 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

## LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST

**THE CRISIS IN STEEL.** Speakers: Lalo Sánchez, recording secretary, USWA Local 5504; Jack Sheppard, veteran steel unionist; other steelworkers. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn, Huntington Park. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

## MIAMI

**ISLAND PRISON: HAITI & THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.** Speakers: representatives of Human Rights for Haitian Refugees and Partido Revolucionario Dominicano; a former Haitian political prisoner. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. Place to be announced. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 260-4381.

## MILWAUKEE

**WHY AN ENERGY SHORTAGE?** Speakers: Richard Booth, SWP; others. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: the Militant. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

## NEW YORK: THE BRONX

**BEHIND SADAT'S DIPLOMATIC MOVES.** Speaker: David Frankel, staff writer for the Militant. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

## NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

**BLACK FEMINISM.** Speakers: Cathy Sedwick,

YSA; June Nelson, Black and Latin Women's Group, CCNY; Sharon Grant, SWP; others. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

**WHAT IS SOCIALISM?** Classes every Thursday in December, 7:30 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave., Brooklyn. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

## NEW YORK: CHELSEA

**WILL THE EGYPT-ISRAELI TALKS BRING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST?** Speakers: Peter Seidman, staff writer for the Militant; Sheila Ryan, Palestine Solidarity Committee; representative of PLO. Fri., Dec. 16, 7:30 p.m. 200½ W. 24th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

## NEW YORK: QUEENS

**THE FIGHT AGAINST THE 'BAKKE' DECISION.** Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**NUCLEAR POWER: BETTER ACTIVE TODAY THAN RADIOACTIVE TOMORROW.** Speakers: Robert Drescher, Friends of the Earth; Robert Hedges, Committee Against the Columbia Reactor; Arnold Weissberg, staff writer for the Militant. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. (98th St.) Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## PORTLAND, ORE.

**PORTLAND CITY COUNCIL—THE REAL RECORD.** Speaker: Vernon Cope, SWP candidate for Portland City Council. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

## ST. PAUL

**CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA.** Speakers: Phil Knutson, resident of South Africa for 17 years; others. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 176 Western Ave. North. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

## SAN ANTONIO, TX.

**60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.** Speaker: John Cannon, SWP. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 1317 Castroville Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

## TOLEDO, OH.

**CLASSES ON SOCIALISM AT THE MILITANT BOOKSTORE.** What a socialist America would look like. Tues., Dec. 13, noon to 1 p.m. or 7 to 8 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Ausp: Militant Bookstore, SWP. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.: ADAMS-MORGAN

**CRACKDOWN IN SOUTH AFRICA.** Speakers: Jimmy Garrett, prof. at Harvard and member of June 16 Coalition; Ted Lockwood, Washington Office on Africa; Sarah Smith, SWP. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 2416 18th St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

## Forums on miners strike

### BALTIMORE

**STRUGGLE IN THE COAL FIELDS.** Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for the Militant. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

### LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

**THE ATTACK ON THE STEARNS, KY., MINERS.** Two videotapes: *Push Comes to Shove*, and *October 17*; speaker. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. (near Western). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

### LOUISVILLE, KY.

**UNITED MINE WORKERS ON STRIKE.** What's at stake in the national UMWA strike. A panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.



The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has established a special Argentine Solidarity Fund. Contributions will aid the families of political prisoners and other victims of the military dictatorship. They will also finance the campaign in the United States to defend human rights in Argentina. Please send a contribution today.

(Make checks payable to the Argentine Solidarity Fund, c/o USLA.)

Help spread the truth about political persecution in Argentina by holding meetings and circulating materials on your campus, in your trade union, or in other organizations. Contact USLA for speakers and literature.

For more information, or to send contributions, write: USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

# Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Do you read French, Spanish, Hebrew, Turkish, Russian, German, and some forty other languages?

Do you have time to follow the world left press and the major dailies from Paris, London, New York, and other world capitals?

If not—but you wish to follow international political developments on a week-by-week basis—we suggest you

write for a free sample copy of Intercontinental Press, a weekly newsmagazine of international politics.

A unique source of news, analysis, and hard-to-find documents of interest to the socialist movement.

Write to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

# The Lesser Evil?



**Peter Camejo  
George Breitman  
Jack Barnes**

**VS.**

**Michael Harrington  
Carl Haessler  
Stanley Aronowitz**

What is the Democratic Party—the 'party of the people' or a dead end? Should feminists, Black people, union militants, socialists, and others support the Democratic Party? Or should they run their own candidates in opposition?

*The Lesser Evil?* contains three debates that examine the alternatives in light of the cold war witch-hunt, the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, women's liberation, the New York City budget crisis—and in the broader context of the socialist perspective.

128 pages, paper \$1.75, cloth \$7.

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

**EVELYN REED**  
Author of *Women's Evolution*

## SEXISM & SCIENCE



## NEW...BY EVELYN REED

This book exposes the antiwoman, pseudoscientific bias that permeates biology, sociology, anthropology, and primatology today. It is a companion volume to Reed's major work, *Woman's Evolution*, which documents the preeminent role of women in the earliest and longest period of human history—prehistoric matriarchal society.

192 pages, paper \$3.45, cloth \$12.

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

# An Evening for the 'Militant'

**Hear Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the 'Militant'**

**Speak on:  
'Carter's First  
Year: A Socialist  
View'**



Also speaking:

**Judy White**, editor, 'Perspectiva Mundial'

**John Linder**, editor, 'Young Socialist'

Sunday, Dec. 11, 7 p.m.

Fifth Ave. Hotel (9th St. & Fifth Ave.)

## PUERTO RICAN LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM

An educational weekend

December 9-10, New York University

Special presentation:

'Puerto Rico: Struggle Against Colonialism'

by **Juan Robles**, Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (Internationalist Workers League) of Puerto Rico

Tishman Auditorium, New York Univ. Law School

Saturday panels and talks include:

- Defending Puerto Rican movement against government attacks
- Puerto Rican women and feminism
- Crisis in education

\$5 for weekend/\$3 for 'Militant' rally only

Ausp: SWP, YSA, 'Perspectiva Mundial,' 'Militant'

For more information: (212) 982-8214, 982-4966

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 314 E. Taylor, Phoenix, Ariz. 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

**Tucson:** YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156.

**East Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

**Los Angeles, Crenshaw District:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2167 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

**Los Angeles:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820.

**Los Angeles, Southeast:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, Calif. 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975.

**Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.

**San Diego:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1053 15th St., San Diego, Calif. 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630.

**San Francisco, Mission District:** SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Libreria Socialista, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992.

**San Francisco, Western Addition:** SWP, 973 Page St., San Francisco, Calif. 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814.

**San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 916 Broadway, Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, Box 431096, South Miami, Fla. 33143. Tel: (305) 266-4381.

**Tallahassee:** YSA, c/o Linda Thalman, 1303 Ocala Rd. #140, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 576-5737.

**GEORGIA:** East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 5596, Atlanta, Ga. 30307. Tel: (404) 688-6739.

**West Atlanta:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040, Atlanta, Ga. 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

**Chicago:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280.

**Chicago, North Side:** SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1870 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811.

**Chicago, South Side:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 2251 E. 71st St., Chicago, Ill. 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

**Chicago, West Side:** SWP, Pathfinder Books, 10 N. Cicero, Chicago, Ill. 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**Indianapolis:** SWP, 4163 College Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 233-1270.

**Louisville:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 1505 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40203. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3812 Magazine St., New Orleans, La. 70115. Tel: (504) 891-5324.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668.

**College Park:** YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton, Mass. 01027.

**Boston:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**Cambridge:** SWP, 2 Central Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395.

**Fenway-South End:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

**Roxbury:** SWP, 612 Blue Hill Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02121. Tel: (617) 288-0753.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Michigan Union, U of M, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48109. Tel: (313) 663-8306.

**Detroit, East Side:** SWP, 12920 Mack Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160.

**Detroit, West Side:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 18415 Wyoming, Detroit, Mich. 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436.

**Detroit:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway, Detroit, Mich. 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675.

**Grand Rapids:** YSA, P.O. Box 6301, Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506.

**Mt. Pleasant:** YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 23 E. Lake St., Mpls., Minn. 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663.

**St. Paul:** SWP, Labor Bookstore, 176 Western Ave., North, St. Paul, Minn. 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost, Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404.

**St. Louis:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEBRASKA:** Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 11-A Central Ave., Newark, N.J. 07102. Tel: (201) 482-3367.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 4088, Albuquerque, N.M. 87106. Tel: (505) 256-1796.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 103 Central Avenue, Albany, New York 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072.

**Binghamton:** YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

**Ithaca:** YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 14853.

**New York, Bronx:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 2271 Morris Ave., Bronx, N.Y. 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652.

**New York, Brooklyn:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 220-222 Utica Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250.

**New York, Chelsea:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.), New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

**New York, Lower East Side:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 7 Clinton St., New York, N.Y. 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

**New York, Queens:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 90-43 149 St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica, N.Y. 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718.

**New York, Upper West Side:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 786 Amsterdam, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**New York:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station, Raleigh, N.C. 27607.

**OHIO:** Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497.

**Cincinnati:** SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan, Cincinnati, Ohio 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636.

**Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

**Columbus:** YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union (Rm. 308), Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985.

**Kent:** YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio 44242. Tel: (216) 678-2489.

**Toledo:** SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd., Toledo, Ohio 43612. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3928 N. Williams, Portland, Ore. 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

**Philadelphia, Germantown:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 5950 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19144. Tel: (215) V14-2874.

**Philadelphia, West Philadelphia:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

**Philadelphia:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

**Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 5504 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419.

**State College:** YSA, c/o Bob Hill, 733 W. College Ave. #2, State College, Pa. 16801.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Kingston: YSA, c/o Box 400, Kingston, R.I. 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

**TENNESSEE:** Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr., Austin, Tex. 78752.

**Dallas:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2215 Cedar Crest, Dallas, Tex. 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684.

**Houston, Northeast:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2835 Laura Koppe, Houston, Tex. 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543.

**Houston, East End:** SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza), Houston, Tex. 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005.

**Houston:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

**San Antonio:** SWP, 1317 Castroville Rd., San Antonio, Tex. 78237. Tel: (512) 432-7625 or (512) 432-3022. YSA, P.O. Box 12110, Laurel Heights Sta., San Antonio, Tex. 78212.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84322.

**Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 461, Salt Lake City, Utah 84110.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** Adams-Morgan: SWP, 2416 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Tel: (202) 797-7706.

**Washington, D.C.:** Georgia Avenue: SWP, 700 1/2 Barry Pl. NW, Washington, D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 265-7708.

**Washington, D.C.:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 1424 16th St. NW, Suite 701B, Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle, Central Area: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2200 E. Union, Seattle, Wash. 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404.

**Spokane:** SWP, P.O. Box 672, Spokane, Wash. 99201. Tel: (509) 326-2468.

**Tacoma:** SWP, Militant Bookstore, 1022 S. J St., Tacoma, Wash. 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484, Morgantown, W. Virginia 26505.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 251-1591.

**Milwaukee:** SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



## Racist justice in So. Africa



Steve Biko's wife Nontsikelelo and lawyer leave court after judge found police not guilty in death of Black leader

By David Frankel

Even before the inquest into the death of Steve Biko was over, South African Justice Minister James Kruger announced his confidence that the police would be absolved of any blame in the death of the young Black leader. Biko, one of the foremost figures in the Black Consciousness movement, died in police custody September 12.

On December 2, Magistrate Marthinus Prins, a paid civil servant ultimately accountable to Kruger, took care not to disappoint his boss. Prins returned a terse ruling of less than 120 words upholding the police version of how Biko died.

But if there was ever a clear case of murder, this was it. And not only the police, but Kruger himself was implicated.

When Biko's death was announced September 13, Kruger issued an unusually detailed statement claiming that Biko had died after a one-week hunger strike. As *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis noted December 5:

"The statement was a farrago of rubbish. There was no hunger strike. Stephen Biko died of brain damage suffered while he was a prisoner of the security police. He died after the police ignored the

findings of one set of doctors and concealed his condition from another."

Prins ignored all the contradictions that surfaced during the police testimony at the inquest. Biko's torturers claimed that he had died of head injuries resulting from a scuffle in which Biko "accidentally" bumped his head against a wall. But police witnesses gave contradictory accounts of the "scuffle" and retracted portions of their testimony.

A brain specialist testified that Biko's injuries resulted from at least three separate blows, but the police only tried to account for one.

Police witnesses admitted that Biko had been kept naked in a cell for nineteen days and had been subjected to more than fifty hours of grueling questioning. At one point Biko, who was not even charged with any crime, was shackled hand and foot for four days on a urine-soaked mat.

"Every country has its neurotics and sadists in its prison service," commented U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young shortly before the inquest began.

But Young's attempt to absolve the South African regime of responsibility for Biko's death fell flat. The State Department was compelled to issue an

official statement deploring the verdict.

"It seems inconceivable on the basis of evidence presented that the inquiry could render a judgment that no one was responsible," a State Department official said.

"Even if individual responsibility was not established, Mr. Biko's death clearly resulted from a system that permits gross mistreatment in violation of the most basic human rights."

However, the official explained, the Carter administration is not planning to take any action against the South African regime.

In South Africa itself, Blacks showed what they thought of the verdict by gathering outside the courtroom and singing, "They have killed Steve Biko." The chants were punctuated by clenched-fist salutes.

Before Prins's verdict, a lawyer for the Biko family pointed out that an exoneration of the police would encourage them to continue "to abuse helpless people with impunity."

As if to confirm this prediction, at least thirteen persons were detained in police raids in Soweto on the morning of the verdict, among them Biko's brother, Kaya, and his cousin, Solomon Biko.

## Iron range strikers appeal for support, tell Minneapolis rally, 'We can win'

By Stu Singer

MINNEAPOLIS—An appeal for support from striking steelworkers on the Mesabi Iron Range got a warm response from students and unionists at a meeting here December 6.

A crowd of 125 turned out at the University of Minnesota to hear Willard Anderson, president of United

The Teamsters and United Auto Workers have also pledged to send busloads of union members to the rally.

Willard Anderson, a thirty-year union veteran, told the campus meeting about the life-and-death issues of the strike.

"We've had people who lived six or seven months after retirement, then died from lung failure," he said. "We put safety and health first."

Silicosis, a debilitating lung disease, is an occupational hazard for workers in the dusty iron ore mines and processing plants. "Some areas of our plant have no dust collectors," Anderson said. Meanwhile, "the company officials work in air-conditioned offices."

Pointing to the coal miners' strike as an example, Joe Samargia declared that "an attack on labor is underway." He said the big corporations "want ENAs all over," a reference to the no-strike Experimental Negotiation

Agreement in basic steel.

"One of the most important things you can have in a strike is support," Samargia said. "We have support from people all over the country."

"Our biggest problem is with the international union. Our international wants us to accept this package [voted down by the local union negotiators]. As long as our membership supports us, and as long as people like you support us, we can win."

"I'm just a rank-and-filer," said Ed Walberg. "I can't politick like some of these others. I want to speak from my heart, and I hope you'll listen with your hearts."

"We're having this rally in Hibbing on December 17. We need money, canned goods, and most of all people to ride those buses."

A collection of \$229 was raised to support the strikers.

Dick Wilke, student body president at the university, spoke from the audience, pledging the support of the student government.

### Strike leader to speak in Houston

HOUSTON—A leader of the iron ore miners will address a meeting in Houston on Thursday, December 15, organized in solidarity with the strikers.

Joe Samargia, president of United Steelworkers Local 1938, will speak at 8:00 p.m. at the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 716 hall, 2501 Crawford.

The meeting is sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Mesabi Iron Range Strikers, which has the endorsement of more than seventy-five union and community activists.

For more information call (713) 473-8351, 926-5263, or 236-8813.

For news and background on the Mesabi Iron Range strike, see page 19.

Steelworkers Local 2660; Joe Samargia, president of USWA Local 1938; and Ed Walberg, a picket captain from Local 1938.

Walberg and Donald LaVigne, another rank-and-file activist from the big U.S. Steel local, are in Minneapolis to help organize participation in a strike solidarity rally called for December 17 in Hibbing. That rally is sponsored by the Minnesota AFL-CIO.