

THE MILITANT

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

DEFEND THE COAL MINERS!



Militant/Nancy Cole

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—Three thousand miners rally to denounce coal bosses' contract terms and Carter's strikebreaking. See reports from the coalfields on pages 4-5.

The following statement was released February 22 by the Socialist Workers Party Political Committee.

The courageous strike by 160,000 coal miners has become the biggest test of strength in three decades between the organized working class and the giant corporations that rule this country.

By threatening electricity cutbacks, blackouts, school closings, and mass lockouts of factory workers, the corporations that provoked the strike

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have escalated the confrontation from the coalfields into a national social crisis.

By threatening the miners with a Taft-Hartley injunction, compulsory arbitration, and government seizure of the mines, the Carter administration has made the strike the foremost political issue in the country.

The aim of the coal bosses and their political agents is to divide working people and turn public sentiment against the miners, blaming them for hardships caused by alleged power shortages.

The attack on the United Mine Workers is an attack on the entire labor movement. It requires a united response.

The broadest possible solidarity with the miners—from resolutions and financial aid to mass rallies and demonstrations—is needed to block this union-busting assault.

Especially urgent is the need to counter the divisive lies of the energy corporations and explain that they, not the miners, are responsible for power cutbacks and layoffs.

The strike was provoked by the mineowners in an open bid to "tame" the miners. It represents a calculated broadening of a long-term antilabor offensive.

Coal production today is dominated by some of the most powerful sectors of finance capital, including the oil and steel monopolies. Their drive against the miners is a probe to see if the capitalists can cripple or break a major industrial union.

This assault is an extension of the attacks in recent years on public employees from New York to San Francisco, cutbacks in social services, the racist campaign against busing and affirmative action, and the attempts to roll back women's rights.

A defeat for the coal miners would embolden the government-employer offensive on every front and jeopardize the rights and living standards of all working people.

The contract terms demanded by the coal operators are a preview and a warning of what the bosses have in store for other unions. They would have slashed medical benefits, eliminated cost-of-living protection, stripped union safety committees of their power, and allowed the companies to institute

speedup "incentive pay" schemes and seven-day workweeks.

Worst of all, they would have provided harsh penalties—fines, suspension, and firing—for miners who strike to defend their rights.

The coal bosses—intoxicated by their own arrogant boasts about the "weakness" and "chaos" in the union—underestimated the fighting spirit of the miners.

The acceptance by UMW President Arnold Miller of the industry's contract terms touched off an explosion of rank-and-file anger—including meetings of thousands of miners, demonstrations, and petitions demanding Miller's recall.

Mass strike meetings, discussing and rejecting the contract offer and defying Carter's threats, have strengthened the unity and determination of the miners.

The ability of the miners to stand up to the Carter administration's strikebreaking sets an inspiring example for all unionists, Blacks, Latinos, women, students—for everyone who wants to fight for justice and social progress.

With few exceptions in recent years, workers and their organizations have suffered setback after setback—prevented from fighting back by the subservience of their leaders to the Democratic Party.

But by standing up for their rights, by rejecting the slave-labor contract, by proclaiming again that "you can't mine coal with bayonets," the ranks of the UMW have not only exposed the Democratic administration as antilabor to the core—they have

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given a glimpse of the power of the working class against a government that serves only a small, parasitic minority.

After all the bluster, threats, "deadlines," and "options," it has become glaringly evident that Carter cannot force the miners to go into the pits and dig coal.

That is exactly why the administration is relying on a political offensive to divide the workers. And that is why a political fight for working-class unity in defense of the miners against the government is so crucial today.

Union democracy

At the very center of this class confrontation is the fight for union democracy.

The bosses insist that the UMWA leadership police the miners, discipline militants, stop strikes, guarantee stability, and take responsibility for "industry growth" through speedup and incentive pay.

In short, they are determined to force the UMWA into the mold of class-collaborationist, bureaucratic "business unionism." But nowadays the employers have precious few concessions for such union leaderships, only demands to make on them.

The bosses' plans require rolling back the democratic gains miners have won since the victory of the Miners for Democracy slate in the 1972 union elections—gains such as the right to read, discuss, and vote on contracts, which has been a powerful weapon of the union ranks in the current strike.

The upsurge in the coalfields that led to Miners for Democracy was one of the first reflections inside the unions of the youth radicalization of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Since that time, the changes in the union have accelerated.

Tens of thousands of UMWA members are in their twenties or early thirties. Many are Vietnam veterans. They are part of a generation whose attitudes and expectations have been shaped by such big political developments as the antiwar demonstrations and the rise of the Black and women's movements.

The miners want more rights, not fewer. They believe they have a right to safer working conditions, free health care, adequate pensions, shorter hours, compensation for black lung and an end to the conditions that cause it.

They want to defend and extend rank-and-file control over the union leadership and union policies—the right to elect and recall officers, vote on contracts, determine negotiating demands, and have bargaining conducted out in the open, not behind closed doors.

And miners have learned through bitter experience that they must have the right to strike to

defend their interests against day-to-day infringement by the employers.

Miners are not looking for outside "experts," lawyers, or bureaucrats to run their affairs. The conviction is growing that the conduct of the strike and the fate of the union are up to them, the members, deciding and acting together.

Political action

The power the miners have shown through united strike action stands in glaring contradiction to the apparent political weakness of the labor movement.

Labor's alleged "friends" in the Democratic and Republican parties have spared no effort to break the strike. Not one of the "options" discussed by Carter, Congress, or state officials is that the mineowners come to terms with the union's demands. All the discussion of the Democrats and Republicans is over how best to force the miners back to work on company terms.

The subservience of the top union officialdom to the capitalist Democratic Party is the fundamental reason for their shameful failure to mobilize labor's strength in defense of the miners.

Despite widespread sympathy for the miners in the union ranks and among students and working people generally—shown by local union resolutions and support meetings—the union tops have scarcely lifted a finger to oppose the anti-UMWA onslaught.

The low point of this treachery was George Meany's February 20 statement that "after all, Taft-Hartley is part of the law of the land. . . . If the president feels it's his only alternative, then we won't criticize him"—an open invitation to federal strikebreaking from the head of the AFL-CIO. But the so-called progressive labor leaders such as Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers have done no more than Meany to aid the miners.

All these bureaucrats would sooner see the UMWA destroyed than embark on a political confrontation with the Democratic Party. And they are sick with fear that the fight for union democracy will be taken up by the ranks of their own unions.

Yet the coal strike also underlines how urgently the workers need their own political representatives, who will fight on the level of government for labor's interests.

This is true not only because the government has taken over the role of chief strikebreaker. It is also because the broad social demands of the miners cannot be resolved solely through collective bargaining and strike action.

Enforcement of job safety . . . free, universal health care that does not depend on the profits or good will of the companies . . . protection of the environment from strip-mining and pollution . . . a shorter workweek to create jobs—these demands are not limited to the UMWA or even to the organized

union movement. They are class demands, requiring political action.

The power of the miners comes from independent working-class action—the opposite of reliance on capitalist politicians, arbitrators, and government boards. The logical and necessary extension of their struggle is the formation of a labor party, which would fight to replace the present government of a rich minority with a democratic government of the workers.

Socialist Workers Party

The confrontation between the miners and the capitalist rulers poses both a challenge and an opportunity for revolutionary socialists, who strive to be the most consistent defenders of the interests of the entire working class. The top priorities of the Socialist Workers Party today must be:

- To expose the lies and divisive tactics of the energy corporations,
- To help mobilize the broadest possible support for the miners, and
- To draw the lessons of this battle for all working people.

Central to this effort is a nationwide campaign to get the *Militant*—which tells the miners' side of the story—into the hands of unionists, Black and Latino activists, fighters for women's rights, students, and working people everywhere.

Socialist Workers Party candidates from coast to coast will speak out in defense of the miners, explaining the antiunion plot of the energy profiteers.

Socialist activists in the unions and on the campuses are helping to organize broadly sponsored strike support meetings, collect money and other material aid for the miners, and rally visible opposition to government strikebreaking.

All out to defend the miners!

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Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Tony Thomas, Barry Sheppard, and Betsy Stone



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Militant Highlights This Week

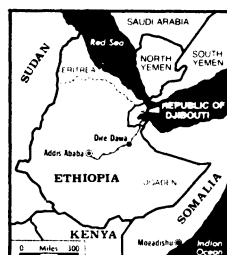
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Unionists protest Nazi office

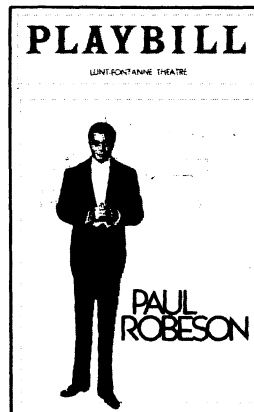
Local 600 of the United Auto Workers in Detroit drew more than 250 unionists, Black and Latino activists, and students to a meeting protesting the opening of a Nazi headquarters. Page 16.

The storm around 'Paul Robeson'
Critics of a new play on the life of Black artist and political figure Paul Robeson charge that it distorts his life. What's behind this charge? Page 23.



National oppression in Ethiopia

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

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

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

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Carter's 'divide & rule' plan to break coal strike

By Andy Rose

Feb. 22—Having failed so far in its efforts to intimidate striking coal miners into accepting company demands and returning to work, the Carter administration is trying another strikebreaking tactic: divide and rule.

The February 20 announcement of an agreement between United Mine Workers officials and the Pittsburgh and Midway Coal Company (P&M) is intended as the opening wedge of a back-to-work movement.

P&M, a Gulf Oil subsidiary, employs some 800 UMW members. It is not part of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the main industry bargaining group.

Government mediators reportedly engineered the pact, which the administration then began to push openly as a model for an industry-wide settlement.

Although the BCOA turned down the offer, government officials are continuing to pressure individual UMW locals to settle for the P&M terms—while still holding over their heads the threat of a Taft-Hartley injunction or federal seizure of the mines.

At the same time, the bosses and government keep grinding out propaganda blaming the strikers for power shortages and layoffs.

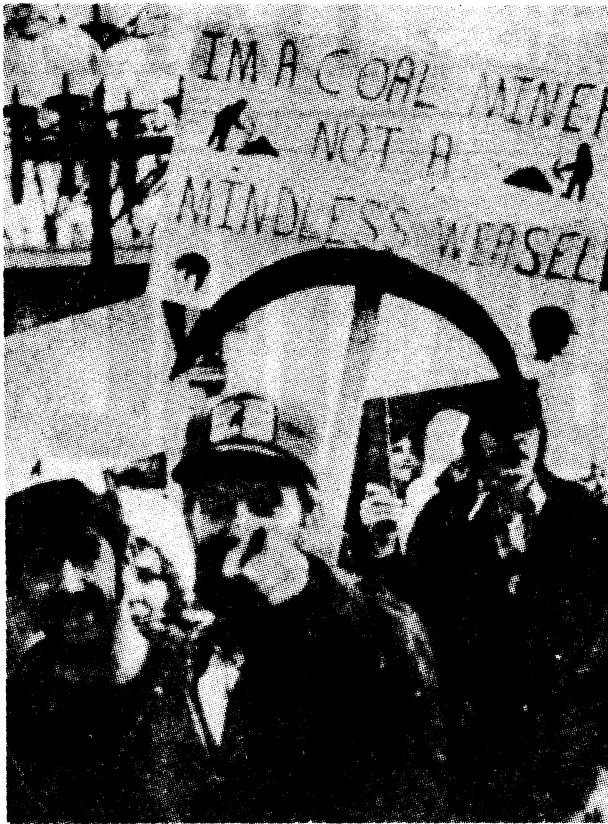
Ohio Gov. James Rhodes sent a telegram to the UMW and the coal operators in his state warning of "a billion-dollar blackout that would force massive unemployment, widespread school closings, and cold and darkened homes throughout the state."

He called on them to accept the P&M contract "to avoid a catastrophe of incalculable proportions."

The ultimatum from Rhodes was immediately protested by about 100 miners and their wives from UMW Local 1340 in New Lexington, Ohio, reports *Militant* correspondent Kathleen Fitzgerald.

On Tuesday morning, February 21, Rhodes had met with Larry Harper and Robert Howard, president and recording secretary of Local 1340. The governor assured them he was "neutral" in the strike. Five minutes later, Rhodes's telegram was released.

Outside the state capitol in Columbus, the union leaders tore up a copy of the telegram and declared they had been stabbed in the back again.



Miners demonstrate in Columbus, Ohio

"The P&M contract is not acceptable," they said. "We want a contract negotiated and voted on by the UMW. Any contract will have to be a whole lot better than the P&M contract."

Harper added, "We have confidence in the rank and file. They are going to decide it. The coal operators have not been bargaining in good faith. We are going to stay out, and we are going to stay out united."

The next day some 150 miners demonstrated against the P&M deal at UMW headquarters in Washington. "United we stand, divided we fall," one miner said angrily, "and that's what you're doing—dividing us."

The UMW Bargaining Council had approved the P&M terms by a split vote of twenty-six to thirteen. Under the union constitution, the settlement must still be approved by a vote of the P&M workers.

The BCOA's initial rejection of the P&M settlement is calculated to give the false impression that this new contract represents big concessions by the mineowners. In fact, the agreement contains only cosmetic changes from the BCOA's original slave-labor contract.

The P&M contract offer reportedly drops provisions for automatic fines and suspension of any miner who honors an "unauthorized" picket line.

But it still grants the bosses the authority to suspend or discharge anyone they accuse of "leading" a wildcat strike.

A few other of the most onerous provisions in the BCOA proposal were shelved, including the thirty-day probation period for new miners and the "incentive pay" speedup plans. But the cutbacks in health benefits, the curbs on the power of union safety committees, the provisions for "labor stability" and "absenteeism control"—in short, the heart of the BCOA's demands—remain essentially intact.

And the P&M deal takes not a single step toward meeting the miners' demands on health, safety, pensions, and the right to strike to enforce safe working conditions.

Thus it should not be surprising that despite their public condemnation of the deal, BCOA sources are quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* as privately calling the pact "acceptable" and "an agreement we could live with."

Federal mediators boast of having made an "end run" around UMW President Arnold Miller and the BCOA. But the ones they are really trying to give the runaround to are the UMW ranks.

The strength of any strike lies in its unity and solidarity. And that is exactly what the Carter administration hopes to destroy by isolating miners into smaller groups and then stampeding them back to work under the P&M terms.

Any contract proposal—even if it formally covers only one company—will affect all miners. Ramming through the P&M settlement is a violation of the democratic rights of the union membership as a whole to decide when and on what terms to end the strike.

Miners from other locals and districts are already communicating their opposition to the P&M terms to those union members who will vote on it.

A united show of rank-and-file sentiment can stop Carter's divide-and-rule gambit.

The 'Militant': weapon in defense of the miners

By Nelson Blackstock

The paper you are holding in your hands is a weapon in defense of the miners.

The *Militant* has been on an all-out campaign to get out the miners' side of the story.

If you had to rely on the big-business-owned media to find out what is at stake, you would have very little idea about why the miners are on strike.

The *Militant* has been telling the truth about the life-and-death issues—mine safety, health benefits, union democracy, and the right to strike. We've explained the urgent need for solidarity with the miners at this critical stage

in their fight—a fight waged for the rights of all working people and their allies. And we've carried in-depth articles on the political lessons of this major class battle.

Militant reporters have been in the coalfields to get the first-hand story from miners themselves about how they see their struggle.

A special *Militant* sales team is now in the mining areas of West Virginia. The team will be introducing hundreds of striking miners to the socialist newspaper that gets out the facts.

Funds permitting, this will be only the first of several teams to tour the coalfields during the strike.

In addition to the full-time national

team, socialists in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, West Virginia, Missouri, and Georgia have dispatched temporary sales teams to nearby mining areas.

Besides single-copy sales, Pittsburgh socialists have sold more than forty subscriptions to miners in recent weeks.

Socialists from coast to coast are taking the *Militant* to workers at steel and auto plants and other industries.

Inside the plants, socialist workers have found a particularly good response to their paper. In one Detroit Dodge plant alone, seventeen copies were sold.

In some places, such as the San Francisco Bay Area, sales of the *Militant* are going hand-in-hand with efforts to publicize local solidarity rallies with the miners.

The paper is also being sold at shopping centers, on street corners, and at political meetings, particularly in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities.

In Chicago, Young Socialist Alliance members say they have found much interest on campuses in what the *Militant* has to say on the strike.

If you want to join the effort to get the *Militant* out, contact the socialists nearest you in the listing on page 27. Or call the *Militant* circulation office directly to order your own bundle. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

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Miners: 'It's time we showed

'Let's see that farmer mine coal'

By Nancy Cole

BELLE VERNON, Pa.—Out on strike for two and a half months, the ranks of United Mine Workers District 5 got a chance to demonstrate their unity and determination February 18.

More than 2,000 striking miners crowded into every available space at the Rostraver Gardens skating rink for a gathering that alternated between a public strike rally and a meeting to discuss union business.

A couple of open microphones allowed miners in the audience to express their anger on the subjects ranging from the proposed contract to the news media to the union's international officials.

The meeting was called by a group of local union officials, and it was unmistakably a warning to the union's negotiating team, in particular UMW President Arnold Miller and District 5 President Lou Antal. The miners voted unanimously to call for Miller's resignation.

"If you watch television, we're nothing but a bunch of ding-a-lings," said Local 1190's Jerry Philip, who the crowd appointed a "delegate from the back of the room."

"We're a bunch of radical people just wanting more than we're worth. So if we're wanting more than we're worth, you tell me why they're having so much trouble running this country without what we do."

The first scheduled speaker was Paul Lewis, director of United Steelworkers District 15. "The 60,000 members of the United Steelworkers that Paul Lewis is director of wholly support the United Mine Workers in their maintenance of dignity," he announced. "Once they get you, we're next."

Lewis went on to say that members of his district want to know "how we can help, tell us where we can help."

A miner jumped to his feet and shouted, "Come out with us on the picket line, that's how you'll help us."

Lewis shot back, "Tell me where, brother, and I'll be there."

Later in the meeting, another miner spoke from the floor, pointing to the labor solidarity meetings held in Pittsburgh. At one of them, he said, a president of the Teamsters union had announced his union's 100 percent support of the UMW strike.

"But who else is carrying this non-union coal than the Teamsters?" the miner asked. "This is where I feel if the



Miners discuss contract offer and strike strategy at rally of 2,000 in Pennsylvania

Militant/Nancy Cole

Steelworkers are behind us, the Teamsters are behind us, we're going to need more support than just standing behind the mike and telling us they're behind us 100 percent."

Much of the miners' fire was directed at President Carter and his threat to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act or to order federal takeover of the mines. Variations of "Let's see that farmer mine coal" were popular retorts.

"By standing in front of TV cameras and admitting he may invoke the Taft-Hartley Act, Carter is willfully participating along with the BCOA [Bituminous Coal Operators Association] in trying to break this organization," said a striker.

"It's time we showed them who has the power," shouted someone from the audience.

Elected members of local safety committees were primarily responsible for reading and explaining provisions of the contract that had just been rejected by the UMW negotiating council early that morning.

Having read the provision that requires safety committees to call in federal inspectors to prove "imminent danger" before work could stop, one safety committee head declared, "The Maple Creek mine will not arbitrate safety!"

He later explained that some cases of imminent danger were not even subject to action under federal law. If a dangerous roof condition were to conform to the company's roof plan, the federal inspector would not be required to act, "even though you know that roof is coming down on your head."

Jim Nuccetelli, head of Local 1197's safety committee, read the "labor stability" clauses, which give the company power to fire and suspend participants in strikes.

"This means that even if you weren't involved, but say you were in a beer garden talking and you said, 'I think we ought to go on strike,' and the foreman heard you, the company has the right to suspend you for thirty days."

Miners were also incensed by the proposed introduction of an incentive plan.

"If the boss tells you you're getting ten extra bucks if you fill ten more carloads of coal, a lot of men are going to do it, and a lot of men are going to

die," explained a miner. "I'm the chairman of our safety committee. We cannot see an incentive plan in the mines!"

In the middle of the meeting, U.S. Rep. Austin Murphy arrived by helicopter to address the miners. Appreciative of his stated support, the strikers greeted Murphy with a standing ovation.

"I think that what has happened," he told the rally, "is that the coal operators thought they were dealing with a divided and a weak union. They don't know what it's like out here. They don't know how firm our miners are."

Murphy has obviously come to realize the strength of UMW miners, especially in his western Pennsylvania coalfield district.

While giving the impression he supports the union, Murphy did not explain why it is his political party—the Democratic Party—that is leading the drive to break the UMW strike.

After Murphy finished, one miner from the audience asked him to take a message "to Goldwater, or Garbage-water or whatever his name is, to Carter, and especially to the secretary of labor. Thank them for uniting us stronger than we ever were."

Mine strike supporters hit Pa. power cuts

By Mark Zola

PITTSBURGH—The Duquesne Light Company mustered a mere four speakers in support of its energy scare campaign at public hearings here on February 16.

Twenty-eight speakers at the hearings, called by the Public Utilities Commission, condemned Duquesne's proposal for mandatory electricity cutbacks and a three-cent surcharge for its customers.

Duquesne claims that these steps are necessary because of the nationwide coal miners' strike.

But some forty coal miners and 150 of their supporters came to the hear-

ings to show up this effort to pit consumers, most of them working people, against striking miners.

Opponents of Duquesne's proposals picketed for half an hour before the hearings began. Once testimony began, every organization speaking against Duquesne was cheered on, especially when offering solidarity with the striking miners.

Duquesne supporters were greeted with loud boos and chants of "Scab coal will not roll!"

The four striking miners who spoke received particularly strong applause. They explained that their fight for a decent contract was a fight on behalf of the entire labor movement, and thanked those present for their solidarity.

Far from being an innocent bystander in the coal strike, speakers pointed out, Duquesne is a mineowner and a member of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

Representing the Socialist Workers Party, Kipp Dawson condemned Duquesne's "blackmail." She pointed to the history of the United Mineworkers union in helping to build and lead the labor movement.

"Today, the strike is helping to show the entire labor movement where the so-called friends of labor among the Democratic and Republican politicians really stand—as enemies of labor."

"This is particularly true of Presi-



Militant/Nancy Cole

Miner Jim Nuccetelli denounces bosses' attacks on safety and the right to strike.



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Socialist Kipp Dawson scores strike-breaking role of Democratic and Republican parties.

them who has the power'

dent Carter, who got elected as labor's friend and is now threatening to use the Taft-Hartley Act to break the strike."

Dawson's comments were twice interrupted by applause from the crowd.

Other speakers in opposition to Duquesne's scheme came from the Postal Workers union, Friends of the Earth, Teamsters for a Democratic Union, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Western Pennsylvania Committee to Support the Mine Workers, New American Movement, People's Alliance for Jobs and Energy, Miners Right to Strike Committee, and several citizens councils and consumer groups.

W. Virginia: 3,000 miners pack rally

By Nancy Cole

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—Fifteen minutes after the rally was scheduled to begin, cars were still lined up more than a mile up the highway here trying to turn into the National Guard Armory.

Some 3,000 striking miners—most from this area's United Mine Workers District 31—gathered February 17 to show their commitment to stay out until they get a good contract.

The meeting was not called by District 31 officials, nor was it opposed by them, the news media reported. Delegations of strikers from districts 4, 5, and 11 also attended.

The microphone was open to any miner in the audience. Speaker after speaker denounced the proposed agreement recently rejected by the union's bargaining council.

A speaker from Indiana's District 11 said, "As you know, this contract is being thrown at us especially hard. Our governor, Otis Bowen, has enacted the National Guard. We presently have 350 guardsmen in Indiana, and we also have fifty riot-trained state police. They're transporting coal in convoys of fifty to seventy-five trucks."

He explained the Indiana miners in the audience were wearing black armbands in mourning for John Hall, a striker killed a few weeks ago by a scab.

"The reason that bargaining council, or most of them, voted against the contract is because they knew the rank and file would never accept it," said Clemmy Allen, president of Local 2874 in western Pennsylvania's District 5.

"I'm going to say right now and put my neck on the line. We want [District 5 President] Lou Antal and every district president and every international executive board member and our chief negotiator Arnold Miller to know that the United Mine Workers will never accept a contract like they are proposing to us."

The crowd jumped to its feet in approval.

As miners entered the armory, they were encouraged to sign petitions demanding recall of Miller. At one point a speaker asked for a "standing ovation in support of Miller's resignation." He got it.

It was ironic that this display of union militancy occurred at the National Guard Armory. About 60 to 70 percent of the Guard in this part of West Virginia are coal miners, a striker told the *Militant*.

That fact has sparked considerable speculation here as the threat of National Guard protection for scab coal becomes more real. "I'm in the Guard," the miner said. "I guess I'd have to go to jail if they called us up."

Auto workers: '100% for miners'

By Brian Elam
and Tom Smith

DETROIT—The Big Three auto corporations announced February 14 that they could be forced to shut down their Midwest manufacturing operations because of the coal strike.

Thousands of Detroit's auto workers have already been laid off their jobs, not because of the coal strike but because of the three-month slump in auto sales. Workers were sent home for one week at Dodge Truck in Warren, Michigan, and indefinitely at Chrysler's Sterling Stamping Plant.

Originally the thousands of workers laid off were told it was for "inventory adjustments." Now the auto executives have another excuse for the layoffs—the coal miners.

But many auto workers aren't buying the story that striking miners are to blame for the layoffs. In fact, several United Auto Workers locals here have responded by organizing strike support activities.

Frank Runnels, president of the 10,000-member Cadillac Local 22, said in a television news interview, "The UMWA is fighting for its survival. The coal operators announced at the beginning that they were out to break the union. . . . If they get away with breaking the UMWA, then GM and Ford might get the idea to try and break us."

Local 22 members are going out to plant gates to collect food and clothing. A UAW caravan will bring the donations to the coalfields.

At Dodge Truck the stewards committee is also collecting money and will be showing the film *Harlan County USA* to raise funds for the strikers.

Hank Wilson, UAW president at the Dearborn Assembly plant, promised the support of Local 600—the world's largest union local—to the miners. "We have committed our aid to UMWA President Arnold Miller. We are pledging financial support. We stand shoulder to shoulder with those union brothers, . . ." he said in *Ford Facts*.



CHARLES SMITH

CHUCK SMITH

JAMES JORDAN

Charles Smith

Militant readers in UAW Local 140 were eager to talk about the miners.

"The refusal of coal operators to grant miners their basic rights shows who's responsible for the layoffs," Charles Smith said.

"The government should tax the big corporations to keep services running," James Jordan added.

"The bosses are all getting together to turn us against the miners by claiming they don't have enough energy to run the plants—which we know is a big lie," said Chuck Smith. "I think there's more coal on hand than we're being told there is."

"Carter's bargaining for the operators," Charles Smith said. "He relied on miners to get elected. Now he's responding to the demands of those who supposedly opposed him."

"He campaigned as a friend of labor but he's turning out to be a strike-breaker," Bill Arth added.

When asked whether there are sim-

ilarities between the miners' strike and the auto workers' heat walkouts last summer, Jordan said, "Our struggle over heat wasn't as tough as theirs is now. They face conditions every day as bad as we faced for a few days during the heat wave."

"Basically it's the same issue," Arth explained. "It's the right of workers to defend their own safety and put controls on industry. The right to strike over unsafe conditions is at issue in both cases."

As for what kind of support the UAW should provide, Chuck Smith suggested, "We should contribute and collect food, clothing, and money to show solidarity among working people."

"Thousands of auto workers should rally in the streets to show our support for the miners," Arth added.

"The UAW should stand up 100 percent to back the miners," Jordan said. "For a simple fact—because they're working people like us."

Labor solidarity on the rise

By Shelley Kramer

Despite the ruling-class campaign to turn working people against the miners, their strike has sparked significant labor solidarity. In city after city, *Militant* correspondents report an increase in local union activity.

In Los Angeles and San Francisco, rallies in support of the coal miners—on February 22 and 24 respectively—enjoy broad labor backing. Dozens of unions and prominent labor officials have endorsed these meetings, at which UMWA representatives and striking Stearns, Kentucky, miners will speak. Tens of thousands of leaflets have been distributed to trade-union members to help build these events.

In Cincinnati, *Militant* correspondent Bobbi Medoff reports that 175 strike supporters attended a spirited rally on February 17. Darrell Vanover, a leader of the Stearns strike, presented the miners' case. "I'm not on strike to put your lights out," he said. "I use those things too. The coal operators are after your lights because they're bucking the toughest union around today."

The newly formed Cincinnati Committee to Support the UMW Strike will meet on March 1, at 7:00 p.m., at Kennedy Heights Community Center, 6065 Redbank Road.

In Cokeburg, Pennsylvania, correspondent Linda Moore talked to Bob Bushyager, vice-president of the United Electrical Workers Local 646.

"Our unions have got to stick together," he said. "Without this we have nothing—no way to protect our rights." Thirteen UE locals in District 6 have been collecting food, clothing, and supplies for the strikers and are mobilizing their members for a union solidarity rally Saturday, February 25, in Pittsburgh.

In Albuquerque, New Mexico, a rally to support the UMWA has been scheduled for March 3, 7:30 p.m. at the University of New Mexico North Ballroom. The rally is sponsored by UMWA Local 7949.

In Cleveland, United Auto Workers Local 1005 at the Parma Chevrolet plant has raised over \$5,000 in plant-gate contributions for the miners. Other UAW locals in the area are doing the same despite threatened layoffs attributed by the bosses to the coal strike.

"Look, the bosses lay us off for their own reasons," one auto worker said in a TV interview. "I don't mind getting laid off for the mine workers."

In Indianapolis, United Mine Workers representatives were joined by other local union leaders in a news

conference to express labor solidarity for the strike.

"Layoffs, unlit streets, and unheated buildings are not the responsibility of the United Mine Workers," explained Gus Tabor, general counsel for UMWA District 11. "The blame should be laid where it ought to be: on the side of industry."

Ernie Jones, president of the Marion County Central Labor Council, also spoke.

In a number of cities union locals have adopted resolutions in support of the miners. In Chicago, Local 533 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers unanimously endorsed a resolution pledging "complete solidarity with the UMWA strike."

"Whereas the Railroad Brotherhoods are in a similar defensive position facing the harshest carrier demands in many years . . . a defeat suffered by the mine workers would encourage and embolden the rail industry in its assault on rail unions," the resolution explained.

In San Antonio, Texas, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 694 passed a support resolution at its February 14 meeting, and in Baltimore, the Central Labor Council adopted a resolution supporting the strike and opposing use of the Taft-Hartley Act against the miners.

GOV'T VS. UMWA

Lessons of miners' struggles in 1940s



Miner shows what he thinks of Truman's union-busting through the courts

By Frank Lovell

When the Carter administration directly intervened in the coal strike on February 14, it tried to appear "impartial"—above the struggle between the coal operators and the miners.

The stated reason for government intervention was the threat of an energy shortage. But the real reason

was to force the miners back to work on the original terms dictated by the coal operators.

The plan to starve out the strikers had failed. The miners had proved they could hold out longer than coal-dependent industry could.

Labor Secretary Ray Marshall announced that Carter was considering three options to force the miners to

return to work. One was to order the strikers back to work for an eighty-day "cooling off" period through the Taft-Hartley Act; a second was government seizure of the mines; and the third was mandatory, binding arbitration of the issues in dispute.

Carter said he was not enthusiastic about any of these options. He recognized that past experience with Taft-Hartley has shown the miners will defy it and stay home. The other two options require acts of Congress, which could mean public debate on the issues in the strike. Neither Carter nor Congress wants that.

While the government seeks ways to end the strike on terms favorable to the companies, the miners are busy maintaining picket lines against troop movement of scab coal and holding meetings to discuss the strike. This is a good time for miners to reflect on previous UMWA battles and how an earlier generation of miners defended themselves.

Gov't strikebreaking in 1940s

Some important lessons can be drawn from the miners' strikes of the 1940s. Then, too, the union confronted the might of the federal government in alliance with the coal operators. The Democratic Party administrations of Roosevelt and Truman used every method available—from federal seizure of the mines to court action, to troops, and finally the Taft-Hartley Act—in an effort to break the union.

During World War II, Roosevelt took over the mines when the UMWA struck in 1943 against the government-imposed wage freeze. He ordered Solid Fuels Administrator Harold Ickes to seize the mines, and order the miners back to work as government employees.

But neither federal seizure, troops, nor threats to draft strikers into the army worked. The miners stood tough and eventually won a wage increase of more than one dollar a day, smashing the wage limits Roosevelt had up to then successfully forced on the working class.

In order to win, the UMWA exposed the direct connection between the Democratic and Republican politicians and the mineowners.

UMWA President John L. Lewis confronted the members of the Senate War Investigating Committee, then headed by Harry Truman, and blasted

the government's promotion of high prices for industry.

Sen. Ralph Brewster tried to claim that with proposed new tax legislation, "We will hope the rich will not get richer out of this war."

Lewis responded, "We all hope with you, but hope deferred maketh the heart sick."

"If we restrain industry and finance, are you willing to work on holding down the wages?" Sen. Harold Burton demanded.

"My dear Senator," Lewis answered with contempt, "whenever you have restrained industry and finance, just call me on the telephone and let me know."

Fight for welfare fund

After the war, the coal companies continued to violate the rights of the mine workers. On April 1, 1946, 400,000 soft-coal miners stopped work with the expiration of their contract. The operators refused to renew the contract with a new provision demanded by the union—a health and welfare fund financed by a five-cent levy on each ton of coal mined.

President Truman labeled the strike a "national disaster" and called the demand for health and welfare royalties "illegal."

CIO President Philip Murray joined the employer-inspired campaign against the UMWA, publicly denouncing the strike.

The Communist Party was even more blatant, calling upon the government to act against the strike. This was a continuation of the Stalinists' strikebreaking attacks on the miners during the 1943 strike.

The UMWA called a two-week truce in May, after government negotiators led the union to believe they supported the health and safety demands "in principle." But even during the truce, thousands of miners stayed out of work, and all 400,000 were on strike by the end of the truce on May 27.

Two days later, the government, which had taken over the mines, signed a new contract including the health and welfare royalty provision, as well as a wage increase and a thirty-five-hour workweek.

Toward the end of the year, the UMWA demanded that the contract be reopened and set November 1 as the strike deadline. When the strike was finally called on November 20, Truman had a new weapon against the union.

Why mine workers need a labor party

By Cindy Jaquith

The onslaught against the striking coal miners by the Carter administration and Democrats and Republicans across the country demonstrates that the United Mine Workers union is up against two formidable enemies at once—the profit-hungry coal bosses and the political parties that run the government in their interests.

While the miners have the sympathy of millions of working people behind them, they have no political party to express their demands and fight for their needs.

As soon as the rank-and-file miners declared they would not accept the union-busting contract proposed by the industry, Carter abandoned any pretense of neutrality in this strike. He immediately set into motion strikebreaking machinery that had been prepared long in advance.

Carter announced he would force the miners back into the pits one way or the other—either through a Taft-Hartley injunction, federal seizure of the mines, or compulsory binding arbitration.

Meanwhile, Democratic and Republican governors and state legislators ganged up with the employers to use the National Guard to move scab

coal, to permit the burning of high-polluting coal, and to let the companies lay off thousands of workers in other industries.

Well-known "friends of labor" shed their ill-deserved reputations quickly, some of them becoming the most adamant strikebreakers. Democratic Sen. Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio, elected through the support of the AFL-CIO, announced to the media that he was urging Carter to "assure legal protection to the movement of nonunion coal."

The governors of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, Milton Schapp and John D. Rockefeller IV, spoke out against the use of Taft-Hartley—not because they're on the miners' side, but because they figure it wouldn't work.

"It would not be obeyed. It would be defied," Rockefeller warned, calling instead for a negotiated settlement. Two weeks earlier, Rockefeller explained the kind of settlement he means, when he praised the original offer by the coal operators.

Not a single capitalist politician has endorsed the solution proposed by the miners—a contract that would recognize their right to strike over safety, restore all their health benefits, guarantee decent pensions, and return the union rights the oper-

ators have tried to erase from the contract language.

When it comes down to a confrontation between the rights of workers and the profits of big business, the millions of votes and dollars contributed by the unions to the Democrats and Republicans don't count for anything. The two ruling parties are responsible to the bosses alone and employ the machinery of the government solely to protect their interests.

Miners and other working people need a party responsible to their interests, a labor party.

If workers had a labor party today, how would it respond to the UMWA strike?

Labor party representatives in Congress and in state legislatures would stand up and denounce the Democratic and Republican politicians for proposing layoffs and cutbacks in power. They would vote against any and all measures to move scab coal. They would demand that the energy monopolies open their books to expose their profits and schemes to raise prices.

Labor representatives would propose a few bills of their own—food stamps for strikers, free health care provided by the government, and perhaps most importantly, that the laws be enforced against coal bosses

who pollute the environment and run unsafe mines.

Such representatives would lead a fight against proposals for compulsory arbitration, for Taft-Hartley injunctions, or for government seizure of the mines.

"It's the coal operators who have provoked this strike—not the miners," they would explain. "It's the coal operators who are on strike against the livelihoods and rights of miners and all working people. We demand they sit down at the bargaining table and give the miners what they are asking!"

But a labor party would not only speak out in the halls of the legislatures. Its most important task would be to mobilize support for the UMWA in the labor movement as a whole, to publicize the issues of the strike in the communities of oppressed nationalities, to urge students and women's groups to back the strike, explaining that it is in the interests of all those fighting social injustice that the miners win.

The coal operators and the rest of big business are united with the Democratic and Republican parties against the miners' strike. Working people need to unite in their own party to defend themselves.

Lewis was called into court, where Federal Judge T. Alan Goldsborough charged him with contempt, fined him \$10,000, and levied another fine of \$3,500,000 against the union.

Just as the government has done today, a barrage of antiunion propaganda began. Officials ordered a "brown-out" to conserve coal in major cities. Scare headlines, such as "25,000,000 Workers to Face Unemployment in Coal Crisis," filled the newspapers.

On June 23, 1947, the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, designed to prevent further strikes.

The Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act, under which Truman had seized the mines in May 1946, expired on June 30. On July 8, the mineowners agreed to a forty-four-and-a-half-cent hourly wage increase, a ten-cent-per-ton royalty for the health and welfare fund, and incorporation of the Federal Mine Safety Code into a private contract for the first time.

All penalties against "wildcat" strikes were declared "null and void," and a special clause declared the contract in force only "during such time as such persons [miners] are able and willing to work."

Another national strike began in March 1948, forcing the operators to grant a monthly \$100 pension.

The mineowners did not give up, however. They urged Truman, who needed little prompting, to continue the government attack on the miners. In 1949 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld punitive federal fines levied against the union in the strike of the previous year.

On December 1, 1949, the miners began their fourth strike of that year. Lewis introduced some new tactics to counter the plans of the operators and the Truman administration. The union decided to return to work on a three-day-week basis. They also initiated a

series of "rolling strikes," forerunners of today's roving pickets.

On January 31, 1950, Truman ordered the miners to end their "wildcat" actions and resume work on a "normal production" five-day workweek. He did not rashly invoke the Taft-Hartley Act. Instead he offered a "fact-finding" procedure coupled with a voluntary seventy-day "cooling off" period.

Taft-Hartley fails

When the miners rejected Truman's offer, he reached for the Taft-Hartley weapon, declared a "national emergency," and ordered the miners back to work. The response was that another 270,000 soft-coal miners joined the 100,000 who were already out on a full-time basis.

Art Preis, in his book *Labor's Giant Step*, describes how sympathy for the miners swept through the CIO ranks:

"A number of UAW locals adopted resolutions for a 24-hour national strike to back the miners. The major GM locals in Flint and others throughout the country voted financial aid to the miners and organized food and clothing collections for them. A city-wide Detroit labor caravan carried aid to the hard-pressed miners."

On March 5, 1950, the miners scored another victory. The operators agreed to a new contract which granted a seventy-cent daily wage raise, another ten-cent-per-ton increase in royalty for the health and welfare fund, and the union shop for the first time.

In the succeeding years, from 1950 until the 1972 resurgence of the miners and the victory of Miners for Democracy in the UMWA election, conditions in the mines deteriorated, especially under the company-dominated Boyle regime in the union.

Independent political action

In their present struggle, today's miners can take courage from the determination of their predecessors never to give up the strike weapon. The UMWA's history proves the superiority of independent mass action over reliance on treacherous "friends of labor" in Washington.

In his day, John L. Lewis understood that the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties were faithful agents of the mine operators. But he sought to influence the policies of the capitalist parties from within the two-party system, instead of helping to organize an independent party of labor, based on the unions.

The flexible strike strategy of the miners during and shortly after World War II served to counter many of the antiunion tactics of the employers in those years.

It is unlikely that Carter and his advisers will devise new or improved tactics over those used by Roosevelt and Truman. But the employers today are less willing and less able to meet the demands of their workers. The need for a labor party to mobilize the political power of the miners and their allies is more urgent than ever before.



Miners protest attacks by Kentucky governor on current UMWA strike. Union members faced same tactics from Democrats and Republicans in 1940s.

More on miners' history

By Art Preis

The story of the rise of the CIO and the part played by the United Mine Workers union in the labor battles of the 1930s and 1940s

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Ohio SWP hits Gov. Rhodes' strikebreaking



Militant/Lou Howort
Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio, and John Gaige, candidate for lieutenant-governor.



Militant/Dean Elder

By Alyson Kennedy

CLEVELAND—At a February 22 news conference here, Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Ohio governor, and John Gaige, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, blasted Gov. James Rhodes and the utility companies for their campaign to break the strike of the United Mine Workers.

"First they whipped up an energy scare and threatened layoffs," said Wright. "Then yesterday, Rhodes sent a telegram to Ohio coal corporations and the UMWA urging them to arrive at separate, company-by-company settlements. The Socialist Workers Party denounces this latest move to break the unity of the strikers, to force them back to work on the bosses' terms."

Gaige pointed out that in Cleveland, United Auto Workers locals have collected more than \$10,000 for the miners. Gaige is a member of UAW Local 12 in Toledo.

"Tonight," he said, "I will participate in a Toledo meeting of rail workers, auto workers, Teamsters, public employees, and the Coalition for Safe Energy to discuss what we can do for the mine workers."

"I urge unionists, students, and Black and women's groups across the state to plan similar solidarity activities."

"The coal companies, capitalist politicians, and the news media are trying to create a public image of 'violent miners.'"

"But it is the miners who are trying to put an end to the daily violence in unsafe mines. The operators, the cops, and the scabs are the real cause of violence in this strike."

"Rhodes and all the other Democrats and Republicans are campaigning against the miners. Pat Wright and I take the opposite side. And we intend to campaign for the miners until their demands are met."

How Pgh. machinists came to aid of miners

By Howard Beck

PITTSBURGH—Lights have become symbols here in Pittsburgh. Fewer and fewer of them are burning, while more and more workers are being laid off.

At Miller Printing Western Gear, where I work as a machinist, the boss has warned that if the miners' strike continues, some of us will be laid off. Already the company has started shutting off lights to "save energy."

But as I was standing at my machine trying to see what I was doing in the dim light, I asked myself a ques-

tion: that's all they are trying to do—to defend themselves.

I brought up the miners' strike at my local union meeting and made two motions. First, I proposed that we send a hundred bucks to the miners, which was raised to two hundred and accepted. Second, I said we should set up a committee to support the miners and put out an informational leaflet on their strike.

Another machinist and I worked up the leaflet, got it printed, and found three other machinists who wanted to help pass it out at the gates of our plant.

When I walked into work after the distribution, small groups of workers were standing and sitting everywhere reading the leaflet and talking about the strike. The leaflet's message was straightforward: don't blame the miners.

From listening to people talk, the leaflet hit home. One machinist read it and said: "Let the utility companies turn off the lights. Let the company lay me off. I'll spend my time picketing for the miners."

I hope this attitude will spread and other unionists will bring up the strike in their locals, get resolutions passed in support of the miners, donations sent to the strikers, and leaflets distributed to clarify the issues to other working people.

We must act now. If organized labor doesn't respond and throw its full strength behind the miners, all labor will be hurt.

In solidarizing with this strike we will not only be helping the miners, but helping ourselves.

And then maybe we can force management to turn those damn lights back on.

Howard Beck is a member of Local 2321 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. He was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh in 1977.

tion millions of people are asking. Who is to blame for this mess—the utilities or the miners?

Now if you were to make a list of the three most hated companies in the United States, public enemies number one, two, and three in my book would be the oil monopolies, the utilities, and big steel. And all three are out after the miners.

They're trying to make working people think it's the miners who are to blame for layoffs, power cutbacks, and no heat.

By force-feeding this message to everyone here, the companies have had some success in confusing workers.

But I'm not going to blame another unionist for trying to hold on to past contract gains or maintain a decent living standard, and I don't think any other unionist should either.

If you look at the miners' strike

Why students should back coal miners

By Nancy Cole

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Students here at West Virginia University have been told to cart textbooks home with them at spring break because classes may not resume until the coal strike is over. They'll be expected to study on their own.

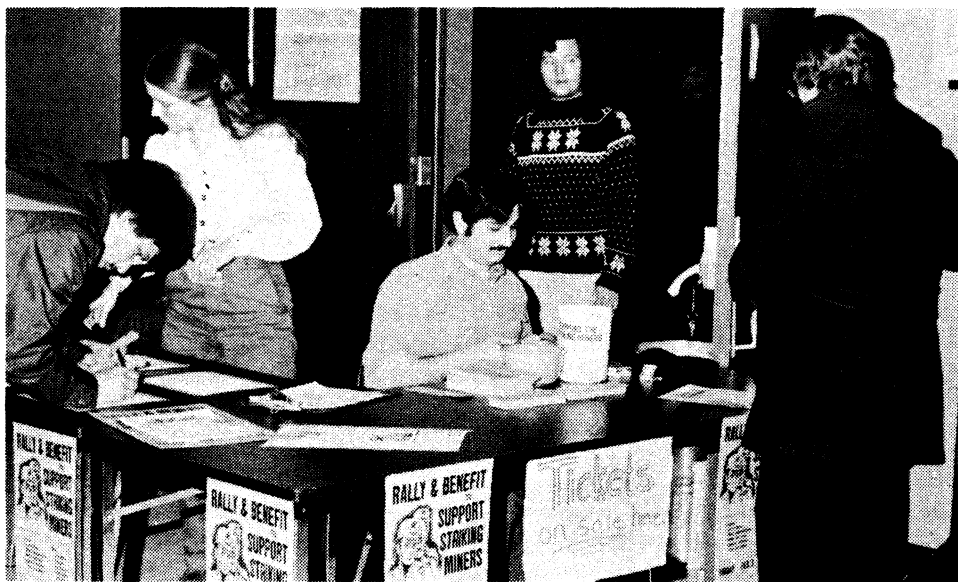
The power crisis, says the administration, has hit WVU. So striking miners now shoulder the blame not only for massive layoffs but for educational cutbacks as well.

"It makes it all the more important that students actively support the United Mine Workers' strike, to counter this campaign aimed at turning students against the miners," says Carol Burke, a WVU leader of the Young Socialist Alliance.

"This strike has become a social cause," continues Burke, "and even if the coal operators weren't trying to use students against the miners, the miners would deserve our support."

There is another side to this strike for students, according to Burke. "The miners are fighting for health, safety, job rights, and to preserve and strengthen their union."

"When students leave school many—and the percentage is growing all the time—are going to find industrial jobs, some in the mines. These job issues are



Militant/Nancy Cole

West Virginia University students enter February 3 strike support rally

going to be important."

Burke believes students across the country can bring significant aid to the strike, particularly in one critical area. "If you turn on the TV news or pick up the evening newspaper, you realize what a gigantic job the miners face in trying to get out their side of the story."

"The big-business news media tell it

from the coal industry's point of view. For most people, that's their only knowledge of what's happening with the strike."

That's where the students come in, Burke explained. "The universities have their own radio stations and newspapers. They have big meeting rooms and budgets set aside just to publicize events held in them."

"There's no reason why this shouldn't be put to good use to support the miners. And students can reach beyond the campus and draw in community and union backing for strike support activities."

As an example Burke cites what students have done here at WVU. Back in November, before the nationwide UMWA strike began, a few students got together and decided to invite miners from Stearns, Kentucky, to speak on campus. The Stearns miners have been on strike for a year and a half fighting for a UMWA contract.

The students talked to a considerable number of campus groups and got them to endorse the event. Few students on campus had even heard of the Stearns strike before.

"But after our meeting of 150 and the publicity that went with it, there was a new awareness," reports Burke. "We came into contact with a whole number of interested students and unionists, who decided to organize WVU Stearns Mine Workers Support Committee. Then we set out to organize an even bigger event."

This time the meeting supported both the Stearns miners and the national UMWA strike. The Monongalia-Preston Labor Council endorsed the February 3 event. Five different unions were represented on the stage. More than 250 persons attended.

It was successful despite the university administration's efforts to harass its organizers and to discredit the event by charging that it was "dominated" by socialists.

"We weren't surprised that the administration opposed our support activities," says Burke. "We've dug up a little information on its ties with the coal industry, and we're going to find out more. That's another area of activity for the miners support committee—exposing the campus complicity with the coal operators."

"For example, the university is a mineowner. The West Virginia University Foundation has invested in major oil companies, and they all own coal. The foundation also gets contributions from coal companies."

The WVU Stearns Mine Workers Support Committee finally gained official campus recognition recently. At its last meeting, students discussed future support activities, such as raising money and food for strikers and continuing to get out the truth about the strike.

Solidarity actions at U. of Ky.

By Bronson Rozier

LEXINGTON, Ky.—Members of the Lexington/University of Kentucky Stearns Strike Defense Committee picketed the UK placement center February 15 to protest its use by recruiters from Peabody and Consolidation Coal companies.

The recruiters didn't show up as scheduled, perhaps because they feared a debate on their role in the current coal strike.

Leaflets passed out by the protesters explained that the coal operators are prolonging the strike by not offering a decent contract to miners. The committee urged UK students and employees to support the demands of the miners for decent health, cost-of-living, and safety provisions.

These themes were repeated the next night by speakers at a campus forum. Bill Worthington, a longtime

leader of the Black Lung Association in Kentucky, told the audience:

"The coal and oil companies are in cahoots. They try to destroy all organized workers. First they'll get the UMWA, then hospital workers, then the textile workers, and pretty soon all of us. They're trying to go back to the 1920s."

Stearns striker Darrell Vanover spoke about the nineteen-month-long strike for a union contract at the Blue Diamond Coal Company's Justus mine. "I've been shot at, beat up, and put in jail," Vanover said, "and I'll be there ten years if it takes it. They might bury me, but they won't run me off."

Plans were announced for a February 26 picket of the governor's mansion in Frankfort by the Lexington/UK defense committee and the UMWA Women's Club of Harlan County.

Join the YSA!

Whether it's the fight for justice being waged by coal miners, or the struggle against racism, or the battle for women's rights, students have a big role to play.

And the Young Socialist Alliance is helping the student movement to meet these challenges.

If you agree with the ideas you've read here, and you support the miners, join the YSA!

- ☐ I want to join the YSA
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How not to support a strike

By Shelley Kramer

The miners' strike is "putting every tendency in the labor movement to the test" began the February 3 editorial in the *Bulletin*, newspaper of the Workers League, a small sectarian group that claims to be Trotskyist.

The *Bulletin* is right that the strike is a test—but dead wrong when it comes to how socialists should support the miners.

According to the Workers League, labor solidarity must "begin" with a "one-day general strike." And that's just for starters.

In addition, "the unions must convene a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party and fight for a workers' government." Right now!

The Spartacist League, another sectarian outfit with Trotskyist pretensions, "supports" the miners by introducing union resolutions calling on workers to "hot cargo" (boycott) scab coal and demand that the

Steelworkers immediately go out on strike too.

What should this mythical steel strike demand? Nothing less than "an end to all layoffs and rehiring of laid-off workers through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, nationalization of bankrupt factories without compensation, smash ENA [Experimental Negotiating Agreement] and defend the right to strike for all workers."

Before steelworkers can support the miners they are also obliged to overthrow their own union leaders. "In steel especially . . . solidarity with miners defending the right to strike is evidently impossible without exposing and defeating both wings of the USWA bureaucracy" (emphasis added).

These sectarians have little or no concern for the needs of the miners themselves. What is uppermost in their minds is something else—how can they look the most "revolutionary."

Of course sympathy strikes and a movement to build a labor party would strengthen the UMWA's hand. But solidarity cannot begin with these measures, as the sectarians insist, for the simple reason that only a handful of workers would join in.

The miners need help right now. Their supporters can provide this help, in the first place, by convincing workers that the miners are not to blame for layoffs and energy cutbacks as the bosses claim. And from here we must show why—and how—workers and their allies should actively defend the miners.

This is exactly what the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are doing. Our movement is on an all-out campaign to defend the miners—by introducing union resolutions; joining in coalitions to raise funds, collect food and clothing, and organize solidarity events; winning campus support; and getting the *Militant*—with its answers to the

bosses' lies—into the hands of as many miners and other workers as we can.

At the same time the SWP and YSA provide a socialist point of view on all the social and political issues raised by the strike—from the importance of union democracy and labor solidarity, to the need for independent political action and a new, class-struggle leadership in the unions.

But the sectarians actually oppose support activities that can make headway!

Such efforts try to "confuse workers with talk of concrete aid, to divert attention away from the burning political issues of how this strike will be won," the *Bulletin* charges.

It's just "cowering legalism," the Spartacists chime in.

When it comes right down to it, the sectarians are hiding from the miners' struggle—from the real class struggle. They are afraid to even take the test.

Nationwide protests score a victory

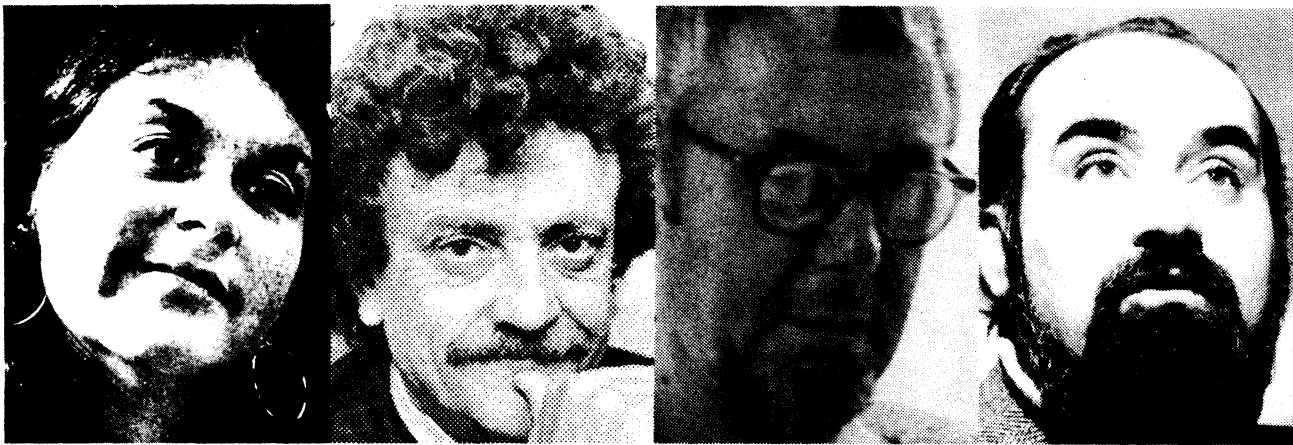
College says it will drop 'CAIFI 6' charges

By David Frankel

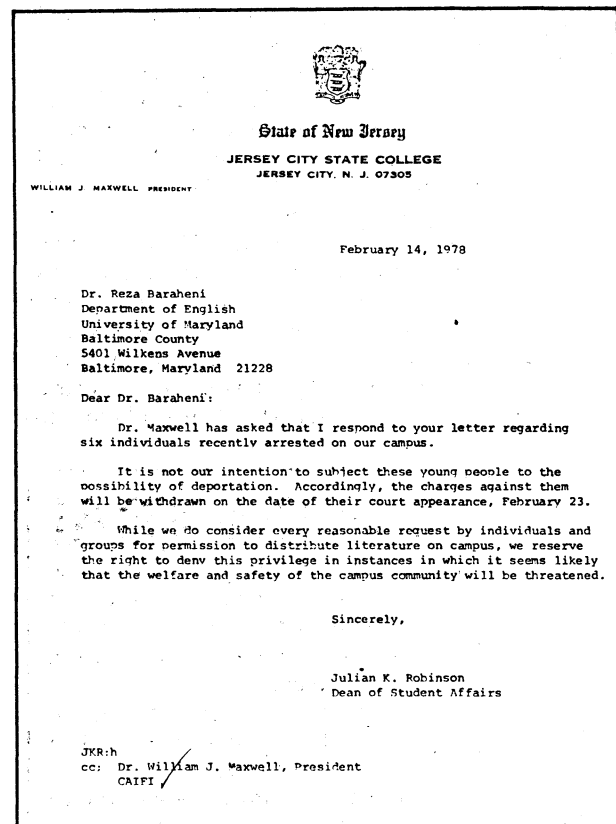
Responding to protests from all over the United States—and even one from the Netherlands—the administration at Jersey City State College has indicated that it plans to drop charges against six members of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

"It is not our intention to subject these young people to the possibility of deportation," Dean of Student Affairs Julian Robinson wrote to Dr. Reza Baraheni, honorary chairperson of CAIFI, February 14. "Accordingly," Robinson continued, "the charges against them will be withdrawn on the date of their court appearance, February 23."

Robinson told the student newspaper at New York University, "Letters to the president [of Jersey City State College] have come in from all over the



Among prominent supporters of CAIFI Six are (from left): Karen DeCrow, former president, National Organization for Women; and literary figures Kurt Vonnegut, Eric Bentley, and Reza Baraheni.



Letter from college administration (above) promised to drop charges against Iranian activists.

country urging that the charges be dropped."

Although it remains to be seen as of this writing whether Robinson's promise will be kept, the fact that the college administration felt it necessary to make such a pledge is an important victory.

The six CAIFI members each face up to three years imprisonment and a \$1,000 fine if the court finds that they "did disrupt normal academic procedures of the college" as charged. The CAIFI activists had visited the campus January 19, with the knowledge and consent of the administration, to get permission for a literature table.

In a letter of protest to the administration sent February 10, Nasser Afshar, publisher of the *Iran Free Press*, declared:

"We find it difficult to believe that these CAIFI representatives not only were arrested after obtaining a legal permit to distribute literature, but were later informed that the permit had been canceled because of a 'clear and present danger' to the students at Jersey City State College. In this case, the only danger that exists is that inherent in the denial of the constitutional guarantee of free expression and of the right of Americans to hear the political views of others. . . .

"We ask that charges against [CAIFI activists] Kateh Vafadari Zahraie, Faranak Colon, Fariborz Khasha, Kianoosh Mahdavi, Massoud Nayeri, and Siamak Zahraie be dropped."

Richard Howard, president of the American Center of the writers organization PEN, cited "our experience with CAIFI as a law-abiding, peaceful organization struggling for the restoration of human rights in Iran."

Urging that the charges be dropped, Howard asked, "If our campuses are not hospitable to differences of opinion, how are our students to learn the practice of free expression guaranteed by our Constitution?"

Novelist Kurt Vonnegut telegraphed a protest against the charges, saying that the CAIFI activists "are incredibly brave and honorable . . . risking their lives as they speak out against the terrible repression in Iran."

Others among the dozens of protests came from drama critic and writer Eric Bentley; Karen DeCrow, former president of the National Organization for Women; poet Allen Ginsberg; and Ponce Laspina, president of the Hostos College Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña (Puerto Rican Socialist University Federation), the youth organization of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Representatives of CAIFI said that they were heartened by the signs that the college administration is backing down. They stressed that even if charges against the six activists are dropped, they will continue to fight for the right to set up literature tables on the Jersey City State College campus.

But guerrilla leaders denounce pact

Rhodesia deal: Smith claims 'broad agreement'

By Ernest Harsch

After ten weeks of talks with three prominent Zimbabwean figures, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith announced February 15 that broad agreement had been reached on the outlines for a future Black regime. He hailed the so-called internal settlement as "a victory for moderation."

With him at the news conference were Abel Muzorewa, the leader of the United African National Council; Elliot Gabellah, a representative of the African National Council (Sithole); and Jeremiah Chirau, a government-backed tribal chief. Although the ANC(S) leader Ndabaningi Sithole was not at the news conference itself, he was directly involved in the negotiations.

Both Muzorewa and Sithole are prominent Black nationalist figures and have led significant struggles against the white minority regime in the past.

Although the actual text of the agreement was not immediately released to the public, some of its major points were thought to include provisions for the establishment of a 100-seat national assembly, in which the white minority of 250,000 would be "guaranteed" 28 seats for at least ten years, compared to only 72 for the country's Black majority of more than 6 million. Other concessions to the privileged whites are said to include guaranteed pensions payable abroad and "fair" compensation for any property that is expropriated.

A February 20 *New York Times* editorial explained that these provisions "make it plain that real black control of the new state of Zimbabwe would come only after ten years. At least until then, a constitutional veto—through 28 assured white seats in a 100-member legislature—would insure that economic power, and control of the army and civil service would remain in white hands for another 10 years."

On February 16, "informed sources" in Salisbury told reporters that agreement had also been reached on the structure of the armed forces under such a regime. The existing army would be retained, they said, but Black guerrillas who ended their resistance to the regime would be allowed to join it.

On February 20, "a participant in the talks" told the *New York Times* that general agreement had been reached on the overall structure of a transitional government, although there were sharp differences over how posts would be divided between Blacks and whites.

If the plan is actually put into effect—a big if—the white majority would obviously continue to wield considerable influence and retain many of their racist privileges.

The announcement of the accord brought an immediate denunciation from the Patriotic Front, a Black nationalist alliance that was not included in the talks and that is engaged in a guerrilla campaign against the Smith

regime. Joshua Nkomo, one of the two main leaders of the front, said that it "changes nothing." Another representative, Josiah Chinamano, condemned Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau as "puppets and stooges" and said that the agreement "will not end the war but prolong it."

The American government, which

has been pressing for the Patriotic Front's participation in any settlement, also expressed reservations. Andrew Young, the American representative to the United Nations, said that if the Patriotic Front were excluded, he "could see another Angola-type situation."

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SWP launches New Mexico campaign

By Dick Geyer

ALBUQUERQUE, N.Mex.—When a local television station here described the flurry of activity around candidates, it reported from three campaign headquarters—Democratic, Republican, and Socialist Workers Party.

On February 16 all three Albuquerque TV stations, both newspapers, and several radio stations reported that the Socialist Workers Party had launched its campaign of Carole Newcomb for U.S. Senate and Floyd Fowler for U.S. Congress.

Newcomb is an office worker and member of the National Organization for Women. Fowler is a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Newcomb pointed out that in a state where Chicanos, Blacks, and American Indians are a majority of the population, "the *Bakke* decision attacking affirmative action and being heard by the Supreme Court this spring directly affects the majority of



SWP candidates Floyd Fowler for U.S. Congress (left) and Carole Newcomb for Senate say, 'The rich have two parties . . . workers need one.'

people in New Mexico. My campaign opposes *Bakke* and favors an extension of affirmative action."

Other issues in the New Mexico campaign include:

Nuclear energy: Fowler called for a statewide referendum to stop nuclear

waste from being brought into the state. The nuclear industry is making New Mexico a dumping ground for its waste, he charged.

Deportation: The 40 percent of New Mexico's population that is Chicano is victimized by the current attempts to blame undocumented Mexican workers for everything from unemployment to high crime rates. The SWP candidates oppose a bill introduced in the New Mexico legislature that would require welfare agencies to report undocumented workers to the Border Patrol.

Native American sovereignty: The socialist candidates side with Native Americans against the energy corporations that are trying to steal natural resources from Indian lands. The corporations are greedily eyeing the Navajo reservations, for example, for rich oil and gas deposits.

Right-to-work laws: Newcomb and Fowler oppose the antiunion "right to work" bill pending in the

state legislature. They back the strikes for union recognition going on at New Mexico's Foodway stores.

In their campaign literature, Newcomb and Fowler explain that they "will not only speak out against these attacks. We will propose a strategy to fight back. The Democratic and Republican parties say 'trust us and we will take care of you.'"

Newcomb and Fowler, on the other hand, urge the labor movement to break from the two big-business parties and throw the power of the unions into the formation of an independent labor party.

As the cover of the SWP campaign brochure puts it, "The rich have two parties. . . . Workers need one."

The New Mexico Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano political party, is fielding three candidates in the 1978 elections: Isabel Blea for governor, Juan José Peña for U.S. Senate, and Larry Hill for attorney general.

500 at rally for Skyhorse-Mohawk

By Sam Manuel and Dave Brown

LOS ANGELES—More than 500 people demonstrated here February 11 in solidarity with the rights of Native Americans and against the frame-up of

FIVE YEARS SINCE WOUNDED KNEE: See 'Our Revolutionary Heritage,' page 26.

Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk.

Skyhorse and Mohawk are activists in the American Indian Movement presently on trial here on charges of murdering a Ventura cab driver, George Aird. In eight months of testimony the prosecution has not been able to produce a single piece of physical

evidence linking Skyhorse and Mohawk to the killing. Instead, it has relied on the testimony of "witnesses" who have admitted hijacking Aird's cab and beating him.

The defense has now begun its case. In an opening statement, Richard Mohawk said, "In determining why my brother and I have been singled out for this prosecution, we feel you should consider the evidence of the FBI's campaign to undermine the organization that we are identified with and of which we are a part.

"The evidence will show that the FBI seized upon the unfortunate murder of George Aird by three other persons at the camp in which we lived and sought to tie us, two AIM members, to that murder in a continu-

ing campaign to destroy the political viability of the American Indian Movement. . . ."

Mohawk said that the defense wants to call Douglas Durham, an FBI informer who infiltrated AIM and acted as a provocateur. "Durham," Mohawk noted, "cannot be found as yet and the FBI has refused . . . to produce him."

The rally in defense of Mohawk and Skyhorse was also held to mark the beginning of the "Longest Walk," a 3,000-mile march from Sacramento to Washington, D.C. The march is protesting legislation before Congress that would abrogate treaty rights still held by Native Americans. A third demand of the rally was for an end to forced sterilization of Native American women.

Bella Abzug's 'different world'

By Terry Hardy

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.—Bella Abzug made a campaign stop here—shortly before the February 14 special congressional election in New York in which she lost to Republican William Green. She came here to give the keynote address at the 1978 Women's Festival at the University of North Carolina.

One would have assumed that her talk, entitled, "An Assessment of the Women's Movement Today," would have analyzed the serious attacks on women's rights headed by Carter, Congress, and the courts. Instead, she indicated

As I see it

that she thought progress had been made by the feminist movement on such issues as abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment.

But, Abzug added, women continue to be excluded from the top levels of government and business. She said she was optimistic that the ERA would pass, adding that she hoped an extension of the deadline for passage wouldn't be necessary.

Abzug's not living in the same world I am, I thought to myself as I listened to her speech.

Women have encountered a number of serious setbacks in the past couple of years: the Hyde amendment, which denies poor women the right to control their own bodies by cutting off Medicaid funds for abortions; the refusal of Democrats and Republicans to ratify the ERA; the attack on affirmative action, especially the *Bakke* decision; the denial by the Supreme Court of pregnancy benefits for working women. And the list could go on.

And Abzug, instead of talking about this



BELLA ABZUG: claims Carter is pretty good on women's rights.

reality, put forth in her speech the same strategy that got women into the situation in which we find ourselves today; reliance on so-called prowoman forces in the Democratic Party.

She claimed that Jimmy Carter's been pretty good on women's rights. He's just up against some antiwoman attitudes that have to be changed. She repeated the oft-heard phrase that a woman's place is in the house—the House of Representatives—and encouraged women to lobby in addition to electing more "prowoman" politicians to office.

She did admit that the anti-abortion forces were well funded and highly organized. But her solution was to create a national department in the government—the same government taking away abortion rights.

During the discussion after her talk, two questions were asked that indicate where Abzug really stands on fighting for women's rights.

When she was asked why she voted for the

Hyde amendment while in Congress in September 1976, her response was to evade the truth by responding angrily, "Get your facts straight!" Everyone can get the facts straight, except Abzug apparently, by checking the House Congressional Record of September 30. To the 300,000 Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and other poor women who are now denied abortions, it makes little difference that Abzug voted for the appropriations bill (to which the Hyde amendment was attached) with a protest. When she voted for the bill, she voted to make the Hyde amendment government policy.

The final question that night was from a woman who asked, "What should women in North Carolina do?" Abzug's answer summed up the whole framework of her talk: "I can't tell women in North Carolina what to do"! She said she wasn't familiar enough with the state.

What she was saying in effect was, I can't tell you whom to vote for because I'm not familiar with the political situation in North Carolina.

This strategy of advancing women's rights by maneuvering within the Democratic Party is what she calls the "practical politics" of the women's movement. But her own performance on the Hyde amendment shows that the women's movement can't rely on even the most "prowoman" Democrats to defend our rights.

You can't be loyal to the women's movement and be loyal to the Democratic Party at the same time. "Practical politics" leads to compromise on women's demands, to subordinating the independence of the feminist movement to the needs of the Democratic Party.

I would have answered the question, what can women in North Carolina do, differently. I would have said to women, "We must organize, we must educate, we must picket, we must rally, and we must demonstrate. We must outmobilize the antiwomen forces. This is the only way to stop the government offensive against women's rights."

Behind NOW drive to extend ERA deadline



NOW's 1976 national march in Illinois was an example of the kind of activity that could unleash the power of ERA supporters

By Diane Wang

As of February 22 there is one year and one month left to get the Equal Rights Amendment ratified by thirty-eight states. Three states are still needed.

The urgency of the ERA struggle was dramatized on February 7, when the South Carolina Senate defeated the amendment. Then, on February 9, the Virginia House of Delegates killed the ERA in committee.

The day after the Virginia defeat Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), held a news conference urging Congress to extend the deadline for ratification beyond March 22, 1979. A House judiciary subcommittee is expected to act in March or April on a bill to extend the deadline.

If the ERA deadline arrives and the amendment remains unratified it will be a major defeat for the women's struggle.

A victory for the ERA, on the other hand, would have a profound effect on

But supporting extension of the deadline does not have to be in contradiction to an all-out effort to win the ERA in the coming months. The key is *how* to fight, both for extension and ratification.

Why ERA stalled

First, it is necessary to take a frank look at why the ERA has not been ratified.

When the ERA passed Congress in 1972, quick ratification seemed assured. But as the ERA stalled, leaders of the women's movement tied to the Democrats and Republicans responded to the crisis by stepping up their lobbying and channeling women's energies into support for pro-ERA capitalist candidates. Increasingly, this has become the central orientation of the national leadership of NOW, at the expense of exerting the strength of the women's movement through protest activities such as rallies and demonstrations.

The results have been self-defeating. In Nevada, Florida, and Virginia, for example, Democrats claiming to be pro-ERA used women's backing to get into office last year. Once elected, many reversed their position and voted against ratification.

An effective fight to win ratification demands that we turn around this approach. Depending on and pleading with Democrats and Republicans has led to sacrificing the independence made visible in public protest in the streets. The movement must rebuild that protest campaign and mobilize women, Blacks, organized labor, and all women's allies, independent of the two-party system.

A winning strategy?

However, at her February 10 news conference Smeal proposed no new strategy, but simply an increased effort to elect Democrats and Republicans who claim to be for the ERA.

Smeal said the deadline should be extended because the time limit is "not allowing the elections of 1978 or 1979 to play any part" in the ratification drive.

NOW will be "putting pressure on Congress, the Democratic Party and the President," Smeal said, and will increase its election campaign support for "pro-ERA" candidates.

In the February 3 issue of *Majority Report*, a women's newspaper published in New York, Smeal elaborated

on the extension drive. "It permits the President and the Democratic Party—the party in power—as well as the Republican party, which aspires to return to power, to get involved again and demonstrate the reality of their commitment to this issue," she wrote.

"Let's be political pragmatists: if we can't get a majority vote in Congress, then there are many people openly and blatantly lying to us about their support of the ERA . . . and *we should know who they are*. It also tells us that our campaigns at the state level must be changed . . . [emphasis in original]."

In other words, NOW leaders view the extension drive as a means of putting the politicians they look to on notice. They hope to distinguish which ERA opponents should be "punished" in the next election.

In addition, by postponing the deadline NOW leaders hope to secure another election campaign when they can put more supposed "friends" into office.

Getting by giving?

This approach has a built-in problem. Once women start offering electoral backing to get their demands, the Democrats and Republicans force women to make concessions, to muffle their independent voice.

NOW's ERA Strike Force activity is a good example. In Arizona the Tucson NOW chapter and the state NOW decided last summer to work with other organizations to coordinate an ERA week in January, that included a rally or festival at the state capitol.

Alice Cohan, head of the ERA Strike Force in the Southwest went to Arizona last fall. Cohan objected to the coalition, ridiculed the idea of a rally, and pointed to the re-election campaign of Democratic State Senator Susan Dye as the priority for NOW. Cohan also insisted that the local chapter's ERA resources and activities be controlled by the national ERA Strike Force.

Instead of supporting the ERA action planned, the ERA Strike Force decided to finance and build a series of ERA caravan stops in Arizona and an "ERA skills workshop."

The caravan stops inspired their audiences by showing the film "How We Got The Vote" and explaining why the ERA is needed. But then the organizers concluded by urging women to work for Democratic candidates.

At the ERA skills workshop on Janu-

ary 28 Cohan explained that NOW's strategy is to win a pro-ERA Democratic majority in the House.

This strategy is full of danger for NOW and for the ERA. What if a Democrat tips his or her hat to the ERA, but is opposed to legal abortion? What if a "pro-ERA" candidate is also for keeping schools segregated? What if they're for right-to-work laws and other antilabor measures?

Should other women's issues and the needs of women's allies simply be traded off in the drive for a pro-ERA Democratic majority? In fact, we *already* have a Democratic majority in government—from the White House on down—and we've seen the results. No ERA. No funds for abortions. Stepped-up attacks on affirmative action and the standard of living of working people.

The capitalist politicians demand another trade-off for their "support" to the ERA too. The women's movement is expected to act more "responsibly," to refrain from "loud and noisy" demonstrations for the ERA, and to confine its activities to letter writing and polite negotiations in the legislators' offices.

'Action plan'

In response to this, what does the NOW leadership propose the membership do? In *Majority Report* NOW's "Action Plan" is nothing but the address of the thirty-four legislators on the judiciary subcommittee who will consider the deadline extension. The instructions: "Today write each of the following. . . ."

The February *National NOW Times* tells women to "mark your calendars and plan your life" around dates when lobbying for a deadline extension is planned in Washington, D.C.

Can the largest women's rights organization in the country—with more than 60,000 members—do no more than simply write legislators, go to Washington to beg for help, and mark time until the next elections?

'Unleashing power'

According to Smeal, lobbying for extension will "allow citizens of the ratified states to express their commitment to the ERA and their determination to achieve ratification. . . . The extension drive unleashes the power of the *ratified* states . . . [emphasis in original]."

But what has kept ERA supporters in ratified states leashed? Actually, where ERA actions have been called, women from ratified states have joined in enthusiastically. Witness the 8,000-strong demonstration in Illinois on May 16, 1976, organized by NOW, the continuing local actions of hundreds of ERA supporters, and the 3,000 who marched in support of the ERA in Richmond, Virginia, on January 22.

But in deference to the requests of politicians, NOW leaders continue to retreat from national marches, keeping all ERA supporters on a leash.

NOW has the membership and resources to organize the social forces needed to confront Congress and the obstinate state legislatures.

Instead of a campaign aimed at convincing Democrats and Republicans that women are worth bargaining with, NOW needs a campaign that reaches out to Blacks, Latinos, and all working people. A campaign that convinces *them* of the ERA's importance and moves *them* to action for it.

What better way to put the spotlight on Congress and pressure the Democrats and Republicans at the national level than to call a national march on Washington?

Without this kind of action orientation, NOW's extension drive, like its economic boycott against unratified states, becomes an excuse for not confronting the Democrats and Republicans who have betrayed women.

Only a show of strength by women can win extension of the ratification deadline. And women need that time to build a powerful, militant, and independent movement to win the ERA.



Winning the Equal Rights Amendment

women's battle for equal rights, boosting women's self-confidence. It would be a blow against all the attacks the working class faces, an inspiration to Blacks, trade unionists, and all of women's allies.

That is why reactionaries are objecting to extending the deadline. In her *Eagle Forum* newsletter, ERA foe Phyllis Schlafly denounced extension as an "outrageous attempt to change the rules in the middle of the game."

Schlafly is confident that if her Stop ERA forces keep up their campaign and the women's movement continues its present political course, the ERA will be defeated in thirteen months.

Some in the women's movement have also objected to the extension drive, fearing that it will sidetrack women from working to win the ERA this year.

'La migra' hid evidence exposing Mexican frame-ups of Marroquin

By José G. Pérez

For more than three months the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service withheld evidence proving that Héctor Marroquín is entitled to political asylum in the United States.

The evidence consists of official Mexican police documents showing that Marroquín is the victim of political frame-ups in that country. The police files accuse him of wounding two cops in Monterrey, Mexico, on April 23, 1974—a crime Marroquín could not possibly have committed, since he has proof that he was in Houston, Texas, at the time.

The documents were among the INS files recently released to Marroquín through the Freedom of Information Act. The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee has made them available to reporters.

One of the Mexican documents is a letter stamped "RECEIVED OCT 25 1977" yet the INS failed to inform Marroquín and his attorneys of its existence or to make copies available.

Another document is a "Wanted" poster with Marroquín's picture and description. This poster is a virtual shoot-on-sight order: it says Marroquín is someone who guns down police and is extremely dangerous. These claims are presented as unchallenged statements of fact, not unproven allegations.

But Marroquín can prove he was not in Monterrey on April 23, 1974. He has a payslip with that date from his employer in Houston (reprinted on this page).

Moreover, the shoot-to-kill tone of the "Wanted" poster shows that Marroquín's belief that his life would be in danger in Mexico is well-founded.

Marroquín was a student leader in Monterrey, who in January 1974 was falsely accused of killing a university official. Fearing for his life, he fled to the United States, where he lived under assumed identities—including "Roberto Zamora," the name on the payslip.

Last September he was caught by *la migra*, the U.S. immigration cops and dumped in jail for three months as an "illegal alien." He is now fighting for political asylum in the United States.

Even after Marroquín had fled to the United States, Mexican cops continued attributing all kinds of guerrilla actions to him. Marroquín has already proven that at the time of one of these incidents he was in a Texas hospital recovering from a serious automobile accident.

The political motivations behind such frame-ups establishes Marroquín's right to asylum beyond a shadow of a doubt, especially since those accused on such charges in Mexico have no chance to prove their innocence in court. For example, of the other students accused with Marroquín of the January 1974 killing, two were killed by cops in alleged shoot-outs and another was arrested by police and hasn't been heard from since.

Marroquín and his attorneys have demanded for months that the INS turn over any material that might be relevant to Marroquín's case. At a November 15 preliminary hearing on the asylum petition, the INS representative said he didn't know of any such material that hadn't already been made available.

The INS not only hid the evidence, they passed it on to the State Department, asking it to render an "advisory" opinion on the case.

Moreover, it appears the government is still covering up materials on Marroquín. Among the files released under the Freedom of Information Act were notes scribbled by INS investigators about checks to run on Marroquín.

Among the sources to be checked with were "TCIC" and "FCIC"—the Texas and Federal Crime Information

POLICIA JUDICIAL DEL ESTADO DE NUEVO LEON.

SE BUSCA

HECTOR MARROQUIN MANRIQUE (a) "EL PECAS".



FIRMA

DESCRIPCION

EDAD: años
ESTATURA:
PESO:
CABELLO:
OCUPACION:
OJOS:
COMPLEXION:
TEZ:
NACIONALIDAD:

OBSERVACIONES: SUJETO QUE LE HACE FRENTE A LA POLICIA EN FORMA ARMADA Y ES DE BASTANTE PELIGROSIDAD; ES RESPONSABLE DE LAS LESIONES QUE SUFRIERON CON ARMA DE FUEGO LOS CC. AGENTES RICARDO CONDELL Y CARLOS ALVAREZ, EN LA CIUDAD DE MONTERREY, N. L., EL DIA 23 DE ABRIL DE 1974.

HAROLD FARB INVESTMENTS HAROLD FARB CONSTRUCTION CO. HOUSTON, TEXAS				
CK. NO. 23344				
ROBERTO V ZAMORA				
DEPT.	EMP. NO.	BASE HOUR RATE	SQC. SEC. NO.	PERIOD ENDING
2	205	2.000	456-08-4330	4/23/74
HOURS		EARNINGS		GROSS PAY
REGULAR	OVERTIME	REGULAR	OVERTIME	
55.50		111.00		111.00
		FED. W/T	FICA	NET PAY
		8.53	6.49	95.98
		YTD FED. W/T	YTD FICA	YTD GROSS PAY

Top: 'Wanted' poster declaring Marroquín 'very dangerous' and saying he shot and wounded two cops in Monterrey on April 23, 1974. Bottom: Payslip dated April 23, 1974, showing Marroquín was living in Houston under assumed name of 'Roberto Zamora' to escape repression in Mexico.

Centers, apparently—Mexican cops, the U.S. embassy and consulates in Mexico, police departments in U.S. cities where Marroquín lived, and others.

However, there is little record of the results of the checking—only a birth certificate and a certificate from the central INS office saying they never heard of Marroquín.

In addition, the FBI—like the INS, a branch of the "Justice" Department—has responded to a separate Freedom of Information Act request for its files on Marroquín by saying it needs more time to search. There is little doubt that the FBI has a dossier on Marroquín, since he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, groups that have been major targets of FBI spying and disruption plots.

Margaret Winter, one of Marroquín's attorneys, says they received the INS files February 3. The following week, two officials told her the government was nearing a decision on the case.

"It's a Catch-22 situation," Winter says. "When we first had a chance to present our case, they withheld evidence. Now that we're finally starting to pry some of it loose from them, they're threatening to rule without giving us the time to present our case."

New support



U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) has joined the growing list of supporters of Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum. The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee urges all supporters of human rights to join the campaign to win asylum for Marroquín. Information on how you can help is available from: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Miami meeting defends Haitian refugees

By Jack Lieberman

MIAMI—More than 150 people attended a "Working Conference on Haitian Refugee Concerns" sponsored by the National Council of Churches here January 30-31. The conference was called to develop a national campaign to win support for the more than 2,000 Haitian refugees seeking political asylum in the United States.

The refugees, most of whom live in the Miami area, are threatened with deportation by the Carter administration, which claims they are not political refugees.

Most of the refugees risked their lives by traveling for days on small boats to get to the United States. If deported to Haiti they would be jailed and perhaps killed by the brutal Duvalier dictatorship.

An event that occurred during the conference underlined the plight of the refugees. On January 30, twelve people who fled Haiti on a small boat were rescued after twenty-four days at sea, the last three days without food or water. They were jailed upon their arrival here.

The dangers awaiting any refugees sent back to Haiti were vividly described by Marc Romulus, who spent three years as a political prisoner in Duvalier's jails. He was released from prison in September 1977 and deported. "In the sole year of 1976 I witnessed 96 deaths out of a population of 175 in the jails," Romulus said.

Romulus added that some prisoners died from lack of food or medicine, while others were executed.

Also addressing the conference were David Crosland, general counsel for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and Ed Sweeney, INS Miami district director. Both made it clear that the INS will continue resisting granting asylum to the Haitian refugees.

Haitian activists at the conference revealed that the INS had secretly deported twenty-seven Haitians in the past three months. With the threat of more deportations imminent, conference participants discussed the need to build a broad, visible national campaign to force the government to grant asylum. The participants agreed on the need to organize nationally coordinated protests and other activities.

One of the major points emphasized by conference organizers was the need to end all U.S. support to the Duvalier dictatorship.

Members of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee were well received. Many conference participants endorsed the Marroquín case, including Rev. Owen Brooks, director of Delta Ministries, Greenville, Mississippi; Richard Haffer, Lutheran Committee on Refugee and Immigration Concerns; Dorothy Serrotta, National Committee on Social Action, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Father Antoine Adrien, Haitian Fathers of New York; Robert Basker, founder and former executive director of the Dade County Coalition for the Humanistic Rights of Gays and board member of the Florida American Civil Liberties Union; and Consuelo Urquiza, executive secretary, United Methodist Church of New York.

Auto workers & 'Bakke'

Interview with St. Louis unionist

By Eddie Warren

ST. LOUIS—Among many workers at the Chrysler-Fenton automobile plant here, the California State Supreme Court's *Bakke* ruling has recently become a topic of discussion.

The *Bakke* decision, currently on appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court, struck down a minority admissions program at a California medical school. The California court ruled that the school's practice of reserving 16 of 100 places for minority students was "reverse discrimination."

Whether or not the U.S. Supreme Court upholds the *Bakke* ruling will have far-reaching consequences for affirmative-action programs on the job as well. Already a number of "reverse discrimination" suits inspired by *Bakke* have been filed challenging affirmative-action programs in industry.

For example, a job-upgrading plan at a Kaiser Aluminum plant near New Orleans was recently overturned.

Tim Kaminsky is a member of the Socialist Workers Party here who has worked at the Chrysler-Fenton plant for about a year. He and other union-

ists have been trying to explain the stakes in the *Bakke* fight at the plant and in United Auto Workers Local 136.

"I started to work around the *Bakke* decision," Kaminsky says, "after a meeting of affirmative-action supporters from around the city formed a coalition here in mid-January to support the spring actions called by the National Coalition to Overturn to *Bakke* Decision."

"The first two workers I talked to were Black. They were pretty excited about doing something around *Bakke*," Kaminsky says.

The 'big lie'

"They saw the whole reverse discrimination argument as a big lie. Both of them were familiar with the *Militant* and had read a lot about the *Bakke* case there. So we set up a meeting one day after work to draw up a resolution for the January union meeting."

According to Kaminsky, "The resolution pointed out that the UAW had filed a friend-of-the-court brief against the *Bakke* ruling, and that the reverse discrimination argument represented an assault on all affirmative-action gains made by the civil rights movement. It also called for support to the April 15 March on Washington."

"To make sure that the resolution was at least discussed, we decided to get as many people as possible out to the January union meeting."

Many of the workers who Kaminsky and the others approached were Black. (About 30 percent of the workers are Black and 20 percent are women, he says.) A lot of them didn't know much about the *Bakke* decision, Kaminsky reports. Those who did had heard of it only recently and wanted more information.

Dividing the workers

Kaminsky also says that he has had some good discussions about the *Bakke* case with a number of white workers. He singles out two co-workers as examples.



Militant/Lou Howort

UAW and other unions have filed court briefs against 'Bakke' suit. Defense of affirmative action is key to fight against discriminatory layoffs.

"One is very political and is against *Bakke*," Kaminsky says. "The other is a good trade unionist, but he sees Allan Bakke as a victim of the system—like he's been cheated. He doesn't understand special admissions programs."

"This 'reverse discrimination' argument evokes a gut reaction, and a lot of white workers are taken in by it. So you have to explain that the *Bakke* decision is really an attack on all working people, and that the 'reverse discrimination' idea is an attempt to divide the working class—to play one worker against another."

Kaminsky explains that the January meeting of Local 136 was a lot different from the usual meeting. "On the average," he said, "between thirty and

forty people show up, with only a couple of Black workers."

"This time there were about fifty people there, and twenty of them were Black. This was a really good turnout from our point of view. We had a little less than a week to get out the word on the *Bakke* resolution."

"Before the meeting I told the local president that I was going to introduce the resolution. He said he'd rule me out of order if I raised it. And when I raised it, that's what he did."

"But in the process we passed around a couple of copies of the resolution—which most people at the meeting read—and began a good discussion on the *Bakke* case."

Kaminsky and the other unionists who introduced the resolution plan to continue their efforts to get the local to go on record against the *Bakke* decision. "We're forming a committee among ourselves," he says, "not an official union committee, to talk to as many people as we can and get them to the next union meeting."

"In the meantime, we're going to try to get people involved in the anti-*Bakke* coalition here. The more working people and trade unionists who get involved the better."

'Militant' helps

A big aid in his work around the *Bakke* decision, Kaminsky says, is the *Militant*. "I take it with me to work a lot and read it on the job. That helps get it into a lot of hands, just as selling copies and subscriptions does."

"All the people who got together to draft the resolution are *Militant* readers. And a lot of people who came to the union meeting have seen the paper too."

"Most Black workers know that the regular media coverage of the *Bakke* case is a sham. A lot of people are coming to understand that the *Bakke* ruling is an attack on all the gains won by the civil rights movement and the women's movement. They also see the direct effect *Bakke* could have on job discrimination—something that could very well affect them."



Militant/Robert S. Allen

TIM KAMINSKY

An example for whole industry

Chicago rail unions reject wage cut for trainees

By John Isenhower

CHICAGO—Last summer the U.S. Labor Department and the Chicago and North Western railroad (C&NW) announced a \$600,000 job-training program for 432 new employees.

Under the agreement, Washington picks up half the wage bill for training unemployed Vietnam-era veterans, economically disadvantaged youth aged

John Isenhower is a machinist on the Chicago and North Western railroad and a member of the International Association of Machinists Local 478.

eighteen to twenty-four, and long-term unemployed from families with annual incomes under \$10,000.

The agreement does not establish any new jobs. The trainees are to be hired as normal vacancies occur.

After this federal money was assured, the C&NW proposed to the rail union leaders that these new employees be paid less than union scale for the period of training.

The rail unions successfully resisted this wage-cutting move. New employees are reportedly receiving full union scale.

This victory has significance for all rail union members.

The C&NW's attempt at wage cuts for new employees in tandem with rail carrier proposals at the national contract negotiations now going on.

Last June the National Railway Labor Conference, the bargaining arm for most rail companies, served their demands on the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the United Transportation Union. These demands, besides calling for reduced crew size and the elimination of mileage payment, call for more than three years of reduced wages for all newly hired workers.

Reduced wages for new workers would divide and weaken rail unions. It would also give the carriers a direct economic incentive to fire older workers and replace them with new hires. Harassment and victimization could increase substantially.

Under the shadow of these national negotiations, this rejection of the reduced-wages plan at the C&NW stands as an example to be followed nationally by all rail unions.

In pushing its reduced-wage proposal for new employees, the C&NW mounted a racist propaganda campaign through shop-craft foremen.

Though no explicit quotas for minorities were involved in the federal program, foremen implied that the new trainees would all be Black and would be taking over "white jobs." The C&NW hoped to pit white rail unionists against the new employees.

The unions' leaderships did not adequately respond to this side of the company's attack. The racist allegations by the company foremen went unchallenged.

Union officials should have met this racist tactic head on, demonstrating to the membership not only how racism was being used by the company in trying to drive through a wage-cutting plan, but also how the interests of justice and the interests of unionism are served by programs that do provide for

preferential hiring for minorities and women.

Throughout their entire history, the rail companies have used racial discrimination to divide their work force. The unity and strength of the rail unions have been seriously damaged by this company-sponsored discrimination, and they plan to continue to use this tactic in their current attacks.

Based on observations in the shops and yards, the C&NW has hired few minorities and women under the federal program.

The rail unions can deal a severe blow to the companies divide-and-rule scheme by demanding that the C&NW's hiring, training, and promotion practices be made public and that quotas be established to ensure the hiring and promotion of minorities and women. Such steps would begin to make up for past and present discrimination. And it would overcome a big obstacle to a united struggle by all rail workers in defense of living standards and working conditions, which are increasingly under a united attack from the carriers.

Right to strike vs.

What's wrong with the grievance procedure?

By Shelley Kramer

The strike by 160,000 members of the United Mine Workers has become the most bitterly fought industrial battle in this country in decades, a nationwide test of strength between the workers and bosses.

At the heart of this conflict is an issue vital to millions of workers—how to curb the continual drive by the employers to violate union contracts, ignore health and safety rules, speed up production, and trample on the basic human rights of workers.

In short, how to handle effectively the day-to-day clashes on the job known to all unionists as “grievances.”

Grievances in the coal mines are questions of life and death. When employers violate safety laws, miners die.

Mine workers insist on their right to strike to enforce safe work practices; the coal bosses are determined to “discipline” the work force by rolling back the limited rights the miners have won.

Thus the new contract proposed by the mine-owners provided for fines, suspension, and discharge of “wildcat” strikers. It would end the right of union safety committees to stop production in cases of “imminent danger.”

The rank-and-file upsurge in the coalfields shows that the mineowners will not have an easy time tying this noose around the miners’ necks.

“You have to have some sort of fighting power to fight the company with,” David Brown, a Black coal miner in Pennsylvania, told the *Militant*. “Striking is the only fighting power the union has, and if you take away the right to strike, you have nothing.”

The bosses also understand the significance of the coal strike. They and their government are doing everything they can to discredit the miners and turn public opinion against them.

Perhaps the clearest explanation of what the rulers of this country have at stake came on the eve of the strike in a column by A.H. Raskin, longtime labor writer for the *New York Times*.

“In the name of peace, the coal miners are going to war against peace,” declared Raskin in the December 4 *Times*. “The central issue . . . is the union’s demand for a contractual right to strike over local grievances.”

Victory for the miners on the right to strike, Raskin warned, “would reverse the most extensive breakthrough toward labor-management harmony in the last half century: the almost universal acceptance of arbitration as a substitute for strikes over employee complaints.”

The “biggest hurdle” to the successful arbitration of mine disputes, according to Raskin, is the “hostilities and fiercely independent spirit that make miners everywhere a breed apart.”

Although a defeat for the miners would embolden the employers to attack other unions, top labor officials have failed to meet this challenge. They have refused to mobilize a mass solidarity campaign for the miners.

This default is not surprising. The overpaid bureaucrats who run the unions today agree with Raskin. They too believe workers and bosses share common interests that should allow for the peaceful and “fair” arbitration of grievances.

Solidarity's response

“Oldtimers remember when workers had only one way to stop a mean boss, and that was to strike. But that was before World War II, when most American unions pledged not to strike during the war emergency and accepted grievance procedures and arbitration as a system of orderly industrial self-government.”

More of Raskin? No, it's the editors of *Solidarity*,



magazine of the United Auto Workers. *Solidarity* saw fit to reprint sections of Raskin's diatribe in their December issue—carefully omitting his attacks upon the mine strike. In their eagerness to prop up their own sagging grievance system, UAW officials provided *Solidarity's* cover to the bosses' anti-UMWA propaganda.

The grievance system is in trouble today, not only in the mines but in all major industries. And the labor officials will take whatever help they can get—including Raskin's—to hide the real reasons this is so.

They and the bosses talk more and more about the good old days of World War II—when workers who were not fighting and dying on the battlefields were chained to a no-strike pledge and wage freeze on the domestic front. It was in this context that grievance and arbitration procedures were institutionalized.

These new procedures wrested away much of the control workers had gained over their working conditions and unions in the 1930s upsurge. Hailed as the triumph of labor-management harmony and compromise, the grievance system's “compromises” were paid for with workers' rights, particularly their right to strike.

Direct shop-floor action to settle disputes was replaced by a complicated, time-consuming hierarchy of steps, culminating in a decision by an “impartial” arbitrator—if the grievance got that far.

Strikes were to be avoided at all costs, even if the cost was union complicity with discrimination, contract violations, and other crimes of the employers.

Within the union, decision-making power was shifted outside the shop and local into the hands of grievance “experts” and the staff of the international union.

As the grievance system hardened over the years, it became the linchpin on a day-to-day basis of collaboration between the bosses and union bureaucrats to control the rank-and-file workers.

The end of the long postwar period of capitalist prosperity has placed the grievance process under severe stress. The profit squeeze is on, and the capitalists are breaking all the old ground rules—to the distress of their partners in the labor bureaucracy.

At the same time, changes in the work force add to this stress. More workers are young, women, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican. They believe they have a right to be treated as human beings. These workers know the grievance system does not work in their interests—and they are beginning to ask why.

The bosses and their agents, like Raskin, have a ready answer: the fault lies with “irresponsible,” “hostile,” “fiercely independent” young workers—like the miners.

The miners' story

The miners' side of the story begins with the fact that mines are the most dangerous workplaces in the United States. In the past decade 2,000 miners have been killed on the job; another 77 die each week from black lung disease.

The 1974 contract established a four-step grievance system, capped by an arbitration board. The courts have ruled, based upon a 1970 Supreme Court decision, that such grievance procedures constitute “implied no-strike clauses.” Since 1974 they have slapped countless injunctions on striking union locals, and leveled thousands of dollars in fines.

These decisions have flashed the coal operators a go-ahead to freely violate the 1974 contract.

The companies have refused to recognize the mine safety committees, charged with negotiating grievances and calling off unsafe work. Despite contract rights, miners who refuse dangerous work risk discipline and possible discharge.

Concessions won in 1974 on safety measures, such as providing helpers on dangerous jobs, have not been implemented.

In the mines, as elsewhere, grievance procedures are rigged in the companies' favor. Inequality is built into the system from the word go—workers

arbitration

Class-struggle lessons

Striking miners are determined to beat back the coal bosses by relying on their collective strength and unity. They rightly place no faith in the "justice" of the grievance and arbitration system.

Growing numbers of workers in other industries are also beginning to search for more effective ways to defend their interests. An important place to start is with the history of the American labor movement. One chapter that stands out is the experience of the Minneapolis Teamsters in building a powerful, class-struggle union in the 1930s.

The lessons of their experiences can be found in four books by Farrell Dobbs (see advertisement with this feature). Dobbs was a leader of the 1934 Teamster strikes in Minneapolis, a strategist of the first successful campaign to organize over-the-road drivers, and a general organizer for the Teamsters international union. Dobbs has been a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party since the 1930s.

Here are a few excerpts from the Teamster books:

Strike weapon

Labor cannot and will not give up the strike weapon. Labor has not in the past received any real benefits from governmental boards and constituted authorities. What Labor has received in union recognition, wage raises and betterment in conditions of work, has been won *in spite of such boards*. . . . The strike is the one weapon that the employers respect. . . .

—the Local 574 Organizer, quoted in *Teamster Power*

If the union moved blithely from one walkout to the next, without careful

regard of all factors . . . it could easily wear out its fighting forces. The important thing is that a union stand ready and able to take strike action when required. In fact there are occasions where readiness to use the strike weapon can make its employment unnecessary.

—from *Teamster Power*

Grievances

. . . all union members received dramatic assurance that their grievances would get serious attention. Evidence was also given that job stewards would be backed up by the full union power. Unity of action was thus being forged between the executive board, organization staff, job stewards, and the rank and file to make the bosses toe the line.

The local was on the way to establishment of union control on the job.

—from *Teamster Power*

Arbitration

Arbitrators . . . have left a long trail across the years of being "neutral" on the capitalist side. Their sorry record stems from their acceptance of ruling-class norms coupled with a desire to get ahead themselves in the capitalist world.

—from *Teamster Rebellion*

Agreement to arbitrate grievances arising from employer violations of a union contract is a highly dangerous course for the workers. What usually happens is that the grievances pile up behind the arbitration dam, and the boss gets away with murder. . . . Local 574 retained the unconditional right to strike in accepting the August 21 settlement.

—from *Teamster Rebellion*



who are fired for standing up for their rights are considered guilty and must prove their innocence.

The average time it takes to process a grievance is forty-four weeks—almost *one year* in which, for example, unsafe work can proceed.

The high expense of taking a case to arbitration—hundreds if not thousands of dollars—is another weapon against the miners. When costs are shared "equally" between a multi-billion-dollar coal company and a small union local, it's clear who has the advantage.

Miners have reason to be bitter about the outcome. "Ninety-nine percent of the time, the decision goes to the company," Terry Weir, a striking miner in West Virginia, recently told the *Militant*.

"To begin with, no arbitrator has been down there—underground," added Bob Morris, another UMWA member. "What do they know?"

Auto no exception

Workers don't get a fair hearing through the grievance procedure in any industry today. This is true even in auto, where the UAW retains a limited right to strike over local grievances.

Reprinting Raskin's article was part of a campaign *Solidarity* has been waging to sell the grievance system to skeptical UAW readers. "Your Rights As a UAW Member" in the November issue explained why members should try appealing unfavorable grievance decisions through the union before calling in the courts. "Enforcing the Union Contract: The Role of Arbitration" in December highlighted a handful of big arbitration awards to divert attention from the thousands of cases routinely lost.

One of these awards went to 800 older unionists laid off by a "run away" shop in Philadelphia. After *two years* of waiting they won the pensions owed them in an arbitration decision. One worker couldn't wait it out. He committed suicide instead—which says something about what UAW members have come to expect from arbitration.

During a heat wave last summer, at least one

worker died when temperatures in Detroit auto plants soared as high as 130 degrees. The UAW contract calls for heat passes to be distributed under these conditions. But most foremen simply refused to issue any.

Workers who left the plants, including the few with heat passes, were disciplined for engaging in an "illegal walkout." At least sixty workers were fired. Seven leaders of the heat walkout at Chrysler's Trenton engine plant not only lost their jobs but were sentenced to a week in prison for violating a court injunction barring picketing. UAW leaders said the workers should have filed heat grievances and remained on the job. By the time such grievances were processed, the heat wave would have passed—and perhaps more workers' lives as well.

Inside view of steel

Charles Spencer, a steelworker for twenty-five years, writes in *Blue Collar: An Internal Examination of the Workplace* that members of the United Steelworkers have "little to say in running the affairs of their union or exerting their influence in the workplace." His valuable first-hand study shows how USWA ranks have been disfranchised—from the union's national no-strike agreement (Experimental Negotiating Agreement) to the handling of shop-floor grievances.

USWA leaders have denied steelworkers their right to either vote on or strike over national contracts. As a result, Spencer notes, when it comes to contract enforcement the local unions "are not taken very seriously by the management, and it is often confident that the international union is in its corner."

The union staff generally shares the companies' outlook. More at home in "relaxed hotels and offices" than "tense, dehumanized factories, mills, and shops," Spencer notes, staff reps are amenable to withdrawing or softpeddling grievances that may determine a worker's job security, wage, pension, or safety.

As for "impartial" arbitrators, they're as good as on the company payroll. "I've never met an impartial arbitrator. There ain't no such thing," Ed Sadlowski charged in his campaign for USWA president in the union election last year.

What's wrong with the grievance system? Is it "breaking down"? Can it be patched up or streamlined?

The problem for workers is that the grievance system *does* work—just the way it's supposed to. Biased arbitrators, collaborationist union bureaucrats, bullying foremen, cheating company doctors—they are not sabotaging the grievance machinery; it is tailor-made for them.

This is evident in what Spencer lists as the "principle elements in the high record of failure of collective bargaining." Based upon his experience as a union steward, Spencer's findings show that the grievance system is rigged by nothing more or less than class relations under capitalism.

He begins with the "outrageous inequality of the two parties," capital and labor. This inequality is built into the capitalist system—a system defined by the ownership and control of the factories, mines, and mills by a wealthy minority.

Not surprisingly then, the boss comes to the bargaining table with a tremendous advantage. He is the "guy who can make life miserable for an employee," as Spencer says.

Second, Spencer cites the "hardening anti-union posture of corporate industry in periods of economic uncertainty and social imbalance." And these periods are becoming more the norm than the exception.

Finally, Spencer points to the "phenomenal success of highly-centralized union bureaucracies, bolstered by the State, in reducing the self-government and bargaining power of the local union in the workplace."

Union democracy is in the final analysis incompatible with class collaboration. The right to strike, to elect officers, to vote on contracts, to formulate contract demands, to know the course of negotiations, to hold democratic meetings, to have access to the union's press—all these are obstacles to the employers and the union bureaucrats.

Class-struggle alternative

Spencer is right to conclude that "unless a powerful democratic movement among rank and file workers develops" all these trends will intensify.

Growing numbers of workers are beginning to realize this. Steelworkers who voted for Sadlowski's Fight Back slate were casting their votes for democratic change in the USWA. The iron miners of the Mesabi range proved through their courageous strike last year their intent to reassert their rights—including their right to strike.

A democratic, fighting movement to reverse the trends Spencer describes will transform the unions from top to bottom, forging them into instruments of class struggle. And to be successful this transformation must extend into the political arena as well.

The government is the ultimate guardian of the bosses' interests—as it proves every day through antilabor legislation, strike-breaking injunctions, attacks on affirmative action, social service cutbacks, and assaults upon democratic freedoms.

Workers and their allies need an independent political party, a labor party, to fight for their needs both on the job and off—from defending the right to strike, to enforcing health and safety measures, to ending layoffs by instituting a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.

Today, the battleline in defending the rights of all working people is the coal miners' strike. The ranks of the UMWA are beginning to pose in practice the class-struggle alternative to the grievance-system trap. The top priority of everyone who stands for a democratic, militant labor movement should be to organize the broadest possible support for the miners.

Further reading

Blue Collar: An Internal Examination of the Workplace
by Charles Spencer
242 pp., \$4.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:

Teamster Rebellion,

192 pp., paper \$3.95

Teamster Power,

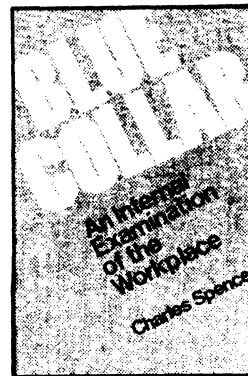
255 pp., paper \$4.45

Teamster Politics,

256 pp., paper \$4.45

Teamster Bureaucracy,

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UAW Local 600 initiates protest

Detroit unionists fight Nazi headquarters

By Nan Bailey

DETROIT—More than 250 unionists, students and community leaders met here February 6 at the largest protest meeting yet in response to the opening of a Nazi headquarters in southwest Detroit.

The meeting was initiated by United Auto Workers Local 600, the largest UAW local in the country, representing 30,000 workers at the Ford River Rouge plant. Cosponsors included Buddy Battle, director, Region 1-A UAW; Woody Ferguson, president, UAW Local 174; Abdeen Jabara, Association of Arab-American University Graduates; and Larry Washington, president of the Detroit NAACP.

A leaflet publicizing the meeting explained that its purpose was to set up a "joint Community-Labor Committee to determine what is needed and to take other necessary measures."

Among the participants in the protest meeting were members of the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism; Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision; Jewish War Veterans; UAW locals 2 and 15; locals 140 and 147 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Steelworkers of America Local 1299; Socialist Workers Party; Detroit Jewish Workshop; Communist Party; and area high school students.

Paul Boatin, a retired auto worker and chairperson of the anti-Nazi committee that has been set up in Local 600, chaired the meeting. It is wrong "to think that if we keep quiet the Nazis are going to just go away," Boatin said.

He displayed some of the racist literature the Nazis have been distributing door to door and at neighborhood high schools.

One leaflet said, "Niggers are colored pollacks." Another showed a revolver with the words, "This is the only thing they understand." Another pictured an oven with the words, "Jew this is for you."

"In Germany when the Nazis began to run roughshod, there was too much division. . . ." Boatin said. "Let's think of unity to win this fight, and we can have it."

Local 600 President Mike Rinaldi announced that the 200 delegates of the union's general council had to get involved in leading a response to the Nazi headquarters. "Local 600 has offered financial donations, manpower," Rinaldi said.

"I remember when General Motors was being organized and the sit-down strikes in 1936. The Pinkerton organi-



Cops guard Nazi headquarters

Workers Vanguard

zation was hired to beat us up. When Ford was organized, Henry Ford hired his goons and thugs, and we were beat up.

"This organization [the Nazis] is no different from the organizations that tried to prevent us from organizing in the first place," Rinaldi said.

"We can organize this neighborhood so that no one is passing out that rotten literature—so people will just ignore it. And Local 600 will support this cause until it comes to a successful conclusion."

Fernando Colon, director of Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development, commented on the Nazi's racist slogan of shipping Blacks back to Africa. "If we start shipping out all who don't belong in this country, only Native Americans will be left," he said. "We have enough fighting to do with downtown and the government without having things in this community destroyed. . . ."

"If there's anything we can do, let me know. *Get them out!*"

Larry Washington, president of the Detroit NAACP spoke next. "With Local 600, community groups, and other groups from around the city, the day will come when that area on Vernon [Street, where the headquarters is located] will become an area for some recreation other than sending Blacks back to Africa and exterminating Jews."

Joe Danze, president of UAW Local 157, expressed his local's support. And during the discussion a member of UAW Local 15 announced that his local had passed a resolution protest-

ing the opening of the Nazi headquarters. A leader of the Jewish War Veterans also spoke.

One neighborhood resident said that he had been threatened by the Nazis because of his protests against the opening of the headquarters. "They told me I'm not going to walk the streets in my own neighborhood," he said.

"No one here tonight is going to let the Nazis stop me or anyone else from walking the streets in safety."

Members of AFSCME Local 140 and USWA Local 1299 announced that their locals had also passed anti-Nazi resolutions.

The former vice-president of UAW Local 2 noted that the main target of the Nazi's current literature is the Black community. "The question of dealing with the Nazis is the question of dealing with racism," he explained. "And we need more leadership like this given by Local 600 tonight on issues other than this."

"This is the kind of thing that shows that people will stand up and be counted," said Sol Lachman, a leader of the Detroit Jewish Workshop.

The chairman of the Fair Practices Committee of UAW Local 157 also stressed the importance of the meeting. "The power in the United States is in the labor movement," he said.

At the end of the meeting, a majority of participants approved a policy statement that had been read earlier in the evening. The statement called for the organization of mass opposition to the Nazis and their headquarters. It also mandated a steering committee to make future plans.

The meeting was reported on two television news programs.

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NY meeting on socialist unity draws 200

By Bill Muth

NEW YORK—More than 200 people attended a discussion here February 3 on "Prospects for Socialist Unity." The meeting was sponsored by the Militant Forum.

The featured speaker was Bruce Levine. Levine was national secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee until the RMC fused with the Socialist Workers Party in August 1977. He is now a member of the SWP Political Committee.

"The SWP-RMC fusion was not an accident," Levine explained. "It was not a fluke or a lucky break. It was part of a very fundamental, deep-rooted process of class polarization and political realignment that is going on throughout the world."

Against this background, Levine noted, ideas and organizations are

being put to new and critical tests.

"People who are at first divided into a number of different, even hostile organizations can learn from their experiences in this struggle. They can review their thinking about the objective situation and the tasks it poses to us.

"As this political convergence grows, the basis for organizational unity will grow too."

The background to the SWP-RMC fusion illustrates this process. When the RMC was formed in 1975, Levine said, "the last thing in our minds was a possible fusion with the Socialist Workers Party. I don't remember the idea being posed even as a possibility."

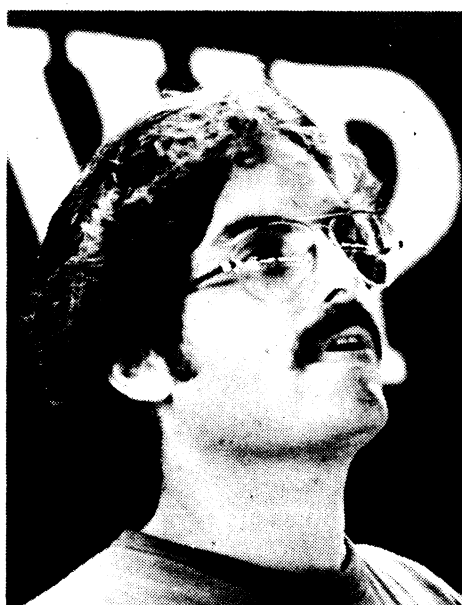
But after an intensive restudy of the revolutionary movement and its lessons for today's struggles, the RMC began to look at the SWP in a new light. The group found it agreed with

the political work the SWP was carrying out—particularly the party's deepening involvement in trade unions and the organizations of the oppressed.

"We realized that the RMC had far more in common with the SWP than we did with any organization in the country—or internationally, for that matter."

A lively discussion followed Levine's remarks.

The New York City forum came on the heels of a four-city tour through the Midwest in late January. Levine spoke to audiences in Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana, as well as Louisville, Kentucky, and Cincinnati, Ohio. These forums attracted members and supporters of several independent socialist organizations, such as the Socialist Labor Party and International Socialist Organization.



BRUCE LEVINE

Militant/Lou Howort

Carter slashes social security benefits

By Jon Britton

Wide publicity has been given to the fact that Social Security taxes in the United States are being drastically increased as a result of legislation passed by Congress and signed by Jimmy Carter in December.

Receiving hardly any notice, however, is the fact that the same legislation sharply *reduces* the pension payments workers could expect to receive under the old law.

For example, the benefits for twenty-five-year-old workers who now earn \$10,000 a year and will not reach retirement age until 2018 will be slashed in half, according to Kwasha Lipton, a New Jersey actuarial consulting firm.

In 1972, shortly before the presidential and congressional elections of that year, legislation was passed increasing Social Security benefits from their previous abysmal level and providing automatic adjustments for inflation.

Benefits actually being paid to retired workers were to be increased once a year whenever the cost of living, based on the government's index, rose more than 3%.

In addition, initial pensions upon retirement were to go up, with the increases tied to inflation.

Thus, under the 1972 legislation initial Social Security checks had reached 46% of the average worker's wages (about \$10,000) last year, or about \$380 a month for a new retiree. Kwasha Lipton

calculated that the payments would have gone to 58% in 1983, 66% in 1998, and 83% in 2018, assuming 4% a year inflation and 5% annual increase in wages.

According to Deborah Rankin, writing in the January 28 *New York Times*, "Studies have shown that the average worker needs retirement benefits equal to . . . about 75 percent of his preretirement earnings. . . ." The assumption behind these studies, Rankin says, is that a retired worker needs less because Social Security payments are tax free and he or she no longer has to pay such job-related costs as travel and clothes.

This accords with the scrap-heap concept of workers' retirement held by the capitalists and their academic apologists: bare subsistence, if that; inadequate health care; no travel for pleasure; and little entertainment or other activity that costs money.

Thus, under the old law, while workers reaching retirement age between now and the end of the century would not even come close to the modest level recommended by these studies, some younger workers could look forward to actually slightly exceeding it in their "golden years."

It turns out, however, that the capitalist politicians never meant to be so "generous," even in an election year. According to Rankin it was all due to "a mistake in designing the benefit formula."

Congress in 1972 had actually aimed for pensions averaging 40% of the preretirement earnings. But the faulty formula, combined with unexpectedly high inflation, had by 1977 boosted them substantially higher. This year, initial pensions for the average newly retired worker will be an extravagant 52% of final earnings!

The increased benefits, together with lower than expected tax revenues owing to the 1974-75 depression, prompted Carter to press Congress for new legislation to put the Social Security System in a "sound condition."

The result is the new law, to take effect in fiscal 1979, which could more than triple payroll taxes for some workers in the next ten years and will gradually cut retirement benefits for the average workers to 47% of final pay, regardless of inflation.

But perhaps the outlook for U.S. workers when they retire is really not so gloomy. After all, private pension plans, savings, and help from relatives supplement Social Security income for the elderly.

According to the 1972 *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, however, of the entire population sixty-five years of age or older fewer than one-fifth have private-pension income. (Some 10% receive income from other public pension plans.)

Many workers are told by their bosses or union officials that they are covered by a private pension plan, but they frequently end up losing their benefits if they are laid off permanently or decide to change jobs. In the case of the coal miners, the

pension fund is financed out of coal production, and when production drops because of a slump or strike, pensions are jeopardized or cut off.

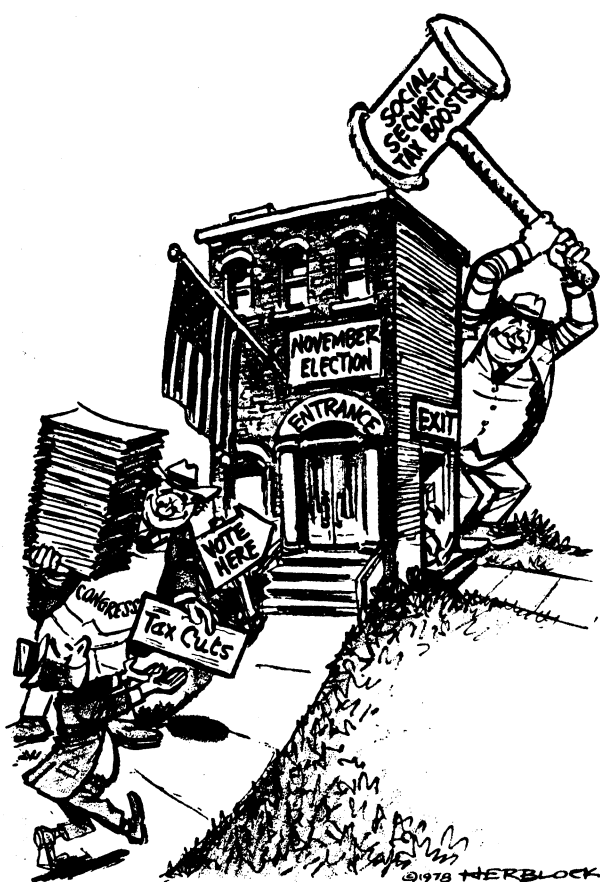
As for other sources of income, only 2% of those sixty-five or older receive financial help from relatives. And savings for a retired worker who had been making \$10,000 a year can't amount to much either.

Because the retirement income from Social Security and other sources is often not enough to live on, many elderly persons are forced to work to make ends meet. According to the *Statistical Abstract*, 46% of married couples, 19% of unmarried men, and 14% of unmarried women aged sixty-five or older supplemented their pensions in this way.

Those who are unable to find employment, or are too sick to work, sometimes resort to begging to avoid outright starvation.

As Carter once said in response to a reporter's question about the cutoff of government funds for poor women's abortions, "Life is unfair." We would add, "under capitalism."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Can there be democracy under socialism? Is there an alternative for the world working class to Stalinist bureaucracy or bourgeois "democracy"?

This pamphlet reprints the resolution, "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," adopted in May 1977 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement.

The resolution takes up the real meaning of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as put forward by Marx and Lenin. It explains how to achieve genuine workers democracy, examining the concrete problems of the last half century in the struggle for socialism, and analyzes the current debate between the West European Communist parties and Moscow.

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A.L. Wirin: longtime fighter for justice

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—A.L. Wirin, a distinguished fighter for civil liberties, died here February 4. He was seventy-seven.

"Al" Wirin was counsel to the American Civil Liberties Union of southern California from 1931 until ill health forced his retirement in 1971. He was the ACLU's first staff attorney anywhere. And he was an outstanding example of what a civil liberties lawyer should be.

In 1933 Wirin went into California's Imperial Valley to defend the rights of striking farm workers. He was kidnapped and beaten by vigilantes, but could not be scared off.

In 1941, when Japanese-Americans were rounded up and herded into concentration camps by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Wirin was among the few who came to their defense. Ignoring the wartime racist hysteria, he filed court briefs challenging the constitutionality of the internments.

During the rise of the CIO, he played an important role in defending unions and unionists under court attack.

In 1955, Wirin utilized the Supreme Court school desegregation decision of the previous year to successfully challenge segregation of Chicanos in El Centro, an Imperial Valley farming community.

And despite ill health, he undertook one more major legal action for the ACLU after his 1971 retirement—a successful court challenge to a new statute that would have barred mandatory busing.

Wirin also handled many Los Angeles police brutality cases. According to Marshall Ross, an associate of Wirin's for several years, "He was one of the first persons that I know of who really worked closely with anyone who emerged in the Chicano community who was ready to defend their rights. During the worst of the fifties, he filed a whole number of brutality complaints against the police and sheriff's departments."

Despite the witch-hunt pressures of the fifties, Wirin helped defend members of the Communist Party and, according to Ross, was among those who argued vigorously against the

policy of the national ACLU leadership in the 1950s of purging communists from office in the organization.

Wirin was also an endorser of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which defended Socialist Workers Party leaders indicted under the Smith Act in the 1941 Minneapolis trial.

When James Kutcher, the legless veteran, was fired from his government clerk's job for being an SWP member, Wirin again was a ready defender.

In the early 1960s when the Los Angeles SWP made an important legal test by successfully challenging the firing of Wendell Phillips, a teacher, because of his membership in the SWP, Wirin served as cocounsel.

Wirin respected the SWP for its consistent stand in defense of civil liberties and particularly admired James P. Cannon, the party's founding leader. In 1970, when the SWP celebrated Cannon's eightieth birthday, Wirin was one of the speakers. While he did not share the SWP's political views, he appreciated Cannon's contributions to the struggle for social progress.

Cannon, in turn, had the greatest respect for Wirin. And for good reason. By his deeds, Al Wirin demonstrated the depth of his convictions.



A.L. WIRIN

Incentive pay—molten brass for lunch

By Tom Tomasko

NEWARK, Calif.—I liked your article on "Incentive Pay . . . A discussion of union policy." [December 23, 1977, *Militant*]. Since you invited readers' responses to it, I thought I'd write to explain how the incentive-pay system determines the working conditions and pay in my particular job as a furnace tender or "melter."

I work for Cerro Metals here in Newark. The melter's job is to melt down scrap brass (everything from artillery shells to brass filings), then pour it into a cylindrical mold so that it can later be shaped into brass rods.

Our job is mainly one of brute force. Using a seven-foot steel pole shoved into the front of the furnace, we push the solid brass into molten

swing. At that time we worked eight and a half hours, one-half hour being an unpaid lunch. Most melters worked right through their lunch and also came in early one-half hour or more in the hopes that the previous shift had finished their work so that we could begin to use the furnace.

Although we did not get hourly pay for this extra time, we did get incentive-pay credit for any ingots we poured. Working this extra time increased the pay by three or four dollars a day. Not much, but when the hourly rate is so low and you have bills piling up it is a necessity.

Now, however, there are three shifts, each eight hours long. Melters have no lunch. The company can do this because it is in the contract. But California law makes it illegal not to provide a one-half-hour lunch period.

It has never occurred to anyone, though, to take our case to the proper authorities (it is not assured they would do something about it anyway) because if we *had* to take a lunch break we would get only seven and a half hours to make incentive pay. Even a paid lunch would be cut in wages.

Supposedly one of the advantages of incentive pay is that the company sets a standard—what an average employee can do under normal working conditions, working at an average pace. If an employee wants to work over the standard, so be it, she or he gets paid more. The only speedup is what the employee determines.

That's what they say. For melters the standard is nine ingots a day. But this doesn't stop the company from setting a higher standard, fourteen a day. They do this by firing probationary employees who pour less than fourteen. The union doesn't do anything about this because the company can fire a probationary employee for any reason.

Some kinds of brass scrap melt slower than others or are harder to work with. Some days we make less money because the company runs out of the decent scrap. This, of course, is not our fault, but we pay for it just the same.

Frequently the furnace malfunctions or breaks down. Only if the breakdown occurs *before* our

shift do we get compensated for it. Otherwise, we pay because the company tries to eke out the last drop of brass before they think of repairing or maintaining the furnaces.

Because incentive pay forces us to produce as much as fast as we can, the melters are inclined to ignore problems that can become safety hazards. For instance, it takes time to replace a pouring funnel that splashes too much molten brass. But as long as the brass goes through the funnel and into the mold without splashing too closely, we just leave it for the next shift to worry about.

In this way the company tries to put the blame for unsafe conditions on the workers themselves, while at the same time demanding more and more production.

One of the worst results of incentive pay is the undermining of solidarity of the melters. Since some furnaces melt faster than others there is a lot of "bumping." Those with most seniority get the best furnaces.

How would the conditions of my job change if incentive pay was replaced by an hourly wage that matched the highest wage under the incentive system? First, we probably wouldn't go home so tired. The company, I'm sure, would introduce production quotas, but we would be in a better position to fight to make them reasonable.

We would demand, or simply take, a one-half-hour paid lunch as long as there are three shifts. We would get to work on time rather than a half hour early. We would take care of our furnaces better and make the job a little cleaner and a lot safer. Our pocketbooks would not hurt when there are breakdowns or when we use slow melting brass.

The company will not take lightly any move to do away with the incentive system. It is far cheaper to force the present employees to work at a faster pace for a few pennies more than to hire more workers by shortening the workweek with no loss in pay. I hope other *Militant* readers who work in plants that have gotten rid of the incentive system will write in and explain how they did it.

Union talk

brass that is 1,600 to 1,800 degrees hot. At the end of the day we are exhausted, dirty, and very, very glad it is over. Quite a few melters have commented to me that when they wake up they have little grip in their hands.

No matter how safe we try to be it is not unusual for melters to get burns or have our clothes catch on fire from splattered brass or get hit by heavy brass scrap. I was even shot by a live bullet shell in my furnace.

For all this we are paid \$4.29 an hour plus incentive pay. The incentive bonus is \$.21 an hour for each ingot we pour after the first nine (usually we pour thirteen to sixteen ingots a day). Besides getting low pay for a dirty, hot, and tiring job, the incentive system makes the work more unbearable.

There used to be only two shifts, day and

Tom Tomasko is a member of United Steelworkers Local 5649.

Steel notes...

MORE LAYOFFS IN YOUNGSTOWN? The open-hearth furnaces at the Brier Hill Works of Youngstown Sheet & Tube are likely to be closed within eighteen months if Lykes Corporation, owner of the steel firm, succeeds in its bid to merge with LTV Corporation, owner of Jones & Laughlin Steel. That announcement came earlier this month from the mayor of Youngstown, who said the shutdown would cost 1,100 jobs. Last year Youngstown Sheet & Tube closed most operations at its Campbell Works and laid off 5,000 workers.

Lykes and LTV say the merger will enable them to "improve profit margins" and "compete successfully."

ORGANIZING VICTORY AT NEWPORT NEWS: Workers at Newport News Shipbuilding voted January 31 to oust an entrenched company union in favor of the United Steelworkers. Newport News, a subsidiary of the giant Tenneco conglomerate, is the largest private employer in Virginia.

The company openly backed the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association—which had defeated earlier organizing drives by the Boilermakers and Machinists—and warned of strikes and layoffs if the Steelworkers won. The workers voted 9,093 to 7,548 for the union anyway. The bargaining unit includes 20,000 workers, half of whom are Black. The company and the company union have both appealed the vote to the National Labor Relations Board.

... UNION-BUSTING IN VIRGINIA: Meanwhile, in Kimballton, a small town in Western Virginia, USWA Local 14948 is battling for its life against the Virginia Lime Company. About 100 workers struck the company last August 26. Agreement has been reached on money issues, but Virginia Lime demands the right to fire strikers it accuses of picket line violence. And it says it wouldn't rehire them all anyway because during the strike it has found "more efficient ways of doing things."

Local union President Jewel Radford says he "figured all along they were out to bust us up." The company is getting plenty of help. A local judge jailed the union vice-president for allegedly violating an antipicketing injunction. And the NLRB forced the union to drop a boycott plan, while refusing to issue a complaint against the company for illegally replacing strikers with scabs.

—Andy Rose

Protests hit murder of striker by company gun thug in Cleve.

By Chris Rayson

CLEVELAND—Public outrage is high here at the brutal murder of a striking welder by security guards.

Thomas Moss, Jr., a thirty-nine-year-old Black man, was shot in the head January 30 while peacefully picketing Bargar Metal Fabricating Company.

Moss's union, Upholsterers International Union Local 48, struck Bargar January 23. On February 5 the 120 strikers returned to their jobs after the public response to Moss's murder forced the company to improve its contract offer.

Three hundred mourners, mostly unionists, attended an AFL-CIO-sponsored service for Moss on the picket line February 2.

Moss's killer, William Hargrays, has been arrested and charged with murder as a result of the labor movement's pressure.

He and four other security guards charged with conspiracy to commit murder all belong to the National Investigation Bureau, headquartered

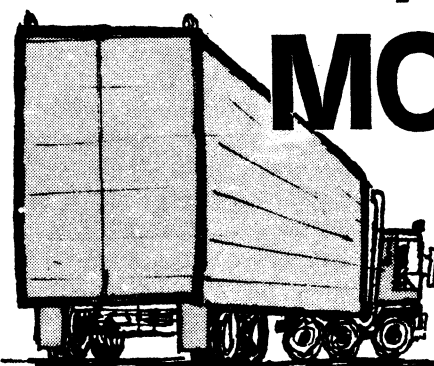
in Chicago. Hargrays has a long police record in Illinois.

The day of Moss's murder security cops attacked picketers with clubs and electric prods. One striker, Lloyd Dan Bice, was beaten, kicked, and stuck with the prods. That night seventeen reinforcements were sent from Chicago.

Following Bice's beating, the local union appealed to the city for protection. But Caesar Moss, Democratic councilman in the area, didn't bother to return the strikers' calls.

This official inaction led to Moss's death. An eyewitness to the murder told the *Militant*: "These guys came out of the building. They demanded to see our guns. They said they were police officers. We had no guns."

"They threw two Black guys against the wall and frisked them. When they didn't find any guns, they turned and asked who had the guns. Then they got Tommy behind a car door where we couldn't see him. All we heard was a shot."

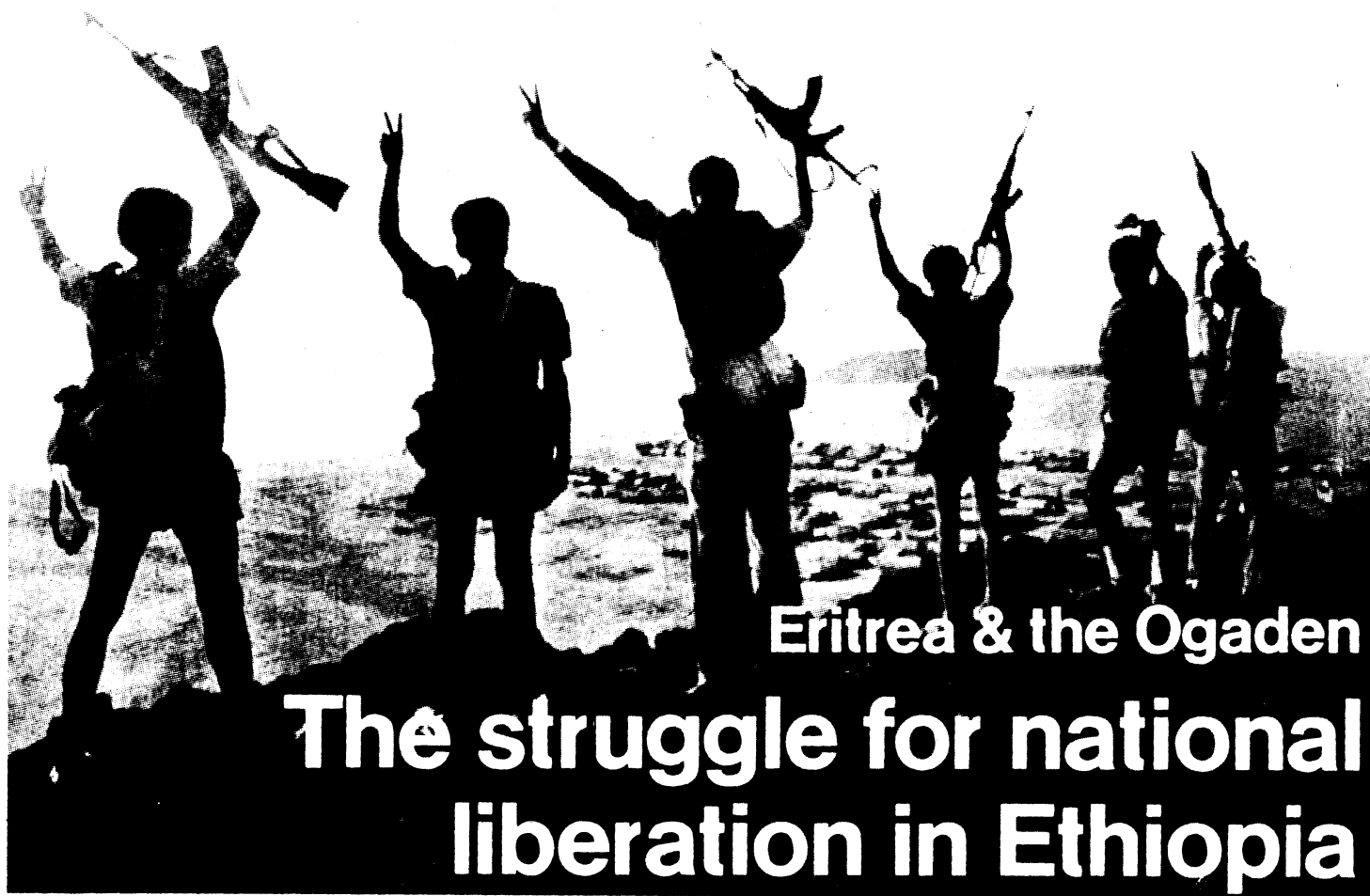


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World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events



Eritrea & the Ogaden

The struggle for national liberation in Ethiopia

Eritrean national liberation fighters

By Ernest Harsch

The Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia, known as the Dergue, is clearly a government in crisis.

The Dergue describes itself as "Marxist-Leninist." But this is demagoguery, part of the government's efforts to contain within capitalist limits the social explosion that resulted in the overthrow of the reactionary Haile Selassie regime in 1974.

The limitations of the Ethiopian junta's "revolution" are most evident in its policy on the national question. One of its earliest slogans was "Ethiopia tikdem"—Ethiopia first. Its aim is to centralize and "modernize" Selassie's multinational empire on capitalist lines, pledging to uphold Ethiopia's "sacred unity," by force of arms if necessary.

In a country that has traditionally been dominated by an oppressor nationality, the Amharas, this stance is extremely reactionary. It flies in the face of the demands for independence in Eritrea, which has been a colony of Ethiopia since the early 1950s. It runs counter to the demands of the Somalis living under Ethiopian rule to unite politically with their fellow Somalis in Somalia. And it denies the right to self-determination to a number of other oppressed nationalities, including the Oromos (Gallas), Afars, and others.

The Dergue's policies are in marked contrast to those that would be followed by revolutionary socialists. A real workers state would immediately move to end all forms of discrimination against the various nationalities, grant them equal rights, and recognize their right to self-determination, up to and including their right to secede and form independent states should they decide to do so. Only by protecting and guaranteeing the national rights of the oppressed can socialists begin to convince the various peoples in the region of the need for a broader, voluntary union.

Anything short of such a policy, and especially the Dergue's drive to retain Ethiopia's present borders by force, will only breed deeper bitterness and animosity on the part of the Eritreans,

Somalis, Oromos, Afars, and others.

The explosiveness of the national question in Ethiopia is understandable considering that the country, as it now exists, was created through a process of military conquest. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the dynasty in Addis Ababa expanded its feudal empire southward and eastward, conquering the Oromos and Somalis.

Somali nationalism

Cpt. Keseteberhan Ghebrehwet, a former member of the Dergue and chief desk officer of military intelligence against the Somalis, has admitted that the Somalis "do not believe themselves Ethiopians—in fact, the hatred they have for the Amharas is monumental. During the many operations that Ethiopia conducted to oppress popular revolts in the Ogaden there was such inhuman treatment of the population that children grow up with a deeply inbred hatred of the Amharas."

The imposition of a border through the Somali territories was unsuccessful in physically dividing them. Somalis in the Ogaden often go to Somalia for higher education or jobs and frequently observe the laws of the Somali state. Some take on high government posts in Somalia. This interchange flows the other way also. About half the population of northern Somalia migrates annually into the Haud region of the Ogaden to graze their cattle.

The defeat of the Italian colonialists during World War II and the later "decolonization" of the British empire led to a reshuffling of the borders in the Horn of Africa. While the Ogaden remained under Ethiopian rule, and the Somalis living in Djibouti and Kenya stayed under French and British control respectively, the two colonies of British and Italian Somaliland won their formal independence and merged to form the present state of Somalia in 1960. (Both Djibouti and Kenya have since become independent states as well.)

The impact of World War II and the rising national liberation struggles in the colonial world as a whole gave a

tremendous spur to the Somali struggle for unity. As early as 1948, the unit of the Somali Youth League (one of the major Somali nationalist groups) in the former Italian Somaliland declared, "We wish our country to be amalgamated with the other Somalilands and to form one political, administrative and economic unit with them. We Somalis are one in every way. We are the same racially and geographically, we have the same culture, we have the same language and the same religion. There is no future for us except as part of a Greater Somalia."

These aspirations were also reflected in a meeting in Mogadishu, now the capital of Somalia, in August 1959, at which Somali delegates from Somalia, Djibouti, the Northeastern District of Kenya, and the Ogaden and Haud regions of Ethiopia organized a pan-Somali movement aimed at unifying all Somalis within one state.

In fact, this goal was written into the first Somali constitution. The Somali flag includes a five-pointed star, representing the former British and Italian colonies now incorporated into Somalia, as well as the three "lost territories."

In the early 1960s, the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) was formed, originating from a Somali peasant resistance movement in the Ethiopian province of Bale. Under the leadership of Wako Gutu and with the backing of the Somali regime, it carried out extensive actions in Bale and the Ogaden. These clashes escalated in 1963-64, resulting in a war between Mogadishu and Addis Ababa. The defeat suffered by the Somalis impelled Mogadishu to halt its aid to the WSLF, and in 1970 Wako was forced to surrender to the Ethiopian forces.

War in the Ogaden

The downfall of Selassie in 1974 and the significant advances made by the Eritrean freedom fighters inspired the Somalis to once again press forward with their struggle. The WSLF was reorganized.

The WSLF renewed its guerrilla ac-

tions against the Ethiopian occupation forces and in June 1977 blew up a number of railway bridges, cutting the only railway line between Addis Ababa and Djibouti, which handles 60 percent of Ethiopia's foreign trade.

The next month, the WSLF launched its major offensive, in short order capturing dozens of towns and villages, including the key city of Jijiga, which had been the major tank base of the Ethiopian army. Reporters visiting the Somali-held areas described seeing arms caches and heavy equipment, such as tanks and artillery, that had been left behind during the Ethiopians' hasty retreats. By September, the Dergue's forces had been driven back to the immediate areas around Harar and Dire Dawa, the two major cities in the region. Toward the end of the year, Harar came under heavy Somali attack.

Western correspondents who toured the Ogaden also reported massive support for the WSLF troops from the Somali population. Graham Hancock reported in the September 18, 1977, London *Sunday Times*, "I did not see one village, nor one nomadic Somali group, that was not armed and angry, ready and willing to fight again at any time. The entire population seemed intoxicated with victory, in total support of the guerrillas and very able to defend itself."

There have been reports that two other nationalist groups, the Oromo Liberation Front and the Afar Liberation Front, have begun to coordinate their own struggles with that of the WSLF.

The Somali regime of Gen. Mohammed Siad Barre officially denies that its armed forces are directly involved in the Ogaden, but the Dergue has been able to display captured Somali tanks, trucks, and heavy artillery, as well as the wreckage of jets with Somali air force markings on them. The Siad Barre regime, moreover, openly backs the WSLF's aims, has given it military and financial support, and even admits that regular Somali troops have been given "leave" to fight with the WSLF.

Siad Barre, in fact, has little option but to support the Somali struggle in the Ogaden and elsewhere. He pointed out in an interview in the June 13, 1977, issue of the Paris fortnightly *Afrique-Asie* that "no government, no regime, no Somali leader could survive in this country if he moved to abandon the policy of recovering the territories that are still colonized by foreign occupiers."

While aiding the WSLF and the efforts toward Somali unity, the junta at the same time fears the potential power of the Somali struggle and has carefully sought to keep it under control. As a capitalist regime, it stands as an obstacle to the full realization of the aspirations of the Somali masses for complete independence and social progress.

Colonization of Eritrea

The other major threat to the Dergue's cherished "sacred unity" is the independence struggle in Eritrea. The Eritrean groups are no longer small guerrilla forces, but full-scale armies, with overwhelming support from the Eritrean population. Despite the presence of 25,000 Ethiopian troops—half the regular army—the Eritreans control almost the entire territory, except for a few cities.

The Dergue tries to justify its opposition to what it calls a "secessionist" struggle on the grounds that Eritrea was historically and socially part of Ethiopia, except during the period of

Continued on next page

...Ethiopia

Continued from preceding page

Italian colonization. But there is considerable historical evidence to prove that much of Eritrea has had a separate existence for hundreds of years.

After the Italian defeat during World War II, the various imperialist powers, as well as Haile Selassie, maneuvered to gain control of Eritrea. Finally, in 1950, Washington pushed a resolution through the United Nations calling for Eritrea's federation with Ethiopia. Selassie had proven himself a valuable American ally and Washington was concerned about the direction an independent Eritrea might take, especially since it is strategically located on the Red Sea.

The actual federation came into effect in 1952, but Selassie quickly moved to abolish even the fiction of Eritrean "autonomy." All political parties, except for one that favored outright merger with Ethiopia, were banned. Trade unions were outlawed, newspapers shut down, and Amharic was imposed as the sole official language. Books in the Eritrean languages were burned. In 1958, Ethiopian troops responded to a general strike by machine-gunning scores of Eritrean workers.

The Ethiopians also systematically set out to cripple and plunder the Eritrean economy. Companies operating in Eritrea were forced to move into Ethiopia. Some factories and other installations were even dismantled.

In 1962, Selassie dropped all pretenses of maintaining the federation and formally annexed Eritrea as Ethiopia's fourteenth "province." It is in fact a colony.

The last major organized resistance to the Ethiopian occupation in the urban areas was carried out by the Eritrean Liberation Movement, which was formed in 1959. It was soon crushed by Ethiopian troops and police.

Two years later the Eritrean Liberation Front was formed. The ELF was a rural-based nationalist group, with a guerrilla-warfare orientation. It was initially composed mostly of Muslim peasants and nomads and carried out only minor military actions. But in 1964-65 there was an important upswing in the independence struggle, accompanied by a big influx of recruits from the high plateau region, which is populated mostly by Christians.

However, this advance was blocked by factional struggles within the ELF, in which hundreds of dissidents were said to have been killed. Finally, in 1970, a group of guerrillas led by Issaias Afewerki that had split from the ELF formed the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces, later renamed the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. The ELF was unwilling to recognize the existence of a rival group and

declared war on the new EPLF in 1972. This factional war lasted for more than two years, greatly hampering the struggle for independence.

During the mass upsurge against Selassie in 1974, there was a new rise in the Eritrean struggle, with strikes and demonstrations taking place in various Ethiopian cities.

This upsurge forced an end to the factional war between the ELF and EPLF, at least for the time being, and in January 1975 they launched a coordinated attack on the Ethiopian forces in Asmara itself. Although they were ultimately repelled, both groups won thousands of new recruits and in early 1977 began to take control of a series of important towns and cities, including Nacfa, Karora, Keren, Agordat, Tesseney, and Decamere. Decamere and Keren are the second and third largest cities in Eritrea. In December, the ELF announced the capture of the Ethiopian garrison at Adi Caieh, as well.

According to Gérard Chaliand, an expert on guerrilla struggles who reported on his visit to Eritrea in the May 7 and May 8-9, 1977, issues of *Le Monde*, both the ELF and EPLF now have a similar number of troops, between 10,000 and 12,000 each (other estimates range even higher). The EPLF controls all of the northernmost district of Sahel and the ELF most of the two western districts of Barka and Gash. Both have units in most of the rest of the country, with the EPLF reportedly dominating in the high plateau area around Asmara and Keren. Together, they control roughly 85 percent of the territory, which includes all but 300,000 of Eritrea's 3.5 million people.

A third Eritrean group, which has no real base within Eritrea, was formed in March 1976. It is a splinter from the EPLF, led by Osman Saleh Sabbe, and is called the Eritrean Liberation Front-People's Liberation Forces.

The two major groups have such tremendous support from the Eritrean population as a whole that so far every one of Mengistu's "final offensives" has failed miserably. Twice, in March 1976 and again in late 1977, the Dergue sent into Eritrea large numbers of conscripted peasants, in what were termed "red marches," to help bolster the regular forces. Both times it was unable to regain any significant initiative.

The Ethiopian military failures have begun to breed widespread demoralization among the troops stationed in Eritrea, leading to even further setbacks.

Despite the clear decline in Ethiopian morale, the Eritrean commanders expect more bitter fighting ahead, especially if the Dergue is able to make some gains in the Ogaden and free up some of its forces there. But overall, the Eritrean liberation movements now appear confident that victory is within sight.

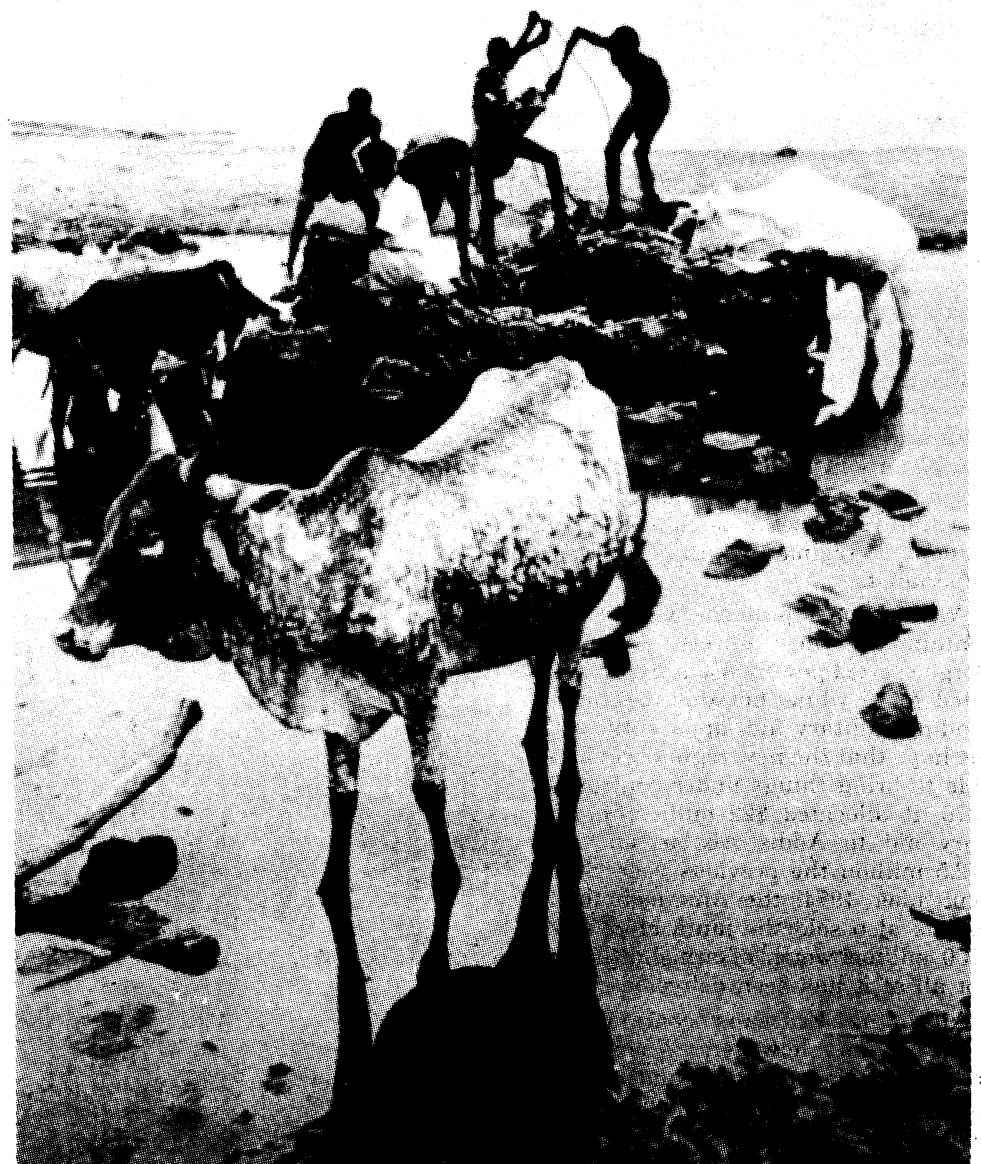
Eritrean Groups

With the prospects for Eritrean independence closer than ever, the policies and practice of the two main organizations take on a particular importance.

The EPLF is often described in the Western bourgeois press as a "Marxist" group, but its leaders reject this characterization. The ELF also denies that it is Marxist. Nevertheless, there are Eritreans in both groups who do profess to be Marxists.

Though their rhetoric differs to a slight extent, both groups are basically nationalist organizations, whose main goals are to win Eritrea's independence from Ethiopian rule.

Tesfai Woldemichael, the general secretary of the ELF, told a reporter, "Our struggle is first and foremost a nationalist struggle. We want to see a



SOMALI NOMADS: 'Half the population of northern Somalia migrates annually into the Ogaden to graze their cattle.'

new democratic Eritrea, which represents all the Eritrean people, is the fruit of their struggle and is opposed to all kinds of oppression."

Both groups, at least on paper, say they favor sweeping nationalizations after Eritrean independence. But like similar nationalist organizations elsewhere, the nationalization programs appear directed mainly at foreign economic interests, and not at indigenous capitalists (however few they are).

The objectives of the two groups to attain a formally independent Eritrea, apparently within a capitalist framework, is reflected to an extent in their approach toward the liberation struggle. Both rely almost exclusively on guerrilla or conventional military actions, with much of their active support being based on the Eritrean peasantry. Their perspective has been to first liberate sections of the countryside, and then take the cities from the outside, which they began doing in early 1977.

Despite the overwhelming support in the cities for independence, neither group has sought to mobilize the urban masses in strikes, uprisings, or other actions.

Despite the similarities between the ELF and EPLF, they remain rivals. However, in yet another attempt to join forces against the Ethiopian occupiers, the ELF and EPLF leaderships signed an agreement in Khartoum on October 20, 1977, pledging to "unify" their military and administrative bodies.

Whether the Khartoum agreement holds remains to be seen. The tensions between the ELF and EPLF remain high and physical clashes between their forces still occur.

Besides hampering the independence struggle itself, such factional warfare raises the possibility of a bitter struggle

for power after independence is attained. Should that happen, the danger exists that the Ethiopians and the imperialist powers will try to take advantage of it to weaken the new state and advance their own interests.

All eyes on the Horn

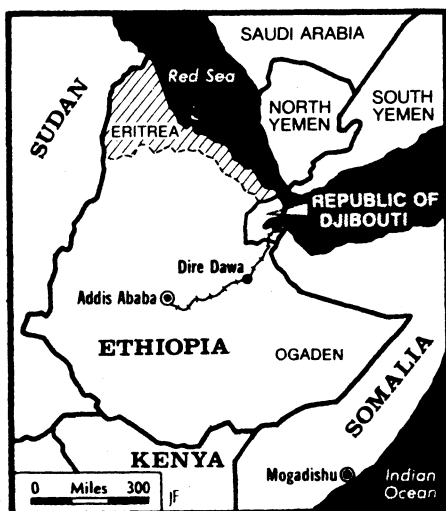
If the Eritreans gain independence or the Somalis are successful in throwing off Ethiopian domination and uniting with their fellow Somalis in Somalia, oppressed peoples in other African countries will be inspired to advance their own struggles for national self-determination.

The Black neocolonial regimes throughout the continent fear such a development, and the Organisation of African Unity is officially opposed to any change in the present borders. (The Somali regime, for obvious reasons, is the only OAU member that does not subscribe to this view.)

The conflict in the Ogaden, moreover, can have severe repercussions in Djibouti. Slightly more than half of its inhabitants are Issas, a Somali people, and the Afars in Djibouti have close ties with the Afars in Ethiopia. Besides being one of Somalia's "lost territories," Djibouti is strategically located between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden and serves as Ethiopia's main port.

Likewise, the ferment in the Horn of Africa can have an impact on the national liberation struggles in the Middle East, particularly that of the Palestinian people against the Israeli colonial-settler state. It is no accident that the Palestine Liberation Organization has friendly ties with both the Eritrean and Somali freedom fighters and has given them some aid.

It was precisely out of fear of the consequences of Eritrean independence or Somali unification that Washington



Christian Science Monitor

backed the central regime in Addis Ababa for years.

Israel also had close relations with Selassie, acquiring military bases on two Eritrean islands in the Red Sea and providing some counterinsurgency instructors as well.

Despite the extremely backward nature of the Selassie regime, the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking also cultivated ties with the emperor. Selassie visited both Moscow and Peking, receiving some financial assistance from both. The Eritreans have revealed that they have received no Chinese military assistance since 1968, when Mao first established diplomatic relations with Selassie.

For more than two decades, American policy toward Ethiopia was to maintain the Selassie regime as a "stabilizing influence" in the area. But the mass upsurge and the emperor's downfall reduced the usefulness of the Ethiopian regime for the American imperialists.

Washington's problem was how to contain this new unrest. After the Dergue seized power, Washington hesitated for a while, but then continued sending military aid, apparently with the hope that the new regime would be able to bring things under control. In 1976, it allocated \$22 million in military aid to Addis Ababa, up from \$12.5 million the previous year. Since September 1974, the American imperialists also sold the junta more than \$150 million worth of arms, although not all of it has been delivered.

After the Eritreans continued to make gains, however, Washington reassessed the situation and decided that the Dergue might not be able to hold the empire together after all, even with considerable American backing. So the White House concluded that the most practical thing to do was to cut their losses before it was too late and they suffered a severe political setback. Moreover, if the Eritreans won their independence in the face of overt American backing to the Dergue, it would make it much more difficult for Washington to exercise any influence over the new Eritrean state.

So in April 1977, Washington reduced its aid program to the Dergue. The Mengistu regime responded by shutting down a number of American offices and installations in the country and turning to Moscow for political and material aid.

The Kremlin was more than willing to oblige.

Moscow is trying to cultivate political influence in the Horn of Africa in order to gain a better bargaining position in its class-collaborationist dealings with Washington. It does the same thing in many other parts of the neocolonial world. This approach serves only the narrow diplomatic interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. By helping the Dergue maintain a left cover and aiding its war against the Eritreans, Somalis, and other peoples, it is completely counterrevolutionary as well.

At the same time, the Kremlin's policy is extremely shortsighted, even from its own perspective. This can be clearly seen in the case of the Somali regime of Siad Barre. For a number of years, Moscow armed the Somali junta and maintained many advisers there. It termed the regime "progressive." But on November 13, 1977, Siad Barre ordered all Soviet advisers out of the country, charging Moscow with aiding the Dergue.

This break led the Kremlin to change its characterization of the Mogadishu regime from "progressive" to "the cat's-paw of the neocolonialists and their accomplices."

Unfortunately, the Cuban leadership

has also extended support to the Dergue. In an interview published in the May 22, 1977, issue of the English-language weekly edition of *Granma*, Castro was quoted as saying that there were "certain similarities between the Ethiopian Revolution and the French and Bolshevik Revolutions, because the leaders have made an antifeudal revolution while working at the same time for socialism." He called Mengistu a "true revolutionary."

Such statements only help the Dergue maintain its "socialist" pretenses. They also sow confusion among Ethiopian revolutionists.

About the same time, Washington moved to increase its influence with a number of pro-American regimes in the region, particularly those in Egypt, the Sudan, and Kenya, by providing greater arms sales to them.

In July it also said that it was willing, "in principle," to sell arms to the Somali junta, but later withdrew the offer, apparently fearing, in part, the impact a successful Somali struggle in the Ogaden could have on the Somalis living in Kenya. Even after Siad Barre expelled the Soviet advisers, the State Department stated that it would not yet sell arms to him.

The editors of the *New York Times* gave an indication November 18, 1977, of one of the factors that may be influencing the White House's policy toward Mogadishu. "The time may be right, therefore," they said, "for an American diplomatic approach to persuade Somalia to pull back from its dangerous adventure in exchange for defensive arms and needed development assistance."

There are some indications that the White House may also be trying to use the pro-American Arab regimes to influence the course of the Eritrean independence struggle. The military aid those regimes give to the Eritreans may provide a lever.

'Yugoslavia of Africa'?

These moves have at the same time been coupled with continued ties to the Dergue, although in a much less overt fashion. There are a number of Defense Department officials still stationed in Ethiopia. Washington recently agreed to provide the Dergue with \$200,000 in economic assistance and is discussing an additional \$10 million aid package. Mengistu, moreover, has requested that Washington follow through on deliveries for those American arms that had already been purchased by the Dergue.

In the December 1977 issue of *New African Development*, Robert Manning reported, "In September, the [Carter] administration began to respond to Ethiopian feelers, and at the end of that month, two US officials visited Addis Ababa and noted a visible decline in anti-American rhetoric. Shortly thereafter Ethiopia declared it wished to be 'the Yugoslavia of Africa' and avoid any dependence on the USSR."

In the present situation of uncertainty in the Horn of Africa, Washington is clearly seeking to keep its options open. It has also embarked on a concerted effort to strengthen the American position in the region, so as to be better able to influence or sidetrack the various struggles as they develop. Should the Eritreans win their independence or the Somalis their unification, Washington will certainly try to contain those struggles within a capitalist framework.

This American goal at the same time carries the danger of U.S. military involvement—either directly or through Washington's local allies—should the conflicts in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia spiral out of control.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

World news notes

5,000 rally against Torrijos

The largest rally against Panamanian President Omar Torrijos since he seized power in 1968 took place February 20 in Colon. The 5,000 demonstrators demanded that the government allow exiled opponents to return, increase political freedom, and legalize opposition parties.

Torrijos's suppression of democratic rights is aimed in particular at left-wing opponents of his maneuvers with Washington to allow continued U.S. domination over the Canal Zone.

U.S. applauds rights progress under Somoza . . .

By February 8 most of the Nicaraguan economy was functioning again after a two week strike against the Somoza family dictatorship. At the height of the strike, 90 percent of commerce and industry was paralyzed. This massive display of opposition to the regime followed the murder of prominent government critic Pedro Joaquín Chamorro.

Nonetheless, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Sally Shelton told a House International Relations subcommittee February 16, "Although problems remain, it is our opinion that marked progress [on human rights] has been manifested since early 1977" in Nicaragua.



La Prensa

Workers and peasants in Mateare, Nicaragua, demonstrate January 30

. . . and in Korea too

The State Department's annual report on human rights in countries receiving U.S. aid portrays a general improvement in conditions under the Park Chung Hee dictatorship in South Korea over the past year. But eighteen prominent South Korean critics of the Seoul regime denounced the State Department's findings February 17 as an "apology" for Park based on "superficial observation." Most of the critics were jailed on charges of having asked Park to resign.

Meanwhile, the Carter administration announced plans February 18 to beef up U.S. air power in South Korea by at least a dozen F-4 fighter planes. The step up goes along with a planned \$2-billion program of military sales, credits, and gifts to Seoul—all aimed at "reaffirming the American commitment to insure South Korean security."

New protests in Iran

Government troops killed at least 6 people and injured 125 others during renewed protests against the shah February 18-19. The protests took place in Tabriz, the capital of Azerbaijan province and the second-largest city in Iran. According to United Press International, the demonstrations broke out at the conclusion of a forty-day Moslem mourning period that began after police murdered protesters in the town of Qom last month.

More apartheid horrors?

The South African government is considering enactment of two new repressive bills. The measures (the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill and Bantu Citizenship Amendment Bill) would allow the government to classify as "idle" any African worker living in an urban area who has been unemployed for more than 122 days—consecutive or not. If declared "idle," a worker could be detained in a "rehabilitation centre."

New issue of 'Labour Focus'

The January-February issue of *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe: A Socialist Defence Bulletin on Eastern Europe and the USSR* includes: an article by exiled Czechoslovak socialist Jan Kavan on the impact of the human rights manifesto Charter 77 since it was published one year ago; the first part of an interview with Paul Goma, a leading human rights activist forced to emigrate from Romania in late 1977, containing information on the strike by coal miners in the Jui Valley last August; and information on activities in defense of exiled East German songwriter Wolf Biermann and former East German CP official Rudolf Bahro, who was arrested last August and charged with treason after his anti-Stalinist book *The Alternative* was published in West Germany.

Tunisian regime cracks down on unionists

By Ernest Harsch

In the aftermath of the January 26 general strike, in which scores of persons were killed by the police and army, the Tunisian regime has launched a witch-hunt against union militants and other dissidents.

The regime of President Habib Bourguiba admits that it had arrested 400 persons, including Habib Achour, the general secretary of the Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens (UGTT—General Union of Tunisian Workers) at the time of the strike. But according to several news reports, the real number of arrests is much higher.

The February 3 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that about 800 persons were seized in Tunis alone.

The Executive Bureau of the UGTT has been purged of eleven of its members, all of whom are under arrest. Habib Achour was deposed from his position and a new general secretary, Tijani Abid, was appointed. A special "normalization" congress of the UGTT has been called for February 25 to confirm Abid as the new general secretary and to intensify the purge of union activists who are opposed to Bourguiba's ruling Parti Socialiste Destourien (PSD—Destour Socialist Party) or who played significant roles in the recent strike wave.

The efforts of the regime to whip up a witch-hunt atmosphere against the UGTT activists was evident during the January 31 session of the National Assembly. Members of parliament, all from the PSD, the only legal party in the country, condemned the UGTT leaders for four hours, calling them "mercenaries," "renegades," and instigators of an "abject plot" against the country.

Prime Minister Hedi Nourira, who has been designated Bourguiba's successor, accused the union leaders of having carried out a "preconceived plot."

The National Assembly voted to lift parliamentary immunity from four arrested members of the assembly, clearing the way for the filing of formal charges against them. Besides Achour, they include Kheirreddine Salhi, Hassen Hammoudia, and Abdelaziz Bouraoui.

The repression has not been confined to the UGTT leadership or its activists. The police have been systematically picking up "on suspicion" readers of the few opposition newspapers, such as *Es Chaab*, the organ of the UGTT, and

Errai, the daily newspaper of the Mouvement des Socialistes Démocrates (Movement of Social Democrats), led by Ahmed Mestiri. At least one edition of *Errai* has been seized and a reader of *Es Chaab* was hospitalized after he was assaulted by PSD thugs.

Two members of the Tunisian League for the Defense of Human Rights, Sadok Allouch and Midani Ben Salah, have been arrested. Allouch was an assistant general secretary of the UGTT as well.

On February 1, the league called for the lifting of the state of emergency, which it said "represented a considerable danger to public and individual liberties."

The same day in Paris, the French Socialist Party demanded the immediate release of Achour and the other arrested unionists. And in Stockholm, a meeting of the leaders of the major trade-union federations of five Scandinavian countries protested the "anti-union repression in Tunisia." In a resolution, they said that they condemn "the violent methods employed by the Tunisian authorities against the unionists and demand that the prisoners be immediately released."



Among the 400 unionists the Tunisian government admits arresting is Habib Achour (left), leader of the UGTT. Photo shows Achour announcing January 26 general strike to workers rallying outside UGTT headquarters.

Fourth International: 'Free all prisoners'

[The following statement was issued February 3 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. We have taken the text from the February 4-5 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Interprecor*.]

The general strike of January 26 and the repression unleashed by the Nourira government signals a major crisis for a regime that for twenty years has been presented as a model of stability and progress by all advocates of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Under the lash of the economic crisis, unemployment, neglect, and growing impoverishment, the exploited masses, led by the working class, have turned out in more and more powerful upsurges that began with economic demands and led to a political confrontation with the regime. The trade-union federation UGTT (General Union of Tunisian Workers), although controlled since

its inception by leading figures in the ruling Destour Socialist Party, has had to gradually take its distance from the government and act as a vehicle for mass discontent, to the point of declaring a general strike.

Faced with the working-class upsurge, the regime led by the "Supreme Combatant" has had to shed its mask. So much for paternalism, "liberalism," and astute maneuvers. The strikers and demonstrators in Tunis and other cities were answered with repression, with the weapons of the police and army, with the ruling party's shock troops, with provocateurs on the government payroll. A massacre unprecedented in North Africa in the postcolonial era has taken place.

It is urgent to counter the reactionary wave of repression sweeping over the country. We must demand immediate repeal of the state of emergency, the release of all prisoners, respect for all democratic freedoms, and independence and freedom of action for the UGTT. The

government and bosses must be compelled to meet the demands that gave rise to the working-class upsurge and the general strike.

The international workers movement has expressed solidarity with the Tunisian workers movement. Many trade-union federations have condemned the repression against the UGTT, its leaders and activists. They should continue their campaign and refuse to have any relations with the puppets that the government wants to install in place of the jailed leaders.

Actions and campaigns should be undertaken, especially in the countries where immigrant workers and Tunisian students have already taken part in demonstrations against the murderous Nourira-Bourguiba regime.

For the immediate release of all the prisoners!

For the independence of the UGTT!

Down with the repressive Nourira-Bourguiba regime!

London protesters hit British role in Ireland

By Oscar Gregan

[The following excerpts are from an article that appeared in the February 2 issue of 'Socialist Challenge,' the weekly newspaper sponsored by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

Build the International Tribunal! That was the main message of the speeches at the rally held last Sunday [January 29] to commemorate the deaths of the 14 demonstrators killed in Derry by British troops on Bloody Sunday, 1972.

The rally in Hammersmith followed a 1,200-strong demonstration organised by the Bloody Sunday Commemoration Demonstration Committee. In another London demonstration to mark the deaths—organised by the Provisional Sinn Féin—over 500 people marched.

The International Tribunal had been publicly launched at a press conference the previous week. Its purpose is to investigate British presence in Ireland.

Appealing for support for the initiative at the press conference were: Joan Maynard MP [member of Parliament]; Phil Flynn, deputy general secretary of the Irish Local Government and Public Service Union; Lord Gifford, a lawyer and prominent champion of civil liberties; and officers from the Tribunal planning committee.

The officers explained: "Britain's exercise of military, judicial, and political control of the North of Ireland has disturbing implications." They added: "There is sufficient reliable, yet alarming information available on various aspects of Britain's involvement to necessitate an independent inquiry."

Already the tribunal has the sponsorship of many prominent politicians, trade unionists, legal figures, writers and artists from Ireland, Britain, the United States, and Europe. These include the national executive of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, the Association of Legal Justice in Belfast, the executive of the National Union of Students in Britain

and five Labour MPs.

It is expected that the first session of the Tribunal will take place in London this autumn. The organisers hope that the major sessions will be held before the largest and most representative body possible of delegates elected from trade unions and other labour and student organisations.

Because of the important role that international public opinion can play in monitoring any infringements of human rights in the North of Ireland the "jury" will be joined by a panel of figures of international repute.

Socialist Challenge welcomes the call for the Tribunal. We agree with the views expressed by Phil Flynn at the press conference, that any such inquiry—having examined the evidence—should indict the British Government and British Security forces. We also feel that an international campaign to focus the attention of the world community on Britain's presence in Ireland would play an invaluable role in aiding the liberation struggle of the Irish people.

'Paul Robeson'

Paul Robeson. A play by Phillip Hayes Dean. Starring James Earl Jones and Burt Wallace. Directed by Lloyd Richards.

There was a time when Paul Robeson was the most well-known individual in the entire world.

—Carl Stokes, NBC News, New York

A play about the life of Paul Robeson has been touring the country.

Robeson, who died two years ago, was one of this country's greatest singers and actors. During the 1920s he appeared in plays by Eugene O'Neill. During the late twenties and thirties he won acclaim throughout Europe as a concert artist.

Robeson was Black. A profound rebelliousness against racism molded his art and life.

In England he came to know many African nationalists then in exile, such as Kwame Nkrumah, who later became president of Ghana.

His antiracist views broadened, and he became an outspoken champion of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

Like many other artists of the period, however, he threw his support to the Stalinized Communist Party. This

case was an early rallying point in the fight to defend the democratic rights of working people during the government's postwar witch-hunt.

But Robeson, repeating CP slanders aimed at justifying factional opposition to defending the rights of Trotskyists, argued, "Would you ask the Negroes to give freedom of speech to the KKK? Would you give civil rights to Jefferson Davis?"

During the 1950s Robeson himself became a victim of government witch-hunting. He was denied a passport. He was banned from public performance in the United States.

Reclaiming Robeson

The witch-hunters were so successful that several generations of Americans have lived virtually without knowledge of this brilliant artist.

Now *Paul Robeson* begins the process of reclaiming Robeson from the shadows into which America's white ruling class threw him in the 1950s.

"If we understand enough" of this story, Black actress Ruby Dee wrote in the New York *Amsterdam News*, if we "see how we might have exercised the power that the great Black ones keep reminding us rests in the hands of little people bent on change and a better way, we, as Black people may yet get ourselves together."

The play, however, does more than restore another piece of Black history from obscurity. It is a vivid and sensitive portrait of a human being, wonderfully acted by James Earl Jones.

The play consists of a series of sketches from Robeson's life. Its form is a difficult one for an actor: emotion and tone shift rapidly, moving from tenderness to humor to violent anger in a matter of seconds.

But James Earl Jones is a master. It's difficult to imagine anyone else daring to take on the role of Robeson and impossible to imagine anyone else doing it as successfully as Jones does.

Dean's play portrays Robeson as a man whose militancy was tempered with great humor and compassion. When young Robeson, a freshman at Rutgers (he graduated Phi Beta Kappa and an all-star football player) is told that the cafeteria "serves no colored food," he quickly requests chicken, white meat only, mashed potatoes, salt no pepper, and vanilla ice cream.

The violent terror against Blacks during the summer of 1919 had a dramatic impact on Robeson. He was tremendously angered at the fact that hundreds of Black GIs were lynched after returning home from Europe and the fight for "democracy" during World War I. Right on stage, we see his education in American racism taking a grim step forward.

In Hitler's Germany, Robeson meets the twelve-year-old daughter of his Jewish impressario. She is a dwarf. She is too ashamed ever to go out but consents to play the piano for Robeson. They converse about being very small and very tall. Later, Robeson reports her disappearance to the audience.



PAUL ROBESON

The angriest part of Jones's performance is his portrayal of Robeson's appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the witch-hunt. Denouncing the committee, he refuses to give up his political views.

Protests

Something of a storm has followed *Paul Robeson* as it has played in cities around the country.

An organization calling itself the "National Ad Hoc Committee to End the Crimes Against Paul Robeson" has issued a statement, signed by many prominent Black Americans, protesting the play as a "pernicious perversion of the essence of Paul Robeson."

Despite this serious charge, however, a twenty-five-page critique issued by the committee is primarily a list of objections to the play's effort to portray Robeson as a human being, rather than a "perfect person."

For example, Robeson reacts with pleasure when one of his first performances is applauded. The committee carps: "The subtle indication in the play of Robeson's savoring of applause is an especially gross distortion."

In addition to the "National Ad Hoc Committee," opposition to the play has been voiced by the Communist Party and its youth organization, the Young Workers Liberation League. The CP's *Daily World* has given prominent coverage to the activities of the "National Ad Hoc Committee," and the YWLL sponsored a picket line against the play the night it opened in New York.

Does the CP's displeasure with the play stem from Dean's portrayal of Robeson as a man who, towards the end of his life expressed some hesitations about the Soviet Union? In the New York version of the script, Robeson notes serious reservations about the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary. Apparently, in several earlier versions,

there were other indications that later in his life Robeson was uncomfortable about the repressive Soviet bureaucracy.

Ruby Dee says that the play "has opened the door for us to begin to look and measure and rediscover a beautiful man in a hard time. . . ."

The rediscovery of Robeson through Philip Hayes Dean's play is significant.

The picayune criticisms of the "National Ad Hoc Committee" hardly justify the campaign it has waged against *Paul Robeson*.

Clearly some of those who set up the committee wanted to discredit the play not because of its portrayal of Robeson, but because they find the play critical of the Soviet Union and they believe the Soviet Union must never be criticized.

What a truly malicious and harmful method of political and artistic "criticism."

Of course, many of the sponsors of the committee do not share this reason for attacking the play and have their own, separate reasons for joining the protest.

The great tragedy of Robeson's life was his failure to assess honestly the Stalinists' betrayal, not only of the Black struggle, but of the world working class. If, toward the end of his life, he did have doubts, he kept them quiet.

History must and will judge Robeson first as an artist, and will judge him among the best.

It will also, however, judge his political life, and in this respect he will be found wanting.

If Philip Hayes Dean is to be criticized it is not for creating a portrait of a human being with humor, sadnesses, and complexity, but for skimming all too lightly over the contradictions Stalinism created in a Black American who allowed his militant and proud nationalism to be derailed time and time again.

—Stacey Seigle

Theater

short-circuited Robeson's instinctive militancy: he defended a political line that subordinated the struggle of Black Americans to the shifting policies of the Soviet Union.

Nonetheless, he remained a powerful personality, a revered figure for millions of Blacks and other oppressed peoples.

CP spokesperson

Returning to America from Europe in the late thirties, Robeson became a spokesperson for the treacherous policies of the Stalinists during and after the Second World War.

The Communist Party, for instance, opposed the movement for a march on Washington to demand a halt to government-sanctioned Jim Crow policies in the war industries and in the army.

The Stalinists called on President Franklin Roosevelt to crush this movement because, they said, it sabotaged the U.S. war effort.

Robeson neither endorsed nor supported the March on Washington.

In 1949, at a "Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights," Robeson spoke against supporting a pardon for the first victims of the Smith Act, eighteen leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters' strike—among them leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party—who were imprisoned during World War II.

He also spoke against supporting the case of Jimmy Kutcher, a member of the SWP who lost both his legs during the war. Kutcher was red-baited out of his Veterans Administration job. His

Quote unquote

"After all, Taft-Hartley is part of the law of the land. We don't like it. But if the president feels it's his only alternative, then we won't criticize him."

—AFL-CIO President George "I never went on strike in my life" Meany

PRESS STRIKE SUPPORT

Striking workers at the *Oakland Press* in Michigan received enthusiastic support from more than 200 fellow unionists and community members at a February 11 rally in nearby Pontiac.

The strike by members of Pressmen's Local 13 and Newspaper Guild Local 22 began December 29. The strike was forced by the *Press's* union-busting demands, which included eliminating a cost-of-living allowance, forcing employees to pay their own hospitalization insurance, reduction of paid sick leave, and speedup.

Especially significant was the participation in the rally of several community organizations, including the Oakland County NAACP.

K.C. CUTBACK PROTESTS

On January 27 the University of Missouri-Kansas City notified seventeen professors that they would be fired as part of an anticipated \$1.5 million budget reduction. *Militant* cor-

Carter: 'Nukes are safe'

"I think the nuclear power plants are safe. There has never been, and cannot be, an explosion there. It's physically impossible," President Carter told a New Hampshire audience February 18.

Carter obviously "mis-spoke," to use a term from an earlier administration. While it is true that in the most common type of reactor no nuclear explosion can occur, in another kind of reactor—the fast breeder—an accident can result in a small nuclear blast.

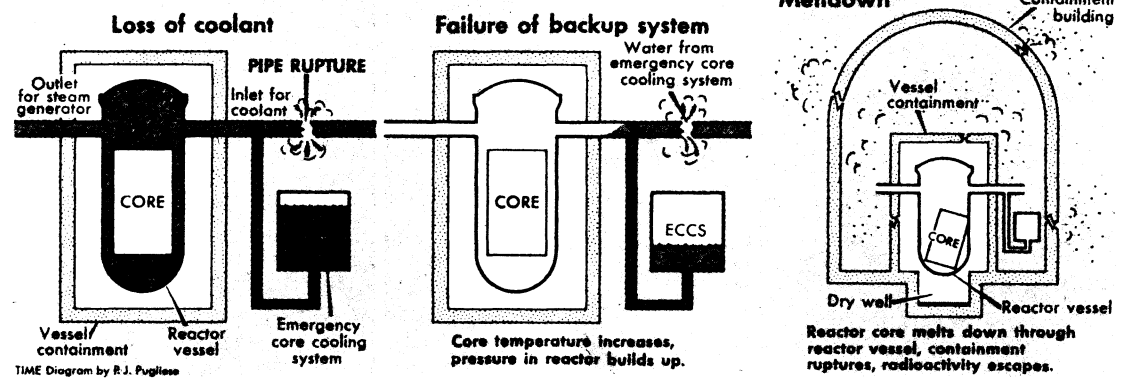
Moreover, many potentially disastrous nonnuclear explosions can—and have—taken place in any reactor.

Last December, for example, escaping hydrogen gas at a nuclear plant in Connecticut caused two explosions, the latest in a series of similar blasts that have plagued reactors around the country.

The most serious possible explosion would result from what is called a core meltdown (see diagram). Since the radioactive reactor fuel core is

fiercely hot, it must be cooled constantly. If the coolant is blocked, the core will actually melt. The water surrounding it will quickly boil, producing high pressure steam. The radioactive steam could blast through the concrete sphere surrounding the reactor, releasing dangerous amounts of radiation into the atmosphere.

Although no core meltdown has happened so far, one system designed to prevent it failed six out of six simulations.



respondent Kim Kleinman reports that nearly 1,000 students, faculty, and community members responded in a series of emergency protests. Students demanded no firings, no cutbacks, no fee increases, and an open accounting of the university budget.

Scott Cooper of the Young Socialist Alliance attacked the administration's claim of financial emergency: "We need to make them prove it by showing us their books. We squander billions on the war budget. I think we need education more."

NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY

Actions in solidarity with the general strike that rocked the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua took place in four U.S. cities recently.

On February 5, more than 1,000 demonstrators in Washington, D.C., marched to the

White House to support the strike. Similar actions took place in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

On February 15 the recently formed *Asociacion Pro-Derechos Humanos en Nicaragua de Nueva York* (New York Association for Human Rights in Nicaragua) held a spirited picket outside the French consulate to oppose sending French arms to Somoza.

INFLATION'S TOLL

A few figures reported by columnist Sylvia Porter help explain why striking miners are so eager to keep their cost-of-living escalator clause.

President	Worth of dollar at term's end
Truman	90.2
Eisenhower	80.7
Johnson	67.6
Nixon	48.0
Ford	41.0
Carter (first year)	38.9

BOYLE GUILTY AGAIN

Former United Mine Workers President W. A. "Tony" Boyle was convicted a second time February 18 for the 1969 murder of union dissident Joseph Yablonski, his wife, and daughter. Boyle had previously been convicted in 1974, but the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ordered a new trial.

Leon Yablonski, Joseph Yablonski's brother, told reporters, "We've all heard the verdict. Justice has been done."

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

SAVE THE LIFE OF HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speakers: John Malan, Hector Marroquin Defense Committee; representative of Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores de Mexico. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

TEMPE

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? Thurs., Mar. 2, 5 p.m. Apache Room, Memorial Union, ASU. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA EAST LOS ANGELES

SALT OF THE EARTH. A documentary film. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

LOS ANGELES

FEMINISM & HUMAN NATURE—CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY. Speaker: Evelyn Reed, feminist anthropologist and author. Chaired by Virginia Garza, Socialist Workers Party 1978 candidate for California secretary of state. Fri., Mar. 10, 8 p.m. International Institute, 435 S. Boyle. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP, Young Socialist Alliance, Pathfinder Press. For more information call (213) 482-1341.

S.E. LOS ANGELES

THE MEXICAN MURALS OF MARIO FALCON. A slide show. Speaker: Mario Falcon, former student of Diego Rivera, now seeking political asylum in the U.S. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SAN JOSE

SAVE THE LIFE OF HECTOR MARRO-

QUIN! Benefit rally for the Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. Speakers: Hector Marroquin; Lucha y Paz, a singing group. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. San Jose State Univ., Engineering Room 132. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (408) 292-5641.

FLORIDA MIAMI

MASS TRANSIT, YES; BONDS, NO: WHY WORKING PEOPLE SHOULD VOTE FOR REPEAL OF THE BOND RIPOFF MARCH 7. Speakers: Bob Angles, Socialist Workers Party, member of AFSCME; Gladys Taylor, Dade County Grass Roots People's Coalition; others. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 266-4381.

CLASS SERIES ON SOCIALISM. Sat., Feb. 25, Mar. 4 & 11, 2:30 p.m., and Mon., Mar. 13, 7 p.m. 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

SHOULD ABORTION BE LEGAL IN MARYLAND: A DEBATE. Speakers: Andrea Morell, Socialist Workers Party; Joseph Huesman, Maryland Right to Life. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

PANAMA FOR THE PANAMANIANS: WHY THE U.S. SHOULD UNCONDITIONALLY GIVE UP THE CANAL. Speaker: Prof. Miguel Antonio Bernal, exiled Panamanian socialist. Tues., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 1375 Washington St., South End Boston. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant

Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620 or 262-4621.

CUBA TODAY—EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speakers: Gary Cohen, former moderator of the Boston radio show, "Voices of Dissent" and former activist in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee; Charles Williamson, former anti-Vietnam War activist. A slide narration by two recent visitors to Cuba on their experiences, political and personal. Fri., Mar. 3, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY—WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK. Speakers: Alta Starr, activist in Abortion Action Coalition and member, Socialist Workers Party; Mary Rees, S. Middlesex National Organization for Women; others. A panel discussion on defending abortion rights, opposing sterilization abuse, ratifying the ERA, and defending affirmative action against such attacks as the Bakke ruling. Fri., Mar. 10, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA MINNEAPOLIS

THREE CLASSES ON STRUGGLE IN THE COAL MINES & WHAT'S BEHIND THE ATTACKS ON WORKING PEOPLE. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for the *Militant*. Sat., Mar. 4, 10:30, 1:30 & 4 p.m. Coffman Union, Room 320, Univ. of Minn., 300 Washington SE. Donation: \$1.50 or 50¢ per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 825-6663 or 376-1358.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN IRAN. Speaker: Nemat Ja-

zayeri, national secretary, Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave., 24th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK NYC: CHELSEA

CHINA AFTER MAO. Speaker: Les Evans, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 200½ W. 24th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NYC: LOWER EAST SIDE CAPITALISM FOULS THINGS UP: ENVIRONMENTAL AND OCCUPATIONAL POLLUTION. Speakers: Michael Baumann, Socialist Workers Party; Kendall Green, epidemiologist. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 7 Clinton St. (corner of Houston). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

OHIO TOLEDO

POLITICAL ASYLUM OR DEATH: THE CASE OF HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speaker: representative of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? Speaker: Dean Elder, Socialist Workers Party. Tues., Feb. 28, 7 p.m.; Wed., Mar. 1, 1:30 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information (419) 242-9743.

TEXAS HOUSTON

CLASS SERIES ON SOCIALISM. The difference between Social Democracy

and the Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Mar. 5, 4 p.m. 4987 Martin Luther King Dr. (formerly South Park). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

Miners' strike

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO: A rally to support the UMWA. Featured speaker: Bruno Redolfi, acting local president of UMWA Local 7949. Fri., Mar. 3, 7:30 p.m. University of New Mexico Ballroom. Ausp: UMWA Local 7949.

ALBANY, NEW YORK: Coal miners' strike: eyewitness report. Speaker: Nancy Cole, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA: The coal strike and the challenge to the labor movement. Panel discussion. Speakers: Gene Skrabka, vice-president, U.S. Local 6860, Eveleth, Minn.; Dick Roberts, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. Coffman Union, Room 320, Univ. of Minn., 300 Washington Ave. SE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

TACOMA, WASHINGTON: Coal miners' strike. Speaker: Mike Downs, executive board member, ILWU Local 19. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. 1022 S. J St. Donation: at the door. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Miners under attack: labor's stake in the coal strike. Steelworkers and other unionists discuss why labor must support the miners. Fri., Mar. 3, 8 p.m. Douglass Hall, Room 105, Howard University. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Killer cop gets life

Frank Hayes, former police chief of Castroville, Texas, got a life sentence February 17 for the 1975 murder of Ricardo Morales, a Chicano who was in the chief's custody.

Hayes had already been convicted in state court of aggravated assault and sentenced to ten years. But protests against this light sentence by Texas Chicanos forced the U.S. Justice Department to charge Hayes with civil rights violations.

Hayes claimed that Morales was accidentally killed after a struggle over a shotgun. However, he was unable to explain why he had taken Morales to a deserted road alone. He also failed to come up with a convincing explanation for why his wife had secretly carted Morales's body 400 miles to bury it on a family farm.

In the first trial, Mrs. Hayes was fined \$49.50 for "tampering with evidence," and her sister, who helped her, was found innocent of all charges.

The federal trial sentenced Mrs. Hayes to three years in prison and her sister to six months.

Morales's mother told reporters, "I think they all got what they deserved."

ANTI-ABORTION TERROR

On February 18 anti-abortion terrorists set fire to the Concerned Women's Clinic located in Cleveland's Black community. A man walked into the abortion clinic, threw a chemical in the receptionist's face, and set fire to the office.

Just three days earlier the clinic had been vandalized.

Robert Fraser, vice-president of the anti-abortion Right to

Life of Greater Cleveland, claimed the attack was "a direct contradiction" to his group's aims.

But Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio, disagreed. "The vicious attacks on women's right to choose by the government and by groups like Right to Life are the inspiration for these physical assaults," Wright said.



End complicity with apartheid!

About 150 people rallied February 4 on the Indiana University campus in Bloomington to demand an end to university complicity with the South African apartheid regime. The protest took place during a meeting of the university board of trustees.

Activists demanded that the university sell \$1.5 million in stocks of companies doing business in South Africa. The rally was sponsored by the

Bloomington South Africa Committee, Student Coalition Against Racism, IU Student Association, and African Students Association.

The trustees were presented with petitions bearing more than 2,300 signatures calling for an end to IU complicity with South Africa.

The trustees voted to study the issue and to hold an open forum on the issue of investment in South Africa.

HELP LAUNCH THE TEXAS SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN

Hear: **Miguel Pendás**, candidate for U.S. Senate
Sara Jean Johnston, candidate for governor

SAN ANTONIO

Friday, March 3, 1317 Castroville Road, (512) 432-7625
Reception 7 p.m., Dinner \$2, Rally 8 p.m.

HOUSTON

Saturday, March 4, Printers Local 130 Union Hall
1705 Bell, (713) 526-1082
Refreshments 7 p.m., Rally 8 p.m., Donation \$1.50

DALLAS

Sunday, March 5, 2215 Cedar Crest, (214) 943-6684
Open House 6:30 p.m., Rally 7:30 p.m., Donation \$1

Sponsored by Texas Socialist Workers Campaign
Chairperson: Ruth Getts. Treasurer: Bruce Kimball

The Great Society

Harry Ring



The New South—State employees in South Carolina get the day off on the birthday of Robert E. Lee, the general who led the slaveholders' army in the Civil War. Now the state House of Representatives has voted to give a choice of Lee's birthday or Martin Luther King's. We hear Congress is considering giving federal workers a choice of George Washington's birthday or King George's.

Suggestion box—Appliance Park, a St. Louis business venture, advises its employees that the key to success is to pretend you own the business and work accordingly. Which would be a great idea if the boss also pretended you owned the outfit and paid accordingly.

A problem—The Environmental Protection Agency says it might cost as much as \$7.2 billion to cleanse the James River of the poisonous pesticide kepone dumped in by Allied Chemical. On the other hand, the experts said, the river could cleanse itself. This, they estimated, would take 50 to 100 years.

Grrh!—Accused of trying to strangle an Israeli immigration clerk, a South American couple pleaded that the country's immigration bureaucracy was driving them crazy. The point apparently impressed the judge, who let them off with a \$13 fine.

The outlook—McGraw-Hill surveyed 100 corporations in thirteen capitalist countries. Ranked on a scale of 1 to 100, British businessmen were most optimistic about their economic prospects, with a score of 60.1. U.S. capitalists were next to last with 43.2. Most optimistic was the chief economist at McGraw-Hill. He expects business confidence to pick up later this year.

Rising expectation—"The current outlook for inflation is extremely dismal," says Barry Bosworth, the administration's "anti-inflation" person. He predicted prices will rise steadily in the coming years and said something should be done about it.

Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



Irresponsible

"Why are women so irresponsible? If they don't want children why don't they do something before they get pregnant?"

In every debate on abortion rights I've been in, someone has asked that.

Obviously that person (usually a man) has never spent hours waiting in a crowded clinic, or he would know that birth control is not so easy to get.

And he has never faced the dilemma of trying to choose a birth-control method that both works and isn't dangerous.

What are the choices? Condoms and foams can be bought in drugstores. They're "safe." Or at least if the foam doesn't contain mercury it's safe. But these methods do not get high marks for dependability.

Diaphragms are supposed to be 80 to 98 percent effective. But not all women can use them. What if you're one of the 2 to 10 percent of the users who get pregnant anyway? Just last year a company had to recall 86,000 defective Koro-Flex diaphragms.

The IUD? Women learned through experience that the little bits of plastic could cause infections or puncture their uterus. One to 6 of every 100 women using IUDs get pregnant. From 1972 to 1974, 15 of every 100,000 women who continued to wear IUDs while pregnant died from infected spontaneous abortions.

Those may look like just statistics unless you are the woman who has an IUD.

That leaves the pill, still the most effective contraceptive. But just look at headlines from the last year or so: "Long-term Users of Pill Found to Run Higher Risk of a Rare Liver Tumor," "40% more Deaths in Britain Indicated for Users of the Pill," "New Study on Pregnancy Links Birth Defects to Sex Hormones [the pill]."

Some women, especially Black and Latina sisters, end up with even more dangerous birth control when doctors use them as unwitting guinea pigs in experiments. In California, for example, hundreds of women were given three-month injections of Depo-Provera.

The doctors did not tell the women that the drug might produce side effects such as nausea, irregular bleeding, and long-term sterility. In laboratory tests Depo-

Provera caused breast cancer in female dogs.

The only use for the drug approved by the Food and Drug Administration is treatment of a rare uterine cancer. Yet the FDA estimates that Depo-Provera is given to thousands of women for birth control.

What is so impossible about developing a birth-control method that is both safe and effective? A little more than a year ago one study reported that there are at least 230 promising research leads. It would require about \$360 million a year to develop them, said the report.

That should not pose a problem in this country. The CIA, after all, got funding for mind-control experiments and projects such as triggering a swine fever epidemic in Cuba. What about money for birth-control research?

There is a bit of money for that research, about \$96 million, in President Carter's proposed budget. How much will go toward making birth control more safe and how much will be devoted to making contraceptives more profitable?

At first \$96 million sounds like a lot. But compare it to other items in Carter's budget:

The B-1 bomber, a project that supposedly was scrapped, gets \$105.5 million in Carter's budget. That is almost \$10 million more than for birth-control research!

The \$96 million is one-fourth the cost over-run for one Trident submarine.

At the same time poor women are being denied funds for abortion, Jimmy "life is unfair" Carter is offering mere peanuts for birth-control research.

Decent birth control would save the health and lives of millions of women. It would be an historic accomplishment, giving women a tool for deciding their own futures.

The people ready to work on birth-control projects, the resources, and the know-how are all available. The only obstacle is a social system and government that put profits, and weapons to defend those profits, above the interests of women.

That is not only unfair. It's irresponsible.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Wounded Knee 1973



February 27 is the fifth anniversary of the American Indian Movement-backed occupation of Wounded Knee, a town on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. At first, it looked as if Washington planned to massacre the Indians. But a worldwide wave of sympathy for the protesters forced the government to reach a negotiated end to the occupation.

Today the same issues that led to the 1973 occupation—government violation of treaties and lack of Indian control over Indian affairs—are still sparking protests, as shown by “The Longest Walk,” a march from the West Coast to Washington, D.C., initiated by AIM.

Among those who went to Wounded Knee in 1973 to show solidarity was Andrew Pulley, then national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. In 1972, Pulley was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president of the United States. The following is excerpted from Pulley’s report in the April 1973 ‘Young Socialist.’

The recent events in Wounded Knee brought to the world’s attention the desperate plight of American Indians.

Provoked by the unbearable conditions on the Pine Ridge reservation, the Oglala Sioux put forward three major demands:

- That a full-scale Senate investigation be conducted of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the corrupt government agency that purports to represent Native Americans.
- That an investigation be conducted of the 389 treaties with Indian tribes that the U.S. government has broken.
- That the present BIA-controlled system of tribal government be abolished, and Indians be allowed to elect their own officials and set up their own form of government.

When the Oglala Sioux leadership declared themselves an independent, sovereign nation March 11, they were expressing both a burning desire to determine their own destiny and a complete distrust of the U.S. government.

Between 1778 and 1871, the years when the government was expanding westward, it contracted 389 treaties with Native Americans. Every single one of these treaties was broken.

More often than not, the government dispensed with the legal niceties and used violence and terror against the Indians. The massacre of almost 300 Indian men, women and children at Wounded Knee in 1890 is just one grisly chapter.

Several hundred years of systematic oppression has left the majority of Indians living in the U.S. today poverty-stricken and disenfranchised. Conditions on the Pine Ridge reservation, the second largest Native American reservation in the country, reflect this racist oppression. Pine Ridge’s two most abundant commodities are poverty and white-run churches.

Since it was formed in 1824, the BIA’s primary function has been to acquire Indian land for the government, by hook or by crook. Since the 1940s, the strategic aim of the government has been to move Indians off the reservations and into urban areas, and thus complete the task of decimating the Indian tribes and getting control of their land.

Until recently, Indian language, dancing and singing were outlawed on the reservation, and schoolchildren were severely punished for publicly displaying their cultural heritage.

In 1492, when Columbus found that Indians had long ago discovered America, estimates are that 1 to 12 million Native Americans lived on this land. By 1870, the triumph of capitalism over the Indian tribal-communal system was virtually complete, and there were only 250,000 Indians left. This genocide is one of the most shameful crimes in the sordid, criminal past of the U.S. government.

Capitalist politicians and their historians, liberals and conservatives alike, would prefer to leave the plight of the Indians resting in the graveyard of American history. But that is impermissible to the new generation of Native American fighters. Like their Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican brothers and sisters, they are asserting their national pride and demanding the right to control their own fate.

Letters

Panama Canal

I read your article about the U.S. speaking tour of Miguel Antonio Bernal in the February 10 *Militant*. [Bernal is a prominent socialist opponent of the Panamanian dictatorship of Gen. Omar Torrijos. He was deported by Torrijos in 1976. Bernal’s outspoken opposition to U.S. domination of the canal was clearly behind this action.]

In the article you state, “A third point of view—that of the Panamanian people—is also being heard all over the country. . . .” While we all wish that was the current viewpoint of the majority of Panamanians, unfortunately it is not. The polls show that the majority of Panamanians support the proposed treaties. So what you stated was incorrect and sloppy journalism, unless you suspect the elections were fraudulent.

These types of statements must be kept out of the *Militant*, and I think they have been with rare exception. A new reader could dismiss the paper and the party with the notice of one such inaccuracy.

My best to you and keep the otherwise good job up.

Paul Tierney
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

[In reply—That the vast majority of Panamanians want the United States out of their country is indisputable. The referendum vote in support of the treaties was obtained by Torrijos through misrepresentation of the treaties, the exile of opponents such as Bernal, and government control over the news media.

[Despite all these obstacles, opponents of the treaties won more than a third of the vote, according to Torrijos’s own count. He had predicted less than 10 percent. So Bernal’s tour—under the title “Panama for the Panamanians: Why the U.S. Should Unconditionally Give Up the Canal”—does most accurately reflect the view of the Panamanian people.]

Stop aid to Somoza

Amnesty International’s August 15, 1977, report on the human rights situation in Nicaragua says that Nicaraguan dictator Gen. Anastasio Somoza is continuing to use the American-trained National Guard to kill hundreds of persons. The document mentions that just between May 1975 and January 1977, 303 peasants have disappeared from northwest Nicaragua. Since then, many hundreds or thousands more have disappeared and been killed.

The U.S. government has

given Somoza millions of dollars that have come from American taxpayers. This money has been for protecting Somoza, for him to buy machine guns and bullets to kill more persons. The U.S. has just sent him 5,000 M-16 machine guns and is planning to send him more loans for “development projects.”

What can the American people do? If you are tired of seeing your money given to Somoza to kill people, demand that no more help be given to the repressive Somoza government.

Nicaraguan Student
Association
Texas

On Nicaragua

The most recent events in Nicaragua show that the Latin American masses are ready to challenge the rule of the Praetorian guards who are usurping power thanks to their imperialist godfathers.

The attitude of certain Latin American Communist parties is both a shame and a disgrace, since while forgetting that armed struggle is the only way out for most South American nations, they seek a peaceful coexistence with the ruling bourgeoisie in order to perpetuate their political game. It is not to those parties that Latin Americans must look in order to get guidance and political orientation, but to those who are willing to stake their lives for the cause they love, the cause of the proletariat and the peasantry.

A.A.
Belleville, New Jersey

More ‘reader’s notes’

George Breitman’s new column, “A Reader’s Notes,” is a joy to read.

I only hope that he will continue sharing his “notes” with all of us who continually learn from him.

Michael Smith
New York, New York.

‘A nuisance’

Some time ago I subscribed to your newspaper, and I found it informative about the American socialist viewpoint. It has, however, become a nuisance, and I would appreciate your cancellation of my subscription.

David Myers
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Positive action

It is time for all groups and organizations in America who want to change the present system of government in this country to unite and do so.

Whenever workers are on strike, give them your full

Learning About Socialism

Confused about the Middle East?

American working people have long been barraged by racist propaganda portraying Israel as a beacon of democracy and progress in a sea of Arab barbarism. Not surprisingly, the real causes of the conflict between the Arab masses and the Israeli state are not widely understood in the United States.

However, the revolutionary socialist movement has published a variety of literature exposing imperialist and Zionist claims and telling the truth about the Middle East. This literature is available from Pathfinder Press (410 West Street, New York, New York 10014), or from Pathfinder bookstores listed in the directory below.

One of the titles available is by *Militant* staff writer Peter Seidman. Seidman's pamphlet, *Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism* (\$.60), answers the Zionist slander that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism, explains why socialists defend the rights of the Palestinian people, and describes the record of the Socialist Workers Party in opposing anti-Semitism.

Seidman documents the refusal of the major Zionist and liberal Jewish organizations in the United States to demand that Washington open the doors to the refugees from Hitler's terror. These groups put their support to the Roosevelt administration and their desire to see Jews emigrate to Palestine—as opposed to anywhere else—before the life-and-death needs of the Jews trying to flee the Nazi scourge.

A historical overview of the origins of Zionist state is provided by Maxime Rodinson, one of the world's foremost experts on Arab history, in *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?* (\$2.45).

Rodinson shows how the Zionist movement courted imperialist support for setting up a Jewish state in a land occupied by another people. He demonstrates that Zionism was a colonial movement in its origin, its ideology, and its practice.

Israel and the Arab Revolution: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism, by Gus Horowitz (\$1.00), is a collection of resolutions, articles, and speeches that is particularly valuable. Included is *Israel and the Arab Revolution*, a resolution adopted by the Socialist Workers Party in 1971. The resolution explains why socialists support the demand of the Palestinian liberation movement for a democratic sec-

ular Palestine, in which Arabs and Jews could live together on an equal basis.

The resolution points out that although the Palestinian struggle arises from the denial of the democratic right of the Palestinians to self-determination, the struggle cannot be *limited* to democratic demands such as the call for a democratic secular Palestine.

Inevitably, the struggle against the Zionist state and its imperialist backers brings the Palestinians—and the Arab masses as a whole—into conflict with the Arab rulers. This means that the struggle for a democratic secular Palestine and for liberation of the Arab peoples from imperialist domination poses the need for a socialist revolution.

Today, the Palestinians are under great pressure to declare their recognition of the Israeli state and moderate their struggle against oppression. In return, they are offered the hope that the Israeli regime might allow some type of vaguely defined Palestinian entity to be established on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip.

Such "peace" proposals are no better than the plan of the South African government to crowd Blacks into formally independent Bantustans while maintaining a white-ruled racist state in the rest of the country.

Zionists with left-wing pretensions try to sell such a "solution" by raising the idea that both the Israeli Jew and the Palestinians have the right to self-determination—that is, to a state of their own in Palestine. But revolutionists, as Horowitz explains, support the struggles of *oppressed* nationalities for self-determination, not the demands of the oppressors. The demand for "self-determination" for the Israeli Jews, an oppressor nationality in Palestine, violates the right of self-determination of the oppressed Palestinians, who seek a united Palestine.

A debate on this question between *Militant* staff writer David Frankel and Tom Foley, a writer for the Communist Party's *Daily World*, is contained in *Self-Determination in the Mideast* (\$.60). The exchange between Fankel and Foley is quite revealing about Stalinist policy and arguments. Although Foley polemicized against Frankel, his real target was the Palestinians who refuse to recognize Israel. Their struggle is seen by the Soviet bureaucracy—and therefore by the American Stalinists—as an obstacle to détente with imperialism.

—Fred Feldman

support, regardless of what the sacrifice may be to you. The workers are sacrificing many things themselves by the strike. Join the picket lines. Refuse to buy certain products.

Join prison reform groups and court reform groups to force the bringing about of humane treatment and justice in these now totally foul systems. When it comes to a higher salary, most police officers care nothing about arresting innocent people.

Join abortion groups. If a woman does not have a right to an abortion, then the political system under which she lives has no right to exist.

Join welfare groups that are truly aimed at helping the poor.

If you want positive action, you will have to take positive action. Otherwise, you will continue getting nothing.

*A prisoner
New York*

New column wins praise

Congratulations on your new column, "Learning About Socialism." One of my criticisms of your paper has been that although you explain how the struggles today show the need for a workers party and government, you had little on what a socialist society would be as Marx foresaw. I hope your new column will make your paper more complete.

*Dennis Marsella
Miami, Florida*

Joy & inspiration

Even though my financial situation is very shaky, to say the least, I can't think of a worthier cause than to contribute in my little way to the fight you carry on for all working people.

Your dedicated and uncompromising views are a joy to the eyes and an inspiration to the heart.

*Jose Kopka
Chicago, Illinois*

From a steelworker

As an activist in the Steelworkers union, I look forward to your coverage of rank-and-file movements and labor affairs generally.

*John Del Vecchio
Bridgeport, Connecticut*

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

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 973 Page St. Zip: 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 916 Broadway. Zip: 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, Box 431096, South Miami. Zip: 33143. Tel: (305) 266-4381. Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Linda Thalman, 1303 Ocala Rd. #140. Zip: 32304. Tel: (904) 576-5737.

GEORGIA: East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 17821. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 688-6739. West Atlanta: SWP, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040. Zip: 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, North Side: SWP, 1870 N. Halsted. Zip: 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811. Chicago, South Side: SWP, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 10 N. Cicero. Zip: 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 233-1270. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621. Boston, Fenway-South End: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620. Roxbury: SWP, 612 Blue Hill Ave. Zip: 02121. Tel: (617) 288-0753.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave. Zip: 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160. Detroit, West Side: SWP, 18415 Wyoming. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436. Detroit: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Grand Rapids: YSA, 1423 Milton SE. Zip: 49506. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 176 Western Ave. North Zip: 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Albany: SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 220-222 Utica Ave. Zip: 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200½ W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731. New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 60-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 861-4166. Columbus:

YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 3928 N. Williams. Zip: 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

PENNSYLVANIA: Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, Germantown: SWP, 5950 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 844-2874. Philadelphia, West Philadelphia: SWP, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Philadelphia: City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Bob Hill, 733 W. College Ave. #2. Zip: 16801.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station. Zip: 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston, Northeast: SWP, YSA, 2835 Laura Koppe. Zip: 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543. Houston, East End: SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza). Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1317 Castrovilla Rd. Zip: 78237. Tel: (512) 432-7625.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Adams-Morgan: SWP, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7706. Washington, D.C., Georgia Avenue: SWP, 700½ Barry Pl. NW. Zip: 20001. Tel: (202) 265-7708. Washington, D.C.: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99201. Tel: (509) 326-2468. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Protest Davis Cup March 18

Time and place set for Nashville march

By Jerry Hornsby

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—“Hell, it’s just a tennis match,” claimed Joe Davis of Davis Coals, Inc., the new financial backer for the Davis Cup tennis tournament. Davis told Nashville newspapers he “wonder what all the fuss’s about.”

The “fuss” is the growing national protest against the U.S.-South Africa tennis match scheduled for March 17-19 at Vanderbilt University here. The protests have already convinced the former financial underwriter of the tournament, NLT Corporation, to withdraw its support.

Far from being “just a tennis match,” the Davis Cup tournament is an act of complicity with South Africa’s racist regime.

March 18 plans

Plans for a mass demonstration backed by the NAACP and other national and local groups are taking shape. On March 18, protesters from around the country will gather at 11 a.m. at the Legislative Plaza at the state capitol and march to Pavilion Park, across from Vanderbilt University, for a rally.

The NAACP national office told the *Militant* that it is sending several representatives to help organize the march and rally.

Apartheid foes also plan protests on March 17 and 19.

On March 17, students from the predominantly Black campuses of Tennessee State University, Fisk University, and Meharry Medical College will

march from North Nashville to the VU campus. Along the way, students from Peabody College, Scarritt College, and VU will join the march.

The student committee of the Tennessee Coalition Against Apartheid (TCAA) is asking VU students to boycott classes on March 17 to protest the school’s hosting of the tournament and the apartheid system of racial separation and oppression in South Africa.

On March 19, church-mobilized groups are also going to protest.

Daily pickets

Vanderbilt University has faced daily protests against its refusal to withdraw as host of the event.

- Since February 14 protesters organized by members of VU’s Divinity School and Graduate Department of Religion have picketed for two hours daily at the offices of VU Chancellor Alexander Heard and President Emmett Fields.

- Two local clergy groups have announced plans for a joint demonstration. The Interdenominational Ministers Fellowship, representing about 250 churches, and the Nashville Association of Rabbis, Priests, and Ministers will march to VU campus on March 1.

- The TCAA has issued a call for a demonstration on March 7 when the VU trustees meet on campus.

- Dr. Lloyd Elam, president of Meharry Medical College, announced that the Conference on International Sports, Politics, Racism and Apartheid, originally scheduled to meet March 10-12 at Northwestern University in Chicago, has accepted his



school’s invitation to convene in Nashville.

Meharry extended the invitation specifically to protest the Davis Cup matches. Dennis Brutus, the conference chairperson, is a Black South African in exile.

Sports & politics?

- Black South African liberation fighter Trofomo Sono was in Nashville for three days to speak against apartheid. The former Soweto student leader spoke to some 200 students at VU, an estimated 150 at Tennessee State University and Fisk, and more than 100 at Meharry.

Speaking on a radio call-in program, Sono answered a critic who objected that sports has nothing to do with po-

litics. “If the usage of the same toilet is linked with politics,” Sono said, “why can’t sports be linked with politics?”

- Richard Lapchick, national chairperson of ACCESS [American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society] has announced plans to return to Nashville and campaign against the matches.

On February 14 Lapchick was brutally beaten by racists in his office at Virginia Wesleyan College. Speaking from his hospital bed in Virginia Lapchick said the attack “will only intensify my plans.”

- James Harris, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, went to Nashville to lend support to the protests.

U.S. banks sneak funds to South Africa

By Omari Musa

The generosity of U.S. banks in making cash and credit available to the apartheid regime in South Africa has come under increasing fire from antiapartheid activists.

Lately these banks have sought to maintain a lower profile to deflect this growing criticism.

But loans and credits from private commercial banks is not the only way the U.S. government and its imperialist allies can help finance the South African regime. This was graphically revealed in an article by Ann Crittenden that appeared in the February 9 *New York Times* business section.

“At a time when American commercial banks are increasingly hesitant about expanding their financing in South Africa,” Crittenden wrote, “the United States Government—through its Export-Import Bank and through

the International Monetary Fund—continues to foster such exposure.”

The IMF is an international financial consortium controlled by the major capitalist countries.

The Export-Import Bank is a U.S. government agency established “to encourage American exports through insurance, loan guarantees and the like.”

Compared to the increase in IMF credits to South Africa, the supposed fall in outstanding loans from commercial U.S. banks is a drop in the bucket. (In the first six months of last year, outstanding loans from U.S. banks fell from \$2.24 billion to \$2.20 billion—a whopping 1.8 percent!) Crittenden reports that in 1976 the IMF “approved a record \$366 million for South Africa and another \$98 million was approved in 1977, as a stand-by credit authorized in 1976 was drawn down.”

Only Mexico and Britain received more than South Africa during those two years.

Crittenden also points out that these record loans to the apartheid regime are “more than the amount all of the countries in black Africa received from the International Monetary Fund in the same two years. . . .”

According to Crittenden, Thomas Leddy, a U.S. representative to the IMF, commented, “While the World Bank has human rights amendments, the I.M.F. doesn’t. Our purpose,” he continued, “is to sustain the world monetary system, which is vital to the existence of the United States, and we are not about to upset that system.”

The U.S. government-controlled Export-Import Bank is also doing its bit to keep the South African racists afloat. Its short term insurance [for 180

days or less] on trade credits extended by U.S. banks rose between 1973 and 1977 from \$26 million to \$86 million.

During Carter’s first year in office the Export-Import Bank “authorized an estimated \$125 million in loan guarantees and insurance for export sales” to South Africa.

Export-Import Bank Chairman and President John Moore, Jr., is supposedly under orders from Carter to limit authorization of new loans to South Africa. According to Crittenden, “restrictive policies” have caused a decline in total Export-Import Bank authorizations. But \$200 million of Export-Import Bank aid remains outstanding.

Crittenden also reports that “as of the end of June 1977, United States banks accounted for 32 percent of the \$6.8 billion in international credits to South Africa.”