

# THE MILITANT

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

## Israel unleashes terror in Lebanon

### Carter gives green light to invasion

By David Frankel

Striking on a forty-mile front, the Israeli army invaded Lebanon March 14. Preceded by artillery barrages and air strikes, at least 10,000 Israeli troops, led by columns of tanks, crossed the Lebanese border. Others landed by sea on the Lebanese coast.

The massive terror assault was unleashed with the knowledge of the U.S. government. An Israeli official in Washington told the *New York Post* that there "was a communication" between Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and President Carter be-

fore the attack began.

With 30,000 Syrian troops stationed in Lebanon, the Israeli blitzkrieg immediately poses the threat of a general Middle East war. During the last such war, in October 1973, Washington put all U.S. forces on worldwide nuclear alert. Any new war in the Mideast once again raises the danger of nuclear annihilation.

At the same time, the Israeli invasion is a giant step toward the permanent seizure of Lebanese territory by the Zionist state. Lebanon is the only Arab country bordering Israel that has not

yet lost territory to its expansionist neighbor, but there are strong indications that this state of affairs will not last for long.

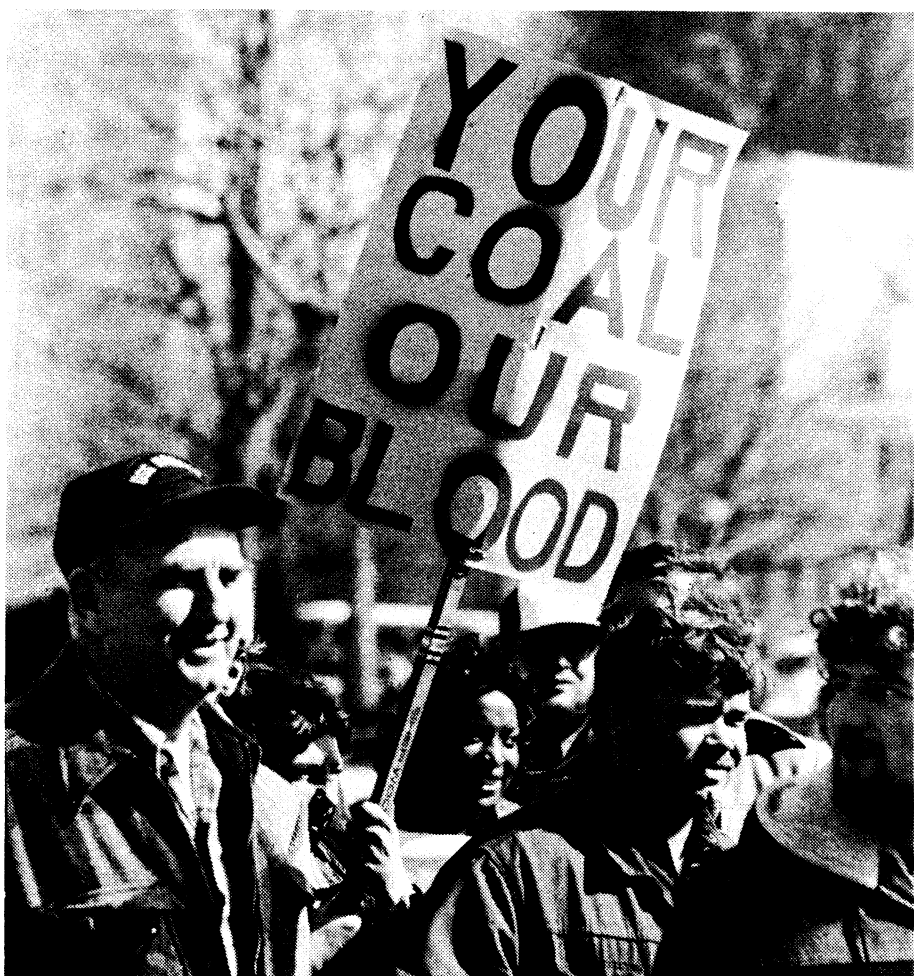
The pretext for Israel's invasion was the March 11 Palestinian guerrilla attack that killed thirty-four Israelis along the Haifa-Tel Aviv road. Begin seized this as an opportunity to launch a campaign of terror against the Palestinians.

The Israeli high command described its attack on Lebanon as "a purifying operation," claiming: "The Israel De-

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## Miners weigh new offer

### Taft-Hartley backfires: mass defiance, groundswell of working-class solidarity



WASHINGTON, March 15—Miners demonstrate against Taft-Hartley 'slave labor' injunction. See story, page 5.

Militant/Nancy Cole

## Militant launches nat'l spring sales campaign

By Nelson Blackstock

The focal point of American politics today is the coal miners' strike.

Only in the *Militant* can you find the full meaning of this event: both a truthful account of what the miners are fighting for and the implications for every working person in this country.

Beginning with this issue, the Socialist Workers Party is initiating a national campaign to greatly expand sales of the *Militant*.

The object of the drive today is to get the story of the coal miners' strike into the hands of tens of thousands of working people.

The decision to launch the sales campaign came at a recent meeting of the SWP National Committee. (See story on page 16.)

The drive will combine sales of both the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language bi-

weekly socialist news magazine.

The campaign is a response to the coal miners' strike, the most significant confrontation between the capitalist class and the working class since the strike wave following World War II.

But the miners' strike itself reflects a general shift taking place in the mood of the working class.

A new and radicalizing generation of young workers is on the scene.

In coming months many more SWP members will be getting jobs in basic industry. They will meet more young workers, introduce them to socialism, and recruit them to the SWP. The *Militant* will play a big role in this.

In recent months we have seen ample evidence of the receptivity of workers to the *Militant*.

The *Militant* prides itself on

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## Israeli state: the real terrorist

Once again the Zionist state has struck against its neighbors in the name of "self-defense." Using the pretext of an attack by Palestinian guerrillas March 11, the Zionist regime has invaded Lebanon.

It can be safely predicted that the capitalist media, which were filled with accounts of the Palestinian raid and its victims, will have little to say about the carnage inflicted on innocent people in Lebanon by the invading Israeli army.

Meanwhile, Zionist officials have been exploiting the reaction against the killing of Israeli civilians to the hilt.

In a particularly cynical display, Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, referring to his government's refusal to withdraw from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, said that the latest Palestinian attack "shows the security problem which Israel has in having unfriendly territories near to us."

Another Israeli official asked, "Is this why the world wants us to turn over the West Bank to the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization]?"

But the attempts of the Zionist regime to portray itself as the victim in the Middle East are utterly hypocritical. To begin with, the Israeli government is responsible for indiscriminate slaughter on a scale that has never been approached by Palestinian guerrilla actions.

For example, when the United Nations Security Council voted in November 1975 to invite a PLO representative to its debate on the Middle East, the Israeli government responded by unleashing its warplanes over Lebanon. Seventy-five died and 160 were wounded so that the Zionist regime could emphasize its refusal to take part in debates or negotiations with the PLO.

There are dozens of such examples. Since 1967, a total of 271 Israeli civilians have been killed in raids by Palestinian guerrillas. To say that at least ten times that number of

Arab civilians have been killed in Israeli terror raids would be an extremely conservative estimate.

In fact, massive Zionist terror against the entire Palestinian nation is the origin of the current conflict. The Zionist settlers came to Palestine with the express purpose of establishing an exclusive Jewish state. In order to achieve that goal, they forcibly expropriated the land and property of the Arab majority and expelled the Palestinian people from their homeland.

During the thirty years of its existence, the Israeli state has constantly expanded its borders at the expense of the surrounding Arab countries—a process that continues to this day.

The 1.5 million Palestinians living under Israeli rule are subjected to racist discrimination in every aspect of life, from health care and employment to education and housing. To give only one example, while only 1.5 percent of Israeli Jews live four or more persons in one room, 25 percent of Palestinians live in such conditions.

This racist oppression is backed 100 percent by the U.S. ruling class, which correctly sees Israel as its prime bastion of defense in the Middle East against the struggles of the Arab masses.

In contrast to the racist ideology of Zionism, the Palestinian liberation movement calls for a democratic, secular Palestine—for a country in which both Arabs and Jews could live together with equal rights. Socialists support the struggle of the oppressed Palestinians unconditionally.

But the tactics adopted by the PLO leadership cannot achieve this goal. Palestinian leaders, including PLO head Yassir Arafat, defended the terrorist action in which thirty-four Israelis and nine Palestinians died on March 11 as a "big success."

The truth is that this action played right into the hands of the Israeli government. It harmed the struggle for Palestinian rights.

To begin with, the March 11 attack freed the hands of the Begin regime to carry out a slaughter of Palestinians in Lebanon with

little fear of adverse reaction from public opinion around the world.

Acts of individual terrorism such as those carried out March 11 hinder the mobilization of the Palestinian masses, who are relegated to the role of spectators. Yet the power of the Palestinian masses, together with the Arab masses as a whole, is the only force that can ultimately defeat the Zionist state and win the rights of the Palestinian people.

Any attempt to substitute the actions of a handful for the mobilization of the masses can only lead to a dead end. But that was precisely what was involved in the March 11 action.

In this regard, it was significant that the March 11 attack won praise from reactionary Arab governments such as those of Saudi Arabia and Jordan. These regimes have repeatedly proved their opposition to the Palestinian movement and to the mobilization of the masses.

At the same time that they cut across the task of drawing the masses into action, terrorist operations help win sympathy for the Israeli state, especially when children are among the victims.

Random attacks on the population only make it easier for the Zionist propaganda machine to distort the truth and to paint the Palestinian liberation movement as the source of violence in the Middle East.

It is certainly clear that the March 11 action undercut the support for the Palestinian cause that has been growing among the American population in the last few years.

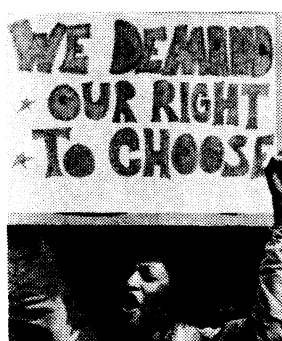
Supporters of the Palestinian struggle must speak out more clearly than ever to counter the massive Zionist propaganda campaign that has been mounted over the past week. The real issue in the Middle East is not individual terrorism, but rather the massive, systematic terrorism of the Zionist regime against whole peoples and countries.

We in this country have a special responsibility because it is the U.S. government that makes it possible for the Zionist regime to carry out its terror raids. We must demand an immediate end to all U.S. aid to Israel and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon.

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### 'New stage of politics'

Socialist Workers Party leaders met last month and voted to get the majority of party members into industrial jobs in response to growing opportunities to talk socialism with co-workers. **Page 16.**



### International Women's Day

Thousands attend demonstrations, teach-ins, and rallies for women's rights. . . . National Organization for Women sets emergency campaign for ERA. **Pages 4, 14.**



### Newark's Mayor Gibson

What has Black Democrat Kenneth Gibson done to solve Newark's city crisis in his eight years as mayor? Tony Austin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, looks at Gibson's record. **Page 12.**

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# Grigorenko protests USSR exile decree

By Peter Seidman

NEW YORK—Dissident leader Pyotr Grigorenko, at a news conference March 13, denounced as "illegal" the Kremlin's decree stripping him of his Soviet citizenship. The former major-general in the Red Army demanded the right to return to his homeland where "in an open court, I may prove my complete innocence."

Three days earlier, authorities in Moscow had made public a decree, approved secretly on February 13, that forced Grigorenko into exile and stripped him of his pension.

Grigorenko was charged with "behavior [that] damages the prestige of the U.S.S.R."

Grigorenko, 70, had been in the United States since November. He, his wife Zinaida, and stepson Oleg have been here on a six-month visa granted so that Grigorenko might undergo an operation near his son, Andrei, who lives in New York.

Upon arriving in the United States, Grigorenko explained that because he intended to return to the USSR he would refrain from any activities while here that might jeopardize these plans.

"I have completely and honestly carried out this promise," Grigorenko said March 13. "This was difficult for me to do, because so many of my friends are arbitrarily imprisoned in the USSR. I should have spoken about them."

Grigorenko distributed copies of an appeal he has made to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

In it he explains, "I am a person who

has served his homeland for 21 years by performing physical labor at various collective farms and industry. After that I spent 33 years in the army. I took part in two wars and have twice spilled my blood. I have received five decorations and seven medals and was honored by being promoted to the rank of general and by being given learned degrees."

But, Grigorenko protested, because he has been willing to sacrifice to defend democratic rights in the USSR as well as to defend his country militarily, "the Soviet Government is continuing its illegal acts against me."

These illegal acts began in 1961. Shortly after criticizing then-Premier Khrushchev, Grigorenko was dismissed from his post as head of the Department of Military Cybernetics at the Frunze Military Academy.

He was first arrested in 1964 after having founded the Union of Struggle for the Revival of Leninism. This group publicized various human rights violations. Grigorenko was never put on trial for this "crime." Instead, he was committed to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry for fifteen months, demoted to the rank of private with a corresponding reduction of his pension, and expelled from the Communist Party.

Following his release, Grigorenko resumed his human rights activity. He was rearrested in May 1969 and again committed to an asylum, this time for five years. A commission of psychiatric "experts" claimed Grigorenko was suffering from "reformist illusions."



Militant/Peter Seidman

Leading Soviet dissident Pyotr Grigorenko with son Andrei and wife Zinaida at New York news conference.

But an international campaign against this frame-up finally won his release.

Grigorenko soon sprang back into action, helping to form the Helsinki monitoring groups in Moscow and Kiev in 1976. In his news conference, Grigorenko made it clear that the Kremlin would not be able to get rid of him "quietly." Speaking of the decree depriving him of his citizenship, Grigorenko declared:

"I do not recognize the current Soviet leadership . . . to have such a right. . . . I ask the heads of state who

have signed the Helsinki agreement . . . all honest people in the world, particularly my fellow countrymen, to protest.

"I demand the right for me to return to my homeland, in order that there, in an open court, I may prove my complete innocence."

The New York Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners is organizing a picket line at 11 a.m. on March 25 at the United Nations to back up Grigorenko's demands. For more information call (212) 850-1315.

## Another blow to FBI secrecy in socialist lawsuit

By Diane Wang

The U.S. Court of Appeals has again upheld federal Judge Thomas Griesa's decision to make eighteen FBI informer files available to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance for their lawsuit against government harassment.

Griesa ordered the FBI to produce the evidence last May 31. The FBI unsuccessfully appealed his ruling. Rather than comply, on November 16 the FBI asked the court of appeals to reconsider the case. On March 9 that request was also turned down.

At stake is the Justice Department's determination to protect "informer privilege" and maintain the secrecy of its illegal operations against democratic rights.

While the second appeal was pending, government lawyers said there was a "strong possibility" that the FBI would refuse to turn over the files even if the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the agency to do so. (See *New York Times* editorial below.)

At a March 10 hearing Judge Griesa said he "could not countenance any further delay." As reported in the *New York Daily News*:

"An angry federal judge yesterday castigated the FBI for not being 'straightforward' and ordered the bureau to turn over to attorneys of the Socialist Workers Party by 5 p.m. the next Friday the files containing confidential reports by 18 informants. . . .

### Fencing With the Rule of Law

In a suit charging invasion of privacy, the Socialist Workers Party has raised questions about the Federal Government's devotion to the rule of law in the past. Now, equivocation by the Department of Justice about obeying court orders in the case raises unsettling questions about the Government's devotion to law in the present.

The department has been ordered by Judge Thomas Griesa of the Federal District Court in New York to produce files on F.B.I. informants who infiltrated and harassed the party over four decades. The Justice Department, anxious to protect the principle of shielding the identity of informants, has, understandably, sought to appeal. But in a recent hearing, a Government lawyer sounded an ominous note. "I don't mean to suggest," he said, "that even if appellate review were completed and the Supreme Court ordered the disclosure of certain files, that the Government would comply with the disclosure order rather than accept sanctions."

By "sanctions" he apparently meant that rather than expose the informers, the Government might disregard the order and suffer the customary consequences, including a default judgment on the entire lawsuit. But another sanction available is imprisonment for contempt, and Judge Griesa warned that he is seriously considering it.

All this might be dismissed as conventional legal sparring. But here, it is an unartful dodge, in a suit that

March 12 editorial in 'New York Times'

already has established that law-abiding Americans have been systematically wiretapped, burglarized and spied on because of their political beliefs. The files disclose extensive reports on party members' life styles but no unlawful or subversive activity. Many of the informants are, in fact, quite willing to be identified. In any event, they are now inactive and their anonymity can hardly be important. Giving due regard to the department's desire to protect informants generally, surely some sensible distinction can be drawn between these fruitless political intrusions and legitimate undercover activity.

This is not a criminal case in which the Government would be forced to choose between exposing an informant as a witness and abandoning prosecution. It is a civil case in which the plaintiffs risk being deprived of the right to prove the damages they claim.

Attorney General Griffin Bell so far has been only partly reassuring. "It is the policy of this Department of Justice to obey court orders," he said recently. "Any proposal to deviate from the policy of obeying court orders should have my personal attention." We hope Mr. Bell does indeed review the matter with care and get a grip on policy. He should ponder the spectacle of Federal officials in contempt of court. Many in Washington complain that "archeology," digging into past abuses, impedes their current work. But their most important work is to uphold the law, not to fence with it.

"The judge took the unusual step of 'respectfully requesting' that neither the U.S. Court of Appeals nor the Supreme Court grant any government

request for a stay of his order."

Government lawyers applied for such a stay of Griesa's order on March 13.

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# Thousands join women's rallies in Boston, S.F.

By Ellen Bobroff

BOSTON—More than 1,200 supporters of women's rights demonstrated here on March 11 to celebrate International Women's Day.

The day's march, workshops, and social events were initiated by the Abortion Action Coalition and planned by more than twelve local women's groups. These included the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse, and Casa Myrna de Vazquez, a shelter for battered women in the Hispanic community.

Speeches and fliers sounded the alarm about the current danger posed to affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion, and lesbian rights.

Black and Latina women were among the most enthusiastic participants in the demonstration.

\* \* \*

About 1,200 women also gathered in San Francisco on March 11 for a "Day in the Park for Women's Rights."

One highlight of the rally was the greeting brought by Terry Frye from the United Mine Workers of America. Frye won a warm response

when he compared the struggle of striking miners with that of women. Both, Frye said, are fighting for the "cause of the common people."

Other speakers included Harry Edwards, a Black sociology professor at the University of California at Berkeley, and Dr. Josette Mondanaro, who recently won back her job as director of a California social agency. Governor Brown had fired Mondanaro because she is a lesbian.

Acting Mayor Carol Ruth Silver had declared March 11 "Women's Rights Day." The day's action was sponsored by NOW and endorsed by more than thirty-five women's and community groups.

In Chicago more than 300 women attended "An Afternoon for Women's Rights" on March 4, according to *Militant* correspondent Suzanne Haig.

Addie Wyatt, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, pointed out that "women, Blacks, and minorities, who have the gravest need, are getting the gravest setbacks."

Rev. Willie Barrow of Operation PUSH hit the Bakke case and called for affirmative-action quotas "to rectify injustice, segregation, and degradation of human rights."

Roberta Wood, cochair of District 31 Steelworkers

Union Women's Caucus, spoke on the plight of women workers, who are denied maternity benefits, given the worst jobs, and fired during their probation periods.

"We must go on the offensive and not wait for attacks to whittle our rights away," said Wood.

Other speakers and workshops discussed actions, including an April 29 demonstration for the ERA.

New York City saw a rally of about 250 women on March 8, sponsored by a coalition of women's groups. Anne Florante, president of the New York Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, opened the meeting by declaring it a tribute to the women of the embattled United Mine Workers union. Speakers included Bella Abzug, Noreen Connell of NOW, and Eleanor Baily of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Meetings in Minneapolis on March 8 and Detroit on March 11 heard representatives of the Brookside Women's Club from Harlan County, Kentucky, speak on the coal miners' strike.

Other women's actions drew 250 in San Diego on March 8; 600 in Madison, Wisconsin; 60 at the University of Kentucky in Lexington on March 8; and 150 in Detroit on March 12.

## ...Israel unleashes terror in Lebanon

Continued from front page

fense Forces do not intend to harm the population, the Lebanese army or the Pan-Arab [Syrian] force, but rather the terrorists and their helpers. . . ."

It insisted that "the goal of the operation is to root out the bases of the terrorists. . . ."

### The real target

But the truth is that what the Zionist command calls "terrorist bases" are villages and refugee camps housing tens of thousands of people. Zehdi Labib Terzi, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) representative at the United Nations, warned in reply to Israeli statements that the aim of the invasion was to destroy the PLO:

"They can't destroy the PLO unless they eliminate the entire Palestinian population. It would be another genocide."

Terzi's warning cannot be lightly dismissed in view of the Israeli regime's record. Last November, for example, Israeli warplanes wiped out two farming villages in Lebanon, killing more than 110 people.

That raid was justified by Israeli officials as a retaliation for the death of three Israelis in a rocket attack. Israeli Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur insisted that the raids were "very purely against terrorist bases," and that "we did not hit any civilian places."

In that instance, eyewitness accounts by reporters refuted the lies of the Zionist regime. But the November raids were no exception. For years the Israeli state has responded to acts of individual terrorism with the doctrine of collective punishment.

Just as white settlers in the American West often responded to isolated incidents by massacring an Indian village, and just as Nazi occupation forces held entire towns responsible for acts of resistance, the Israeli regime has regularly murdered hundreds of Arab men, women, and children who had nothing to do with any terrorist action.

There is no reason to believe that the current Zionist attack in Lebanon will be any different, despite promises by the Israeli regime that its ground troops will kill more selectively than air and naval strikes. One Israeli soldier explained how he dealt with the Arabs he encountered when Israeli forces invaded Lebanon in January

1975. He told *Time* magazine reporter Daniel Droot:

"If they can get their hands up faster than I can pull the trigger, then I'll take them prisoner."

### Green light from Carter

During the three days between the March 11 guerrilla raid and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, it became clear that Carter was giving a green light to Begin. The White House pointedly declined to make any statement opposing the military actions Begin threatened.

A U.S. Embassy official in Tel Aviv told reporters, "I won't say we had advance knowledge of this, but we have been consulting constantly with the Israelis."

The editors of the *New York Times* gave Begin a blank check. "Inevitably, the Israelis will respond with force against the terrorist havens in Lebanon," they said March 14. Calling for "understanding for that impulse" from the rest of the world, the *Times* editors added that the world "owes the Israelis an honest sympathy and partnership in measures to punish terrorism on every front."

Also giving Begin a helping hand was Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat. At the height of the hysterical campaign designed to prepare the way for the invasion, Sadat joined in with his own denunciation of the PLO.

Sadat, of course, will now issue statements deploring the Israeli move—something that even Carter might do.

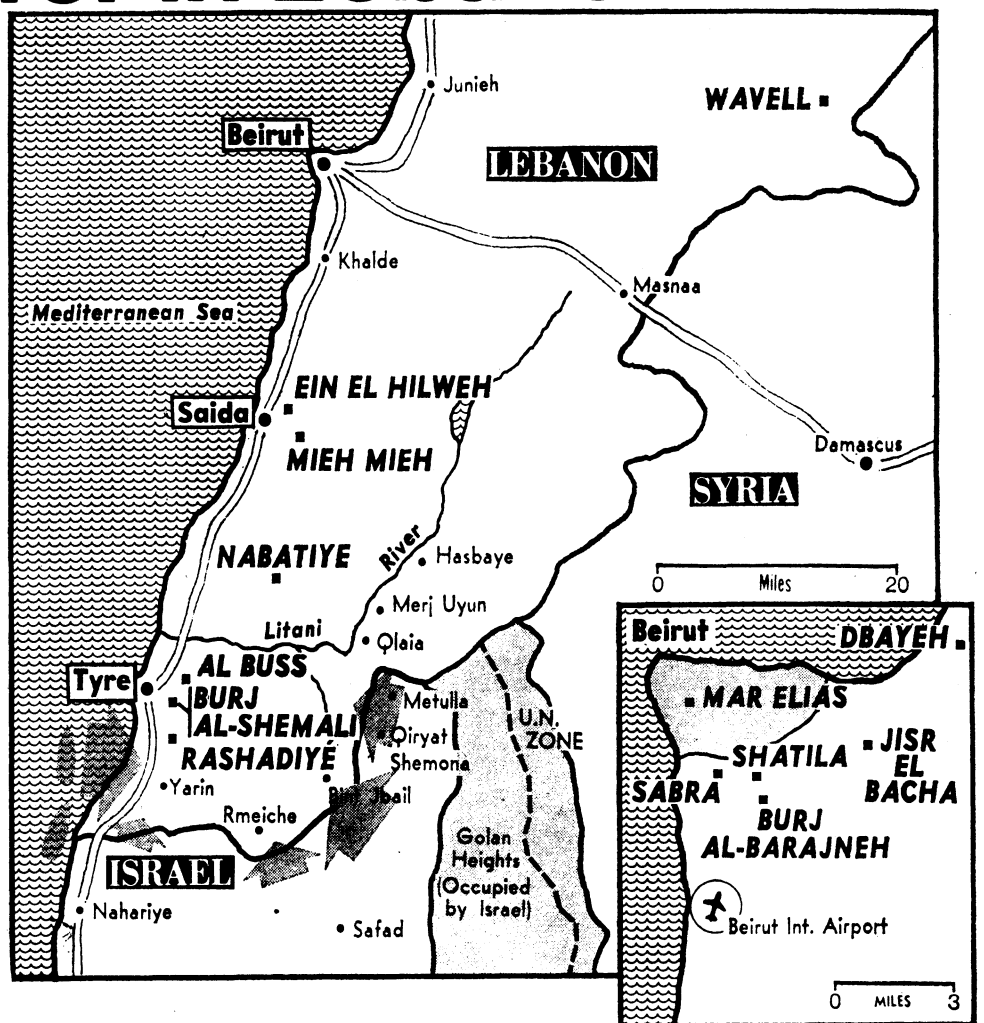
But it was Sadat's misnamed "peace" initiative that helped free the hands of the Israeli regime for its invasion of Lebanon. Begin felt confident that there would be no military threat from Egypt.

As was pointed out in an article on Sadat's diplomacy in the December 23 *Militant*, "a deal with Sadat would greatly strengthen Israel's already dominant military position, and encourage the Zionist rulers to engage in adventures in Lebanon and against Syria. In the long run, it would make war more likely."

### Israeli objectives

Even after launching their terror raid, Israeli officials made it clear that the invasion of Lebanon is no obstacle to continuing "peace" talks with Sadat.

Speaking at a news conference in Tel Aviv March 15, the Israeli chief of staff said that the Begin regime



New York Post/Dennis Wickman

Arrows show Israeli invasion of Lebanon March 14, targeting Palestinian population. Palestinian refugee camps are printed in capital letters.

planned to maintain control of a five-mile-deep strip of Lebanese territory along the length of the border.

Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman told reporters that his forces "will continue to clear the area for as long as we find it necessary."

Although the Zionist government is attempting to present its invasion of Lebanon as a response to specific acts of terrorism, the truth is that there is nothing new about what the Begin regime is doing.

The policy of grabbing territory and driving the inhabitants off their land is as old as Zionism. That was how the state of Israel was established in the first place, that is what the Zionist regime has been doing for the past ten years in the territories seized in the June 1967 Middle East war. And that is what Begin now hopes to do in southern Lebanon.

How far does Begin plan to go? And what about the 30,000 Syrian troops stationed in Lebanon?

Weizman handled these questions by saying, "I do hope that Syria will understand that this is a limited action in southern Lebanon."

But even as Weizman was speaking, Israeli forces were pushing well beyond the five-mile limit declared by Gur. The truth is that the Middle East, and with it the entire world, is teetering on the brink of an all-out war.

As the main supplier of money and arms to the Israeli colonial-settler state, the U.S. government has a direct responsibility for the new war threat in the Middle East. All supporters of Palestinian rights should demand that the Carter administration immediately halt U.S. aid to Israel, and that Israeli troops get out of Lebanon.



## Employers begin to retreat

# How Carter's strikebreaking backfired

By Andy Rose

MARCH 15—With the contract offer approved late today by the United Mine Workers Bargaining Council, the coal industry hopes to salvage at least the "principles" of the union-busting straitjacket it has been trying to impose on the miners throughout the 100-day-old strike.

But powerful resistance from the ranks of the UMWA—backed by solidarity from workers across the country—has blunted the employer offensive and even forced the operators to retreat on some points.

For weeks the coal bosses and the Carter administration have used every trick and threat at their command—from blaming the strikers for mass layoffs to ordering them back under Taft-Hartley—to bust up the solidarity of the miners and to pit other working people against them.

In the days before the new contract offer was handed down, it became clear that every one of these strike-breaking efforts had failed.

No more than a handful of the 160,000 striking UMWA members returned to work under Carter's Taft-Hartley order. And the government's heavy-handed tactics provoked a massive groundswell of working-class support for the embattled miners.

Now the coal operators have "sweetened" their offer by dropping a number of the worst provisions they had tried to push through in two earlier contract proposals—both resoundingly repudiated by the miners.

### Rank-and-file vote

The new offer still fails to meet the miners' key demands—full restoration of health benefits, equalization of pensions for all retirees, and the right to strike to enforce safe working conditions.

The bosses hope, however, that the miners—after three and a half months without a paycheck and with the Taft-Hartley injunction still hanging over them—will rate the pact as the best they can get and vote to approve it.

The close vote by the UMWA Bargaining Council—twenty-two to seventeen for approving the pact—indicates strong doubts among district union officials that these terms can be sold to the membership.

The UMWA's democratic procedure for rank-and-file ratification of contracts remains a big obstacle to the plans of the coal operators and the

At 'Militant' press time, the exact terms of the new coal contract offer have not yet been made public. The following summary is based on press reports.

### Health benefits

The United Mine Workers health card, providing full payment for all medical care, is not restored.

Miners and their families would have to pay up to \$200 a year for prescriptions and doctors' visits. This is a reduction from the \$700 maximum payment under the previous contract offer.

Since the UMWA health fund would be liquidated into commercial insurance plans, subsidies to coal-field clinics would end. Many clinics would be forced to close, and medical care throughout Appalachia would suffer.

(The companies have been handing out inflated figures about how much these "generous" benefits will raise their costs. In fact, they stand to save millions of dollars a year by converting to commercial insurance coverage. The February 20 *Business Week* reported that "the president of one large [coal] producer says a private plan will cut his health-benefits cost by 25% to 30%.")

government. With the new pact, suggestions are being raised for the first time of "speeding up" the vote—that is, ramming it through without full discussion.

An unnamed government official is quoted in the March 15 *Wall Street Journal* as saying, "There's a general consensus that they ought to all vote on one day" rather than over several days. The official complained of a "bandwagon effect" in the miners' two-to-one rejection of the previous contract proposal.

Peabody Coal Company, the largest in the country, said it is "expecting" its 11,000 employees to return to work before the ratification vote and is offering special wage and medical benefits for any who do.

But after all the industry-government pressure the miners have

### Pensions

Pensions are not equalized. Pre-1976 retirees would continue to receive far less than miners who retired later.

But their pensions would rise from \$225 to \$275 a month immediately, rather than over three years as the previous offer provided.

Under the 1974 contract, miners had to work 1,000 hours to qualify for a year's credit toward their pensions. The previous contract offer raised this to 1,450 hours. The new offer restores it to 1,000.

### Right to strike

The entire section on "Work Force Stability" from the previous offer—which included firing of wildcat strike leaders and a crackdown on "absenteeism"—is reportedly dropped.

There is, however, no contractual right to strike regardless of provocation by the company.

Thus the conflict over grievances and wildcat strikes would revert to the status quo before the national strike. Late last year the Arbitration Review Board (established by the 1974 coal contract) handed down a harsh antiwildcat decision.

According to the March 15 *New*

*York Times*, that earlier decision "would permit the suspension and discharge of wildcat strike leaders under less conclusive evidence than was required under the withdrawn [contract] package."

*Times* reporter Ben Franklin indicates that union lawyers expect to challenge this arbitration ruling in court.

What is certain is that under the new contract there will be continued conflict in the future over the right to strike.

### Incentive pay

All the above items are considered to be concessions by the coal companies. In return, union negotiators agreed to allow incentive-pay plans to be instituted, but only upon acceptance by majority vote of the local union involved.

Incentive pay was one of the original demands of the companies. It had been dropped from the previous contract offer.

Incentives are a cover for speedup, forcing workers to put production ahead of safety if they are to receive the "bonus" pay. Incentive plans would inevitably lead to more accidents and deaths in the mines.

—Andy Rose

resisted already, it is unlikely that such a puny carrot will lure them back to the mines before they have voted to accept a contract.

### Taft-Hartley threats

The Taft-Hartley back-to-work order—requested by Carter March 6 and granted by a compliant federal judge March 9—was the club Carter and the coal bosses counted on to beat the strikers into submission.

Its terms were sweeping. The court order prohibited all union officers and staff from "continuing, encouraging, ordering, aiding, engaging, or taking part in" the strike. It banned any activity "interfering with or affecting the orderly continuance of work in the bituminous coal industry."

Violators were threatened with fines or jailing. Local and national union

treasuries could be impounded, the government warned.

Food stamps would be cut off for strikers, Carter's agriculture secretary announced, since their walkout was now "illegal."

Little publicity, however, was given to the fine print in the injunction, where it said, "Nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to require an individual employee to render labor or service without his consent. . . ."

News coverage of the strike took an especially provocative twist, with the media emphasizing the "danger" of "violence" against miners who might try to return to work.

In Virginia—where one company hired a gun-toting motorcycle gang to "guard" scab coal trucks—a TV crew manufactured their own spiked tire-

*Continued on next page*

## Strikers picket White House: 'No contract, no coal'

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Five hundred western Pennsylvania miners delivered Carter their opinion of Taft-Hartley March 15. "No contract, no coal," they chanted in a picket line in front of the White House.

The protest organizers, local officials from United Mine Workers District 5, had sought a meeting with Carter. Instead they got orders to disperse the demonstration after fifteen minutes.

From the White House, the striking miners marched several blocks to the UMWA international headquarters.

"Taft-Hartley is slave labor," their signs said.

One placard asked: "Congressmen get \$50,000 pension, miners get \$3,000. Why?"

"I voted for Carter," an older miner told the *Militant*. "But if he thinks he can send us down the river, he's badly mistaken. I think he's all washed up."

"We won't go back to the pits for peanuts," declared a banner from Local 2399.

"Taft-Hartley was made for wartime. This isn't wartime. They have coal," said John Sholock.

"If you want my opinion," interjected the miner next to him, "Taft-Hartley was never intended to help the country, it was to help big business."

This protest against Carter's back-to-work order would have been bigger, miners said, but confusion and rumors around the new contract offer led many to believe the action was canceled.

At the union offices, strikers surged inside and forced UMWA President Arnold Miller to explain the contract. Most came out unsatisfied.

One miner complained about the proposal for an incentive plan. "They're giving the company the right to kill people," he said.

"They don't want to take care of the people who built our union," explained a striker, referring to the unequal pension provision.

In answer to a TV news reporter who judged the contract "not as bad" as the last offer, a miner here said, "As long as they're taking something from us, there's no such thing as 'as bad.' It's just bad."



Pennsylvania miners outside White House

Militant/Nancy Cole

# ...coal strike

Continued from preceding page

puncturing device. They were going to film it as an "example" of what they claimed strikers were doing. A local union president who protested the slanderous fraud was arrested.

## Violence-baiting

Government officials issued ominous warnings that state troopers, National Guard, FBI, and federal troops were ready to move against anyone who interfered with production or transportation of coal.

All this violence-baiting was calculated to discredit the strike by creating the false impression that intimidation by a minority, rather than the solidarity of the overwhelming majority, was keeping the mines closed.

Dire predictions were aired of mass layoffs due to coal shortages.

All the while, the Carter administration continued to probe the chances of local-by-local settlements to get the miners back to work and break the national power of the UMWA.

But the government's bullying tactics backfired.

On Monday, March 13—the first day the injunction was in effect—the coal companies admitted that fewer than 100 miners showed up for work, less than one-tenth of 1 percent of those on strike.

It was one of the most unanimous displays of labor solidarity in American history.

Over the weekend local union officials had followed the letter of the law, while making it clear where their own sentiments lay.

"I will comply with the law," said James Taranto, president of Local 1269 in Pennsylvania, about the Taft-Hartley order. "It'll be my job to read it and their job to ignore it."

## 'You don't have to go'

In Castlewood, Virginia, some 2,000 strikers gathered for a rally called by disabled and retired miners. Horace Jones, a pensioner who put in twenty-nine years in the mines, told the cheering crowd: "The union officers have to order them back, but you don't have to go."

With no "violence" to use as an excuse to attack strikers, the state troopers who had been mobilized mostly stood around and looked foolish.

Far from isolating the miners, Carter's strikebreaking succeeded in arousing greater support for them. (See stories on pages 6, 8, and 9.)

The initiative came from the union ranks. From carpenters in California to teachers in New Jersey, working people joined in collecting money and voicing solidarity for the miners. Relief caravans with food and clothing went to the coalfields from Detroit, Chicago, Baltimore, and other industrial cities.

Striking farmers organized their own caravan to bring food to the miners. Black organizations, women's liberation groups, and community groups began to join in strike support activities.

In meetings and rallies from coast to coast the Taft-Hartley Act was branded by its right name—the slave-labor law.

## Social cause

Responding to this outpouring of rank-and-file sentiment, union officials finally began to give their approval to the miners' relief effort. United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser announced a \$2 million donation. The United Steelworkers International Executive Board followed with \$1 million.

The threat to cut off food stamps moved even George Meany to protest. "This attempt to force the miners to agree to an unacceptable contract by starving their wives and children is a vindictive act," the AFL-CIO chief telegrammed to Carter.



Virginia state troopers escort scab coal trucks.

The bosses and the capitalist government had brought into being their own worst nightmare—they had transformed the strike into a social cause that was rallying mass support among workers.

From the beginning, the aim of the capitalists had been to deal the UMWA a crippling blow. They were out to "teach a lesson" to the militant union ranks by rolling back benefits, punishing wildcat strikers, and getting a green light to speed up production without regard for safety.

Now, however, the more sober-minded capitalists began to have second thoughts about how quickly these aims could be carried out.

An editorial in *Business Week* magazine March 20 warned the coal operators that they "should refrain from insisting on dramatic changes in the new contract and agree instead to an easier-to-achieve settlement along the lines of the earlier 1974 agreement."

With the new contract offer, the coal bosses have backed off quite a bit from their original goals—while still making inroads into past union gains and hoping to take away more in the future.

## Will read carefully

As the *Militant* goes to press, the most common reaction among miners is determination to read the new terms carefully before deciding how to vote. Although some are hopeful that they can live with the pact, many don't like what they've heard.

Patricia Conard of Nemaquin, Pennsylvania, is a miner like her father before her. She told *Militant* reporter Miguel Pendás that keeping the fully paid health card is the most important issue. "If they can come down \$500, they can come down \$200 more," she said. "We had it before. Why should they take it away now?"

Miners in the Pittsburgh area are reportedly angered by the inclusion of incentive pay in the contract. "We don't like the incentive program at all," said Rudy Medved of Local 2874. "That just gives the operators the right to kill us, because miners would take chances to make more money and would disregard safety."

Mike Giovanelli agreed. "Incentives would erase everything else we have in the contract," he said. "All the safety and health provisions we fought so hard for."

If one thing has been proved beyond doubt in the past 100 days, it is that the coal strike is not over until the miners themselves vote to ratify a new contract and go back to work.

Until then, the need for broad solidarity actions is greater than ever.

# Boston: 2,000 pack labor solidarity rally

By Carol Henderson Evans

BOSTON—Some 2,000 people crowded into the auditorium of Freeport Hall—the headquarters of Local 103, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW)—for a cheering, singing, clapping "Salute to the Miners" rally on March 12.

United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 262 at the General Electric plant in Lynn brought a busload of its members. Late arrivers, they had to park blocks away.

The overflow crowd heard messages of solidarity and announcements of financial contributions from a number of unions. All told, more than \$4,000 was raised to aid the striking miners.

A cheer went up when a representative from Teamsters Local 42 gave a check for \$1,000 and announced that the local had sent a message to the Teamsters international union urging it to match the recent \$2 million contribution from the United Auto Workers.

"All of labor is in full support of this just cause," said William Cleary, president of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO.

"Some of our political beliefs are different, but we're here with one intent in mind—to support the United Mine Workers. If the United Mine Workers go down, we're all going to go down. It's just like the domino theory."

In addition to sponsorship by a broad spectrum of unions, the rally had the backing of Black community organizations and leaders, including state representatives Mel King and Dora Bunte.

Al Hamilton, president of International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 201 and president of the North Shore Labor Council, announced plans to set up a mine workers support center in Lynn.

Other speakers included Lois Bal-four, president of Service Employees International Union Local 509; Donald Berry, business agent of IBEW Local 103; and Lou Antal, president of Uni-

ted Mine Workers District 5 in Pennsylvania.

The biggest response came for the remarks of Mason Caudill, president of UMWA Local 1596 in Middlesboro, Kentucky.

"People talk about a coal miner because he wants a decent living," Caudill said. "That's all he wants. He wants to be recognized as a man or a woman—we have women working down there—that's all they want."

Caudill explained why miners had rejected the recent contract proposal. "They didn't give us nothing. We're going backwards. They took away from us what we've had for thirty-two years [in health benefits]. In eighteen years as a miner I've never had to pay a hospital bill."

He pointed out that under the 1974 contract miners had to work 1,000 hours for one year's credit toward their pensions. The rejected contract would have upped the figure to 1,450 hours. "That means you've got to work every day," Caudill said. "And you know how a coal miner is—you have to have a day off every now and then."

He also talked about the unsafe conditions in the mines. "People don't know what goes on in those mines. I think we should get combat pay."

"I went to Korea and I got combat pay. Now President Carter is going to put those same buddies that I probably fought with over there to tell me I have to go back to work. I hope they don't try."

Caudill ended by noting the importance of labor solidarity. "We appreciate any help you people can give us. You people are going to face the same thing. If they do this to us, you better believe you're going to get it just like we're getting it now."

"If you ever need any help from us, don't be afraid to call on the United Mine Workers," he pledged, "because we know what you have done for us."



'We know what you have done for us,' UMWA speaker told 2,000 labor and Black supporters.

## South Boston racists harass UMWA supporters

BOSTON—The miners' support rally here was a big success despite harassment by the South Boston Marshals, a rabidly racist outfit that has led the most violent antibusing and anti-Black protests in the city.

The threats by the marshals against the union-sponsored event underline the antilabor character of the antibusing movement.

To publicize the rally, Dave Martin of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union had spoken on WILD radio, a Black station. The marshals called to complain that he had urged Black support and to say that they would "deal with" any "commies" who showed up.

While 2,000 people applauded speakers at the miners' support rally, ten or twelve South Boston Marshals hung around the lobby and in an adjoining bar.

They cornered reporters and rally organizers to air their complaints that the "real" union movement wasn't there and that the participants were "communists" and "Marxists."

There were a number of heated arguments in the lobby between union leaders and the marshals. The unionists pointed to the broad labor sponsorship of the event. They also added that they welcomed everyone who wanted to be part of the expression of solidarity with the miners.



# 'The best sales in a long time'

The national 'Militant' sales drive officially begins with this issue. In response to the coal strike, however, Socialist Workers Party branches have already stepped up their sales. This includes not only sales teams to coal mining areas, but intensified sales to working people across the country. The reports below are based on the first few days of sales of our last issue.

## Atlanta: 220 in one day

"It was the best sales I've seen in a long time," said Harris Freeman, Atlanta Socialist Workers Party organizer. Atlanta socialists took a *Militant* bundle of 400 last week. On Saturday they sold 220.

Most of the sales were to Black workers. The issue that sold the paper was the miners' strike.

"We would explain that this is going to affect everybody. The issues—health, safety, the right to strike—are ones we all will face," Freeman said.

The Atlanta SWP kicked off the sales with a membership meeting Saturday morning. Freeman reported on the political goals of the sales drive and plans for the coming days.

On Monday morning SWP members sold nine copies at both the General Motors plant in Lakewood and at a railyard, where they had never sold. Plans for the week included groundbreaking sales at another GM plant and at the huge Lockheed plant outside Atlanta.

The branch is also dispatching a team to Birmingham, Alabama, to sell to coal miners.

## Phil.: 'Get the miners' side'

"Get the Miners' Side of the Strike" said the big, fifteen-foot-long banner. It accompanied a table stationed at a

busy intersection in a predominantly Black section of Philadelphia. At the table last Saturday, socialists sold forty-one *Militants*.

At another busy intersection, this one near city hall, they sold sixty-one *Militants* in a couple of hours.

The customers were mainly Black workers. Many would volunteer that they were unionists themselves—members of the transit workers union, the steelworkers, or the boilermakers.

"I hope they win," was a comment heard more than once. "We've got to all stick together."

Philadelphia was out to sell 250 papers last week. On Saturday alone they sold 225.

A team to Coatesville, a steel town near Philadelphia, sold fifty.

Later in the week other sales were scheduled for steel plants, shipyards, and railyards, as well as campuses.

The goals of the sales were discussed at a city-wide SWP membership meeting the previous Thursday.

## 'Militant' a hit in Raton

For the third consecutive week a sales team of Albuquerque socialists completely sold out of the bundle they brought to Raton, New Mexico, a coal mining town.

The team sold eighty-one papers on the streets of Raton Saturday. The socialists set aside twenty-one papers for a union meeting on Sunday.

Workers snapped them up in ten minutes.

Saturday night was spent talking to miners over beer in a local bar.

## More...

By Tuesday morning railroad workers in Chicago had sold thirty copies on the job.

A New Orleans team sold thirty *Militants* in a small mining town near Birmingham, Alabama. Sales were mostly to Black miners.

Houston YSA organizer Jeff Elliot reports that socialists in that city vowed to sell 100 *Militants* at the

University of Houston last week.

A large banner hung before the literature. "Defend the Miners. Read the *Militant*," it said. By 2:30 p.m. on the first day of sales, they had sold twenty-seven papers. SWP members are pitching in to help the YSA with campus sales.

Fifty-seven *Militants* were bought at the rally in Martinsburg, West Virginia, following the March 12 car caravan from Baltimore. The more than 300 cars and trucks carried food and clothing to striking coal miners.

Once word of the paper started circulating among the crowd, "people would just come up and ask if they could buy one of those papers," one salesperson told us.

## Selling to W. Va. miners

By Miguel Pendás

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—In a special effort to introduce striking coal miners to the *Militant*, teams are traveling throughout mining areas of West Virginia.

Joyce Stoller and Don Bechler make up the core of one such team. They have been joined by other socialists for varying periods of time.

In its first nine days their team sold 293 copies of the *Militant* and 101 introductory subscriptions of two months for two dollars.

Bechler is from Detroit, where he is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Michigan. Stoller is laid off from her job in Chicago.

Recently the team has traveled through the small mining communities in the area southeast of Charleston along the Kanawha River and its

hairline tributaries, Cabin Creek and Paint Creek. Kanawha County is the birthplace of the black lung movement and was a stronghold of Miners for Democracy.

Bechler and Stoller have visited about fifteen communities located in the hollows between mountain ridges.

The hollows typically consist of 25 to 300 homes—perhaps 80 percent of them occupied by miners—in a cramped row along the creek beds that lead back to the mine. The team visits every home.

Stoller explained: "We tell people that we would like to introduce them to a paper that supports the miners and tells their side of the story."

"I stress three things: that the *Militant* describes the strikebreaking role of the government; it points out the need for solidarity from other workers; *Continued on page 25*

## ...drive

Continued from front page

honest, accurate reporting. Our readers appreciate that. During the past year the *Militant* has won valuable new friends and readers through its coverage of the most important labor struggles.

During the strike of steelworkers on Minnesota's Iron Range last fall, we told what their fight was about and what it meant for the labor movement. Many of those workers bought the *Militant*, liked what they read, and became subscribers.

Today hundreds of striking miners are buying and subscribing to this paper. (See accompanying story.)

These workers have waged hard-fought struggles. But the coal miners and steelworkers on the Iron Range are not exceptions. Rather they are the most visible indication of the changing composition and combative mood of industrial workers.

The purpose of the sales drive now is to spread the readership of the *Militant* to thousands of other workers who are becoming curious about socialist ideas.

The key will be plant-gate sales, which we want to establish and maintain on a regular weekly basis.

Top priority is on sales in basic industry—steel, auto, railroad, and mining, where more socialists will be working.

Socialists inside the plants will also be selling the paper. The possibilities for these sales can be seen in Detroit, where the SWP has been selling large numbers of papers inside auto plants.



Participants in a UMWA support caravan snapped up 57 'Militants' at a rally in Martinsburg, West Virginia.

*Perspectiva Mundial* has been featuring coverage of the coal miners' strike. Last fall many workers bought subscriptions to *Perspectiva* from friends on the job. This spring *Militant* readers will be selling *Perspectiva* both inside and outside the plants.

Our goal now is to reach thousands of new readers with the real meaning of the miners' strike.

Through their militancy and determination—through their open defiance of the Taft-Hartley slave-labor act—the miners are setting a powerful example.

The miners are on the front lines, responding to a general ruling-class offensive against all working people. It is aimed at rolling back the rate of pay, working conditions, democratic rights, and general living standards of all working people.

In addition to sales where people work, the drive will focus on distributing the *Militant* in several other places.

The Black community has been a primary target of the ruling-class offensive. Sales here will be an essential aspect of the campaign.

Results of sales in Philadelphia and

Atlanta last week (see accompanying story) indicate that many Black people are eager to read the miners' side of the story.

In communities where Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other Spanish-speaking people live we will be selling both the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

This will be the SWP's first big push on single-copy sales of *Perspectiva*. The outstanding success of the subscription drive last fall means the prospects are good.

Another focus of sales will be at political meetings of various kinds. We want to reach out to radicalizing people wherever and whenever they get together. Each week in every city there are gatherings—rallies in support of the miners, films, concerts, meetings of women's organizations and radical groups—where we want to have our paper.

Campuses will be a main area of sales. Young Socialist Alliance members will be selling the *Militant*, in addition to their own monthly newspaper, the *Young Socialist*.

Last fall SWP members sold thousands of subscriptions on campuses. This spring we will be there for single-copy sales.

In coming days SWP branches in cities around the country will be accepting quotas for the drive, which is slated to last ten weeks. We will announce these goals in the *Militant*, as well as the results.

SWP branches will be aiming to meet these quotas each week of the drive. In order to make this possible, sales of the *Militant* will be a central aspect of every arena of party activity.

# An outpouring of solidarity



Scenes from Baltimore-to-Martinsburg caravan

Photos by Nancy Cole and Salm Kolis

## Baltimore: caravan stretches four miles

By Nancy Cole

MARTINSBURG, W. Va.—For more than four miles, police estimated, the caravan stretched along Interstate 81.

From within the 300-vehicle convoy, all you could see in either direction was one endless line of cars, trucks, and campers, each with its headlights on.

Unionists, students, and community activists from Baltimore—after a week-long flurry of fund raising and canvassing—were transporting some \$13,000 in food and clothing to a pickup point here.

Delegations of striking coal miners from six United Mine Workers districts met the caravan to receive the needed supplies. With this kind of help, miners said, they could hold out for as long as it takes to win a decent contract.

\* \* \*

The day of solidarity begins early on Sunday, March 12, as cars and trucks begin pulling into the parking lot of the AFL-CIO Region 3 headquarters in Baltimore. Early comers pitch in to load the food into vans and trucks. Signs, most hand-lettered, go up on the sides and backs of every caravan vehicle:

"UMW Strong as Steel."

"Government Hands Off the Miners!"

"Stick to Peanuts, President Carter, Leave the Coal to Us."

"Johns Hopkins students support the miners' right to strike."

And from the Shipbuilders: "President Carter and Washington Say: 'Starve miners, take their food stamps

away.' But we union brothers and sisters say: 'We'll feed the miners anyway.'"

"I'm from a coal mining area, my father was killed in a coal mine, so I support them 100 percent," explains a Baltimore steelworker, one of those with armbands assigned to monitor the event.

"I think they ought to have a better contract than what the coal companies gave them. They're trying to break their union. And I feel if they break their union, our union might be next. So we're going to stay together."

Another steelworker, Tex Benik, tells how he went home after the miners' support rally of 700 last week and talked to his wife and twelve-year-old daughter about it. Without another word, "my little girl went out and started collecting door-to-door. She came home with about four bags of canned goods."

### Unions in support

A short rally begins before takeoff, the speakers mounting the back of a pickup truck. Unions who contributed money are read off. It's a long list: Steelworkers, Letter Carriers, Cement Workers, Retail Clerks, Firefighters, Electrical Workers, and Bakery Workers (they gave a truckload of baked goods).

Then there are the Sugar Workers, Transit Workers, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Meat Cutters, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and the list goes on.

"We went to 6,000 houses," explains a speaker from the South Baltimore Community coalition COPO. "People emptied their kitchen cabinets."

Tom Bradley, president of the Metropolitan Baltimore Council, AFL-CIO, speaks. "We are sending a message to the president of the United States, to the multinational energy companies in this country," he says, "that they may not give miners food stamps, but the trade-union movement will provide them with food for as long as they need it."

David Wilson, president of United Steelworkers Local 2609 and chairperson of the Baltimore Miners' Relief Committee, declares, "I think there is something far more important than just unionism displayed here today."

"President Carter has given a lot of people in this country serious doubts about the democracy that we live under when he allowed the mine workers to vote, but then when he didn't like the way they voted, he said, 'Now that's not good enough, you're going to do it my way.'"

"I think what you see here today is an outpouring of the thoughts of the people that say, this is a country for the people, of the people, and by the people, and the elected representatives have got to do what we say. That's what it's all about."

Song sheets are passed around, and the rally ends with choruses of "Solidarity Forever."

Complete with a tow truck, three doctors, and twenty CB radios, the caravan is on its way.

A few hours later, as cars pull into the shopping center parking lot in Martinsburg, there is a steady round of honking. Another rally soon begins.

Kentucky miner Louis Burke tells the crowd, which has now grown to include unionists from Martinsburg as well as a number of miners, "Under no circumstances will miners from Kentucky go back to work under Taft-Hartley. It's a slave-labor law, and we are not slaves."

Another miner, Billy Johnson, takes the mike to say just one thing: "After this is over, all these unions that are supporting us now, you'll get support when you come out, you better believe it."

The rally ends, but people stick around. A crowd gathers around two singers, one picking a banjo, the other

## Black steelworkers back UMWA against union busting

By Toba Singer

BALTIMORE—"Everything that happens to poor white folks happens twice as bad to us—except unemployment, which hits us twelve times as bad," said Francis Brown, Minority Affairs director of United Steelworkers Local 2610 here.

Brown spoke to about fifty people at the Pharaohs Club here March 9. The club is a Black steelworkers' social club, and Brown is its president. The occasion was a disco held to collect food and money for striking coal miners.

"They are trying to break the backs of labor in this country," Brown continued.

Two large wicker baskets rested on the billiards table near the bar. Brown urged those attending the

disco to drop food and money in the already half-filled baskets.

"I'll be in that caravan," he said of the convoy planned for March 12 to transport the supplies to miners.

"I've never been to West Virginia before," Brown said, "because I've been scared of West Virginia. I've always been scared of hillbillies. But I'm going to West Virginia to help those hillbillies out, so that it [union-busting] won't wind up in the ghetto."

In fact, Brown spoke to the rally that preceded the caravan. "I think we should do the same thing in weeks coming," he said. "I don't think we should allow the coal miners' wives and kids to be starved out by the top people in this country while they're trying to get a fair living wage."



# for striking mine workers

a guitar. Everyone joins in singing "Solidarity Forever," "Which Side Are You On," "Sixteen Tons," and other labor songs.

Benjamin Hamlin, a Black local union representative in USWA Local 2609, tells me he is "impressed with the commitment of the people here."

"It's going beyond union members," he continues. "The whole community is ready to get involved. People are beginning to see it's more than just earnings at stake—human lives are involved."

A group of miners from Harlan County, Kentucky, respond with disgust when asked about the Taft-Hartley injunction. "We'll be working for Carter on the peanut farm next week," one mutters.

Members of their local are planning to join the upcoming miners' demonstration in Washington to protest Carter's antiunion actions. What will the protest accomplish? "Maybe it'll get rid of Taft-Hartley," another answers.

"This is beautiful," comments Joe Hellane, a member of United Auto Workers Local 1590 in Martinsburg. His local hosted the rally here.

## 'Miners helped UAW'

"I'm proud to see this many people standing together," adds Verla Wheeler, another member of Local 1590. "The UMW stood behind us in 1937," she says. "The miners helped start the UAW back in 1937, and I had family with them then."

Wheeler, Hellane, and another co-worker, John Bowman, continue talking about the solidarity shown here today, the issues in the coal strike, and how "'79's the year" for the next UAW contract.

"Let's face it. These guys lose, we're next," says Hellane.

"We're just a spoke in the wheel," explains Wheeler. "We need each other."

If Carter moves against the miners and begins arresting union officials, then what?

Bowman quickly answers, "Every union leadership should say, 'Fine, we'll take the whole country out.'"

Bowman, who is close to retirement, admits, "This is a radical way of looking at it, but. . ."

## NY workers also face a 'ball & chain' contract

By Gale Shangold

NEW YORK—New York may be far from the coalfields, but the miners' strike is shaking up politics and the labor movement here as it is all over the country.

Several New York unions—including library workers, social service employees, and workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard—have adopted resolutions in support of the miners.

Solidarity meetings at Queens College and City College of New York, as well as two city-wide meetings in early March, have raised funds for the strikers and their families.

New York workers were among the earliest victims of the employer-government assault that the miners are now fighting so heroically.

City employees have seen their wages frozen, benefits slashed, and

## Message to Carter

The following telegram was sent to President Carter on March 12 by David Wilson, president of United Steelworkers Local 2609 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point

DAVID WILSON Militant/Nancy Cole

plant and chairperson of the Baltimore Miners' Relief Committee.

Mr. President:

We in labor who elected you are outraged at your handling of the coal miners' strike. We believe you have betrayed the American workers and stand squarely with the coal operators. We demand the following:

1. Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act at once. This has been and remains an attack against all American workers, not only the miners.

2. Restore food stamps to miners and their families. It is tyranny to starve them into signing a contract they cannot live with. We join with AFL-CIO chief George Meany in condemning your termination of food stamp benefits.

3. Support the just demands of the miners so that coal can be mined under safe and healthy conditions. The coal operators, not the miners, are holding the country hostage. If there is violence in the coalfields, we hold you responsible.

more than 60,000 jobs wiped out. All working people in New York have been hit by drastic cutbacks in health care, transportation, schools, and child care.

In negotiations with city union officials, Democratic Mayor Edward Koch has proposed New York's equivalent of the "ball and chain" contract the coal bosses tried to force on the miners. Koch demands elimination of another 6,345 jobs, an end to paid lunch time and coffee breaks, no restrictions on layoffs, no wage increases or cost-of-living allowances, and reductions in paid holidays and vacations.

For three years the top union leaders in the city have accepted the cutbacks and layoffs without a fight. They swallowed the line that the city has "no money" for workers' needs. They even handed over pension funds to help the city meet its interest payments to the banks.

In this spring's contract talks, however, the city administration and its friends in the union officialdom have a problem—they are worried about what the union ranks may be learning from the coal miners.

"There are a lot of angry and irate city employees," said Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers. He compared the Koch administration's demands with those of the mineowners and warned that the city was undermining the position of the union leaderships.

"Unless there is an immediate pull-back from these tactics of confrontation," Shanker told city negotiators, "you will provoke utter chaos in New York."

"We'll have to come back with something," warned Transport Workers President Matthew Guinan, "or we'll end up like [UMWA President Arnold] Miller."

Shanker and Guinan are right to be worried. Familiar claims that the city has no money and that workers must tighten their belts even further are meeting with skepticism these days.

More and more workers are wondering, if the coal miners can stand up against the bosses and the government—and even against their own union officials—to demand a decent contract, why can't we?

## Toledo: 'Taft-Hartley is a slave labor law'

By Dean Cohen

TOLEDO, Ohio—Snubbing Carter's back-to-work order, an audience of more than 200 trade unionists gathered at the Teamsters Steinberg Hall March 12 to rally support for the striking coal miners.

"When the bosses withhold necessities like gas and oil to raise prices, there is only a grumble from the press and the government," said Garrett Sedluk, president of United Auto Workers Local 1435. "But when workers go on strike, they have a law for it—Taft-Hartley."

Two other UAW locals were represented at the rally as well as locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, Farm Labor Organizing Committee, Iron Workers, Teamsters, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Ken Wagnild, president of United Mine Workers Local 5497 in Ohio's District 6, represented the strikers and explained the need for food and funds.

At one point a retired West Virginia miner, Henry Jackson, took the floor to blast the Democratic Party for taking working people's votes, then stabbing them in the back.

"We didn't call it the Taft-Hartley Act" when the strikebreaking legislation was first enacted, he said, pointing to the banner behind the platform. "We called it the slave-labor law."

To date, \$3,000 has been raised by the miners' support committee here.

After the rally, members of UMWA Local 1435 left for Dillies Bottom, Ohio, with a motor home filled to the cab with donations of food and clothing.

## Indiana: 'safety or else'

By Leif Shaver

INDIANAPOLIS—In an impressive display of labor solidarity, more than 200 people rallied here March 12 at United Auto Workers Local 23 hall to support the striking coal miners.

Twenty miners from southern Indiana and from Stearns, Kentucky, attended the rally, which was endorsed by the Indiana AFL-CIO and many local unions.

Larry Reynolds, president of United Mine Workers District 11 in Indiana, predicted that Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction would have little effect. "From everything I've heard," he said, "a man standing around a coal mine on Monday morning probably won't hear too much noise."

Reynolds introduced Russ Stilwell, a rank-and-file miner from Local 1189 in Booneville, Indiana. Stilwell laid out the issues of the strike.

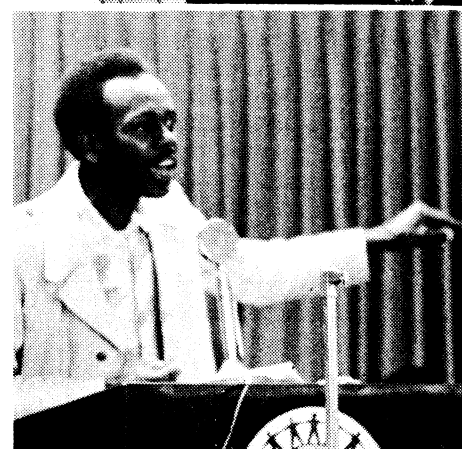
"The only thing the coal operators promote in the mines is production," he said, "production first, production second, and production third. And way down here at the end of the tail is safety. We're going to have safety or we're not going to mine coal."

Bob Young, president of UAW Local 550, defended the miners' right to strike. "If you don't have the right to withhold your labor, what are you? You are nothing but a slave."

Don Wolfe, president of the Indianapolis Firefighters Association, condemned the union-busting actions of state and local politicians. "Maybe it's time we looked for another party and got our own people," he said.

Ann Owens, speaking for the Labor Task Force of the Indianapolis National Organization for Women, said that "coal miners and women have a common enemy," since "the same government denying you the right to strike is denying women simple and equal rights under the law." She called the miners' strike an inspiring example for the women's movement and for all working people.

More than \$700 was raised at the rally for the UMWA relief fund.



Militant/Mark Barry  
Russ Stilwell of UMWA (top) and Bob Young of United Auto Workers.

## Louisville socialist candidate

# 'Miners have set an inspiring example'

By John Hawkins

"At first people at General Electric where I work really weren't much aware of the miners' strike," said Jim Burfeind, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Kentucky's Third District.

"But a month ago management began spreading rumors about reducing the workweek to four days because of the strike. That's when the discussions began."

Burfeind is a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 2409, which represents 400 workers at the GE Appliance Parts plant in Louisville. Local 761 of the International Union of Electrical workers—the other union at the plant—represents 19,000 workers.

The GE plant generates much of its own electrical power from coal. "When the company newsletter began talking about shutting down the plant," Burfeind said, "it was clear to people what was going on—that the company was trying to pit us against the miners."

"This divide-and-rule tactic is key to the employers' strategy in this strike," Burfeind said. He pointed out that utility companies in Louisville had threatened mandatory power cutbacks but had so far not implemented them.

"This whole energy scare is a hoax," Burfeind said. He cited so-called power shortages in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Yet when Michigan tried to sell 1,000 megawatts of power, it couldn't find buyers—including in these three neighboring states.

The utilities are playing the divide-and-rule game on an even bigger scale than GE—trying to convince millions of workers that the miners are to blame for layoffs.

"This is in the direct interest of the utility companies," Burfeind said, "since they are among the biggest owners of the coal mines."

"Working people have a right to know the truth about the electrical power situation. The books of these utilities should be opened so we can determine for ourselves whether or not there is a shortage."

Although the Louisville utility company has not instituted cuts, it has asked people to turn down their thermostats. "A lot of people at my shop say that turning down the thermostat would be like crossing a picket line," Burfeind remarked.

Reflecting this solidarity with the miners, a recent meeting of IUE Local 761 passed a resolution in support of the miners' strike and voted to send \$1,000 to the striking miners. The local also voted to distribute the resolution to help with plant-gate collections for the miners. Burfeind's union, IAM Lodge 2409, voted to support the IUE leafletting and plant-gate collection.

"The solidarity actions here and across the country," Burfeind said, "reflect a deep-going recognition that the miners' strike is a decisive test for all labor."

"You can see that clearly at my plant," he continued. "For example,

our contract with GE expires next year. Everybody at the plant knows that if the UMWA loses, GE will be that much harder to beat if we have to go out."

"People also know that the settlement the UMWA wins will set a precedent in terms of wages, pensions, working conditions, and job safety for our negotiations. GE will try to offer us something less."

"In short, people see that a defeat for the UMWA would embolden the employers, while a victory would strengthen labor's hand."

"Another side of this," said Burfeind, "is the inspiring example set by the miners in staying out for more than three months."

"They've maintained solidarity within their ranks."

"They've defied the coal bosses, Carter, the courts, and Taft-Hartley."

"Though most people would not put it quite this way, what inspires them is that the strike and solidarity actions are the first big fight against the assault by the American ruling class on the rights and living standards of all working people."

Burfeind pointed to attacks on public employees, cutbacks in social services, the racist campaign against busing and affirmative action, and the attempts to roll back women's rights.

The aim of the rulers' assault on the miners is to see how far they can go in breaking or crippling a major industrial union.

"But they didn't count on such stiff resistance," Burfeind said. "They've made the miners' strike the focal point for a class polarization in this country."

Burfeind cited the actions by striking farmers in support of the miners. "What the farmers are looking at," he said, "is that they and the miners are fighting the same enemy—big business and their government in Washington."

Burfeind explained that the strike is generating a good deal of political discussion on the job—especially since Carter's imposition of Taft-Hartley.

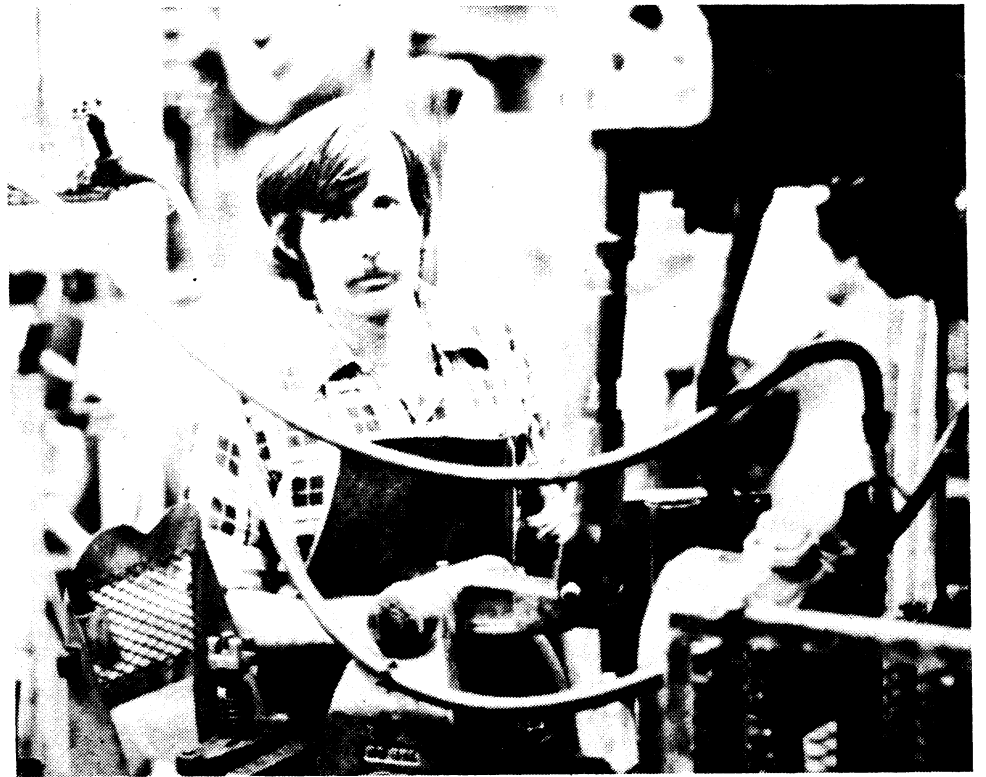
"Most people see that Carter had done nothing to put pressure on the mineowners," Burfeind said, "and that everything Carter said and did around the strike was against the miners."

"The question of the Democratic Party has started to come up in discussions too."

"I point out that if the Democrats were really pro-labor, they could do a lot for the miners, since they control both the White House and Congress."

"I showed around a telegram to Carter from my Democratic opponent Ron Mazzoli urging him to impose Taft-Hartley and force the miners back to work. I point out that Mazzoli was supported by the Central Labor Council and all the major unions in the city."

"It's a classic example of why working people need to break with the Democrats and form a labor party based on the power of our unions. More people are open to that idea today because of the miners' strike."



Militant/Charlie Thomas

Jim Burfeind, SWP candidate for Congress, is a machinist at General Electric plant

## Campaigning for socialism

**MOSER: WE WON'T HELP COMPILE 'ENEMIES LIST':** Libby Moser, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of St. Paul, has asked the city council to exempt her campaign from making public the names, addresses, and occupations of financial contributors. SWP campaigns in Minnesota were exempted from similar rules by the State Ethical Practices Board in 1974 and 1976 on grounds that "disclosure . . . of the names of . . . individual contributors would expose one or more of them to economic reprisals, loss of employment or threat of physical coercion."

"These are not," Moser said, "mere allegations but have been proven by thousands of pages of government files obtained through our \$40 million lawsuit against illegal government harassment. These files have documented a systematic campaign of harassment by the FBI against supporters of Socialist Workers Party election campaigns."

**A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE:** When U.S. Rep. Paul McCloskey called a "constituents meeting" in Santa Clara, California, to discuss "alternatives to abortion," he sent out personal invitations to forty-seven Catholic priests and "right-to-life" groups.

But they weren't the only ones to show up.

Claudette Bégin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Jose, expressed the sentiments of most women in the audience when she reminded McCloskey that a presidential commission had found only three "alternatives" to abortion: pregnancy, suicide, and madness.

Bégin noted that the threat to a woman's right to choose abortion was the greatest in years. She urged creation of a "broad, visible movement by women and our allies to defend our rights."

After several hours of heated debate, two-thirds of the standing-room-only crowd of 300 voted in favor of the right to abortion.

**PETITIONING IN ARIZONA:** Supporters of Betsy McDonald, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Arizona's Second Congressional District, began the major task of collecting 11,000 valid signatures to put McDonald on the ballot February 18. At the end of the first week, the tally stood at 2,200.

A campaign kickoff rally February 18 collected more than \$650. McDonald's speech blasted the platform of her Democratic opponent, Morris Udall: "No funding for abortions, no busing to desegregate schools, deregulating natural gas prices, closing the borders to undocumented workers, and declaring the present high unemployment levels to be 'full employment.'"

"Udall blames unemployment on undocumented workers," McDonald went on. "He claims that federal efforts 'to catch and deport all those people without proper documents has failed.' His solution is to issue ID cards. Under this plan, Latinos will be harassed by *la migra*, much the way passbooks are used by the apartheid regime in South Africa to harass Blacks."

Susan Swain, a coordinator for the Committee for Equal Access to Health Care, also spoke. The committee is backing a ballot initiative to force the Pima County (Tucson) hospital to perform abortions. Swain told the rally she endorsed McDonald's candidacy because of the socialist's uncompromising stand on women's rights.

Also speaking was a representative of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, the Mexican sister organization of the SWP.

## Tapes on strategy for labor



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# Carter vs. miners

## What would federal seizure mean?

By Steve Clark

"We'd go to work if [Carter] seized the mines," West Virginia coal miner Brul Holbrook told a *New York Times* reporter, "but not under any Taft-Hartley injunction."

Holbrook was voicing a common opinion among the striking miners.

They know that Carter has only one aim in using the Taft-Hartley Act: to drive them back into the mines without meeting their demands for job safety, health care, and the right to strike.

Many miners see government seizure, on the other hand, as a blow against the wealthy coal operators. "All we want [the government] to do is open the mine company books," Holbrook said. "They say they can't afford a better contract. Let's see if they're telling the truth."

Paul Lund, a Pennsylvania miner, told the *Washington Post*, "Let the government take the books from the coal companies and find out what they

can afford to give us."

The miners have good reason to be suspicious of poor-mouthing by the coal bosses. They have a right to know just how much the operators profit from cutting corners on safety equipment and promoting dangerous speed-up schemes in the mines.

The only way to find out is to shine a spotlight on the closely guarded financial secrets of the oil giants, steel monopolies, and other Wall Street interests that own and control the coal industry.

The significance of this demand reaches far beyond the coalfields. It is important to steelworkers fighting factory closings, to auto workers struggling against layoffs—in fact, to every one who works for a living.

Just as the miners are setting an example for the whole labor movement through their militant resistance to the government-employer union-busting drive, they are setting an example by

raising this demand for an end to business secrets.

### A fairer shake

Many miners also believe that they stand to get a better deal from the government than from the profit-hungry coal operators.

"We would go back" under seizure, a Kentucky miner told the *New York Times*. "We'd be working for the Government, the American people."

"We'd get a fair shake that way," he said.

In accepting seizure, miners are expressing their opinion that the job of running the coal industry should not be left to a handful of greedy profiteers who have no concern for the health and safety of their employees. They are saying that the government should enforce mine safety regulations, and that their own union safety committees should wield the ultimate power over working conditions in the mines.

In short, miners are demanding that the government step in to protect the interests of working people—those it claims to represent.

The only way that these aspirations can be met is for the mines to be taken out of the hands of the capitalists, so that these enterprises are no longer operated for profit. In place of the coal bosses, miners should assume complete control over the operation of the mines.

Nationalization under miners' control would be a big step forward. Health and safety in the mines would become the top priority. And the industry would be run for the benefit of society as a whole, not the profits of the coal operators.

This would promote the idea that the entire economy should be democratically planned and administered by working people, rather than by a wealthy minority.

### Seizure?

But advancing these goals is the last thing on Carter's mind in considering seizure.

Would his administration open the books of the coal operators for inspection by members of the United Mine Workers union?

There is no reason to think so. And there are many reasons to believe the contrary.

Although Washington has temporarily seized industries several times over the past forty years hoping to force strikers back to work, it has *never* revealed the hidden profits of these monopolies.

In fact, the government's real record on this score has been the opposite. It has honored all business secrets. And once the strikes were settled, it has promptly returned all profits and properties to the bosses.

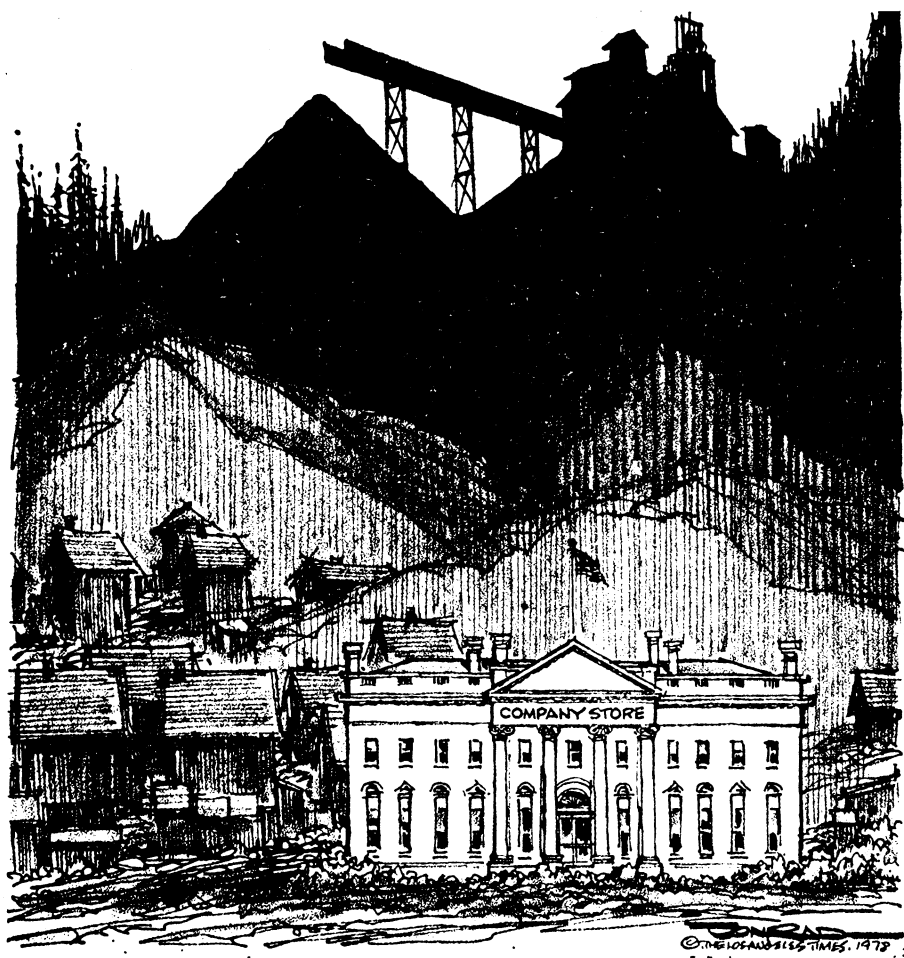
Despite numerous White House "leaks" about a possible seizure of the mines in the current strike, the question of the government opening the coal operators' books has never even been hinted.

If Carter seizes the mines, it will only be because Taft-Hartley has failed in breaking the strike. Carter's strategy would be to lure the miners back to work with no guarantee that their demands will be met. The government would then act on behalf of the coal operators to nail down the best possible terms in the talks that would follow.

### Carter's 'neutrality'

By going on a public campaign to get miners to ratify the coal operators' last contract offer, and by invoking Taft-Hartley against the miners when they rejected that contract, Carter has

*Continued from page 25*



## Labor's Giant Step

by Art Preis

Read how the United Mine Workers union defied government strikebreaking—both federal seizure and Taft-Hartley injunctions—during the labor upsurges of the 1930s and 1940s . . . and won.

583 pp., \$6.95 paper  
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

## Statement circulating nationwide

# Attack on coal support meeting condemned

The following statement was drafted in response to a physical attack on a meeting in Houston March 3 in support of striking coal miners.

The statement is being circulated nationally by the Houston Committee to Support the Mineworkers Strike, which sponsored the March 3 meeting. Initial signers include:

Mike Burdiss, deputy director of the United Mine Workers Legislative Committee\*; Matt Miller, UMWA international staff; Dr. George T. Morgan, University of Houston; UH Prof. Gerald Goodwin; Glen Jubran, UH Organization of Arab Students; Paul Rowe, President UH Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; the UH Black Student Union; and the UH Iranian Student Association—Democratic.

Other signers are David M. Pa-

tronella, president of UH Young Democrats; Pablo Rodríguez, UH director of ethnic affairs; Urooj Hussain, president of UH International Student Organization; Sandra Monahans, job steward, Communications Workers of America Local 12222; and Sister Victoria Zuñiga, Hermanas.

Also, Regina Dotson, University Feminists; Gloria Rodríguez, Houston Workers World Party; Rudy Velásquez, chairperson of UH Concilio; Mohamad Falsafi, Houston Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom Iran; Jeff Elliot, UH Young Socialist Alliance; and Sara Johnston, Houston Socialist Workers Party.

The Houston Committee to Support the Mineworkers Strike can be contacted at Box 141 University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

We have learned of a serious attack on democratic rights that must be repudiated.

On Friday, March 3, a group of about fifty people organized by the Revolutionary Communist Party, National United Workers Organization, and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, with the participation of many members of the Iranian Student Association-U.S., physically attacked a miners' solidarity meeting at the University of Houston in an unsuccessful attempt to break it up. (ISA-U.S. is one of many ISA factions and is the Houston affiliate of a national faction called, "For the Reconstruction of a Single Organization of the Student Movement").

The meeting was organized to gain support for the more than 160,000 striking United Mine Workers of America members and to raise funds for the UMWA Relief Fund. It was sponsored by the University of Houston Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Mineworkers Strike, comprised of eighteen individual sponsors including faculty members and leaders of campus organizations. This was the first public

gathering in Houston to support the miners' strike.

Two UMWA international staff members, Mike Burdiss and Matt Miller, were present at the meeting to explain the issues involved in the strike and solicit strike support.

The attackers did not try to peacefully enter the room to participate in the meeting or distribute literature to explain their views on the strike. Instead, they assaulted meeting monitors with heavy sticks, furniture, and fists. Six monitors were seriously injured and required emergency hospital treatment. One monitor lost four teeth and requires hundreds of dollars of dental work.

We condemn the use of violent aggression to settle disputes in the movement. We support the right of any organization to hold meetings without fear of being attacked.

We hope that if the facts of this incident are widely publicized, similar incidents can be prevented in the future.

\*Organizations listed for identification purposes only.

# Why Gibson failed Newark

By Tony Austin

NEWARK—When Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson announced he was seeking reelection, he unveiled as his main campaign slogan, "Gibson—he put it together."

This vague slogan sums up what Gibson falsely claims is his major accomplishment as mayor—that over the past eight years his administration has virtually eliminated the economic and social problems that sparked the 1967 Black ghetto rebellion in this city.

However, contrary to Gibson's campaign slogan, Newark today offers one of the most vivid examples of the urban crisis under capitalism. The economic and social conditions confronted by the city's Black and Puerto Rican communities—70 and 15 percent of the population—have remained the same or gotten worse.

Far from being one who "put it

*Tony Austin is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Newark. He is a longtime activist in the Black movement and a member of the United Steelworkers of America Local 12243.*

together," Gibson has presided over and helped engineer Newark's continued decline.

## Little change

Like other urban rebellions during the 1960s, Newark's Black rebellion was a spontaneous outpouring of protest against the whole system of racial oppression.

In the nearly eleven years since, there has been little change in this picture. Three examples show this clearly:

- **Housing.** In 1967 40,000 units of housing in Newark were considered substandard. Since that time only 3,383 new housing units have been constructed with average rents far out of reach of most city residents.

- **Education.** Newark's school system remains archaic and segregated. Half the city's fourth-, seventh-, and tenth-grade students failed to pass standard mathematics and reading skills tests last spring. The state of New Jersey has condemned Newark for its unsafe and outmoded school buildings and facilities.

- **Employment.** Since 1967 unemployment has doubled in the city, standing at around 15 percent. Meanwhile cutbacks by city hall have wiped out one-fourth of the municipal jobs available in 1967. Statewide New Jersey unemployment among white youth stands at more than 40 percent, for Black youth at more than 80 percent. The Gibson administration admits having no real idea of the level of unemployment among Puerto Ricans.

The July 11, 1977, *New York Times* observed that many Newark residents are "bitter" today because many conditions there are "worse than they were in 1967." The article goes on to quote Gustav Henningburg, the Black president of the Greater Newark Urban Coalition:

"The widespread mood of hopelessness and despair among poor Blacks in 1967 has been replaced by a 'great deal of frustration' in 1977. . . . the poor expected 'miracles' when Black politicians took control of City Hall in 1970. 'The miracles did not happen.'"

Ironically the Gibson administration, which is responsible for this lack of change and mood of "frustration," owes its existence in large part to the 1967 rebellion.

In addition to demonstrating the combativity of Newark's Black community, the rebellion gave birth to a deep-going sentiment for independent Black political action in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

On November 14-16, 1969, a Black



Although Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson (right) boasts of having 'put it together,' not much has changed in Newark since 1967 Black ghetto rebellion.



and Puerto Rican convention was held to select candidates for the 1970 elections. The convention was attended by more than 3,000 people representing Black clubs, parent teacher associations, churches, civil rights organizations, and many other community groups.

## The Gibson campaign

The slate chosen was headed by mayoral candidate Kenneth Gibson. The convention drew up a platform calling for a measure of Black and Puerto Rican community control of schools and other institutions.

But the convention platform did not survive the election campaign. Although Gibson's 1970 campaign was formally organized outside the Democratic Party, Gibson's aim was to channel its momentum back into the Democratic Party before it got out of control.

Gibson wasted little time in scrapping the platform he was nominated on.

In the April 23, 1970, *Village Voice* Gibson announced: "I don't think community control is necessarily the answer. It's not necessarily who decides what that is important."

One hundred percent loyal to the Democratic Party and big business, Gibson has consistently betrayed the hopes and aspirations of the people who put him in office.

Time and again Gibson has proved willing to call on the police to intimidate and harass Black and Puerto Rican protest actions. In 1975 Gibson sent in the police to break up a legal Puerto Rican Day celebration. In 1976 he used the cops to break up protests in support of Kawaia Towers, helping to scuttle plans for building the much-needed low-income housing project.

## What's good for business . . .

From the very beginning, the policies of the Gibson administration have been antilabor. In 1971 Gibson attacked the Newark Teachers union, attempting to break the union and its strike. He has consistently opposed demands from city workers and others for higher wages and improved working conditions.

Instead, he has backed Democratic Gov. Brendan Byrne's program of tax incentives for employers and low wages for working people to lure business to New Jersey.

This "what's good for business is good for Newark" policy was described in the *New York Times* article mentioned above. It reported that "white business leaders" boast of "excellent relations with the Black power structure in City Hall."

What this consultative relationship means in practice is that decisions on Newark's economic priorities emanate from the Prudential building, which,

along with the Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce, is the center of traffic of Newark's business world.

One result of this arrangement has been to make working people pay a 10 percent property tax, the highest in the country, while giving businesses tax deductions and other "incentives."

For example, the tax-exempt Newark Airport and the thirteen-square-mile waterfront controlled by the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey consume one-fifth of Newark's land area. Yet the Port Authority "generously" pays Newark \$1 million annually, representing a \$31 million savings over what it would normally pay if it were taxed at one-half the current property tax rate.

## Democratic Party trap

Gibson's record in office is graphic proof that it is impossible to faithfully represent the needs of Blacks and other working people while operating within the framework of the Democratic Party. Though he rode to office on a wave of sentiment demanding Black representation, he has been at every turn a representative first of the "needs" of big business.

This is because Gibson is first and foremost a Democrat.

Unlike its Republican twin, the Democratic Party tries to portray itself as the friend of labor, oppressed nationalities, and women. But in actuality it is owned and controlled by the same bankers and businessmen who control the Republicans.

And when it comes to choosing between the interests of the capitalists and those of working people and the oppressed, the Democratic Party and the politicians who hold office in its name invariably come down on the side of those who own them—the capitalists.

This is becoming clearer today in the miners' strike. Far from being neutral—standing above the struggle between working people and the employers—the Carter administration and all the institutions of government are throwing their weight onto the side of the coal operators.

The past eight years of the Gibson administration point to one conclusion. The Black and Puerto Rican communities and all the working people of Newark cannot depend on the Democratic Party to defend and promote their interests.

Instead, they must break out of the framework of the two-party system and take the path of independent political action.

As the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Newark, promoting the idea of independent political action in opposition to both Democrats and Republicans will be at the center of my campaign.

I will be talking about what could be

done if we had an independent labor party or an independent Black party in Newark—a party championing the struggles of working people and the oppressed.

Candidates of an independent labor or Black party in Newark would be in the forefront of the forces organizing solidarity with the striking coal miners. They would come to the defense of working people in Newark in their struggles against city hall and other employers for a decent standard of living and working conditions.

To begin with, they would demand an end to the tax "incentives" for big business, forcing Port Authority, Newark Airport, and other profit-hungry corporations to provide funds for public works programs in order to put the unemployed back to work. Such programs could be used to rebuild the city's housing, schools, hospitals, libraries and recreational facilities.

In addition they would demand an end to the federal war budget to provide funds for jobs.

Such parties could also lead the fights for school desegregation, affirmative-action programs in employment, an end to police brutality, defense of abortion rights, and ratification of the ERA.

Independent political action would not only be electoral action. Independent parties would mobilize the fighting power of the working people and Black and Puerto Rican communities of Newark to win their demands. Through demonstrations, pickets, strikes, and other forms of direct action, concessions could be forced from city hall.

Undoubtedly it was this sort of independent political action that excited the minds of those attending the conference that nominated Gibson in 1969. It is also the sort of political action that the Socialist Workers Party advocates today.



Militant/Joanne Murphy  
Newark Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Tony Austin.



# 200 at L.A. rally for Hector Marroquin

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—A spirited crowd of nearly 200 people—half of them Chicanos—turned out for an East Los Angeles *tardeada* for Héctor Marroquín March 12.

The afternoon-long benefit was held at the Pasta House, a popular disco club and restaurant. It featured an array of Latino entertainers who, along with several speakers, came to register their support for Marroquín.

Marroquín is fighting deportation to Mexico, where he faces frame-up murder charges. A member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, Marroquín told the crowd the U.S. government is trying to deport him because he is a socialist

and a union activist, and because of the close political ties between the U.S. government and the repressive Mexican regime.

Marroquín fled Mexico—where he had been a student activist—in 1974. Mexican authorities had falsely charged him with murder, and he feared for his life.

Of four students similarly charged, one “disappeared” after being arrested, and two were gunned down by cops.

A high point of the Marroquín benefit was the brief talk by Fred Decker, United Mine Workers organizer from West Virginia, who was in California to rally support for the mine strike (see box).

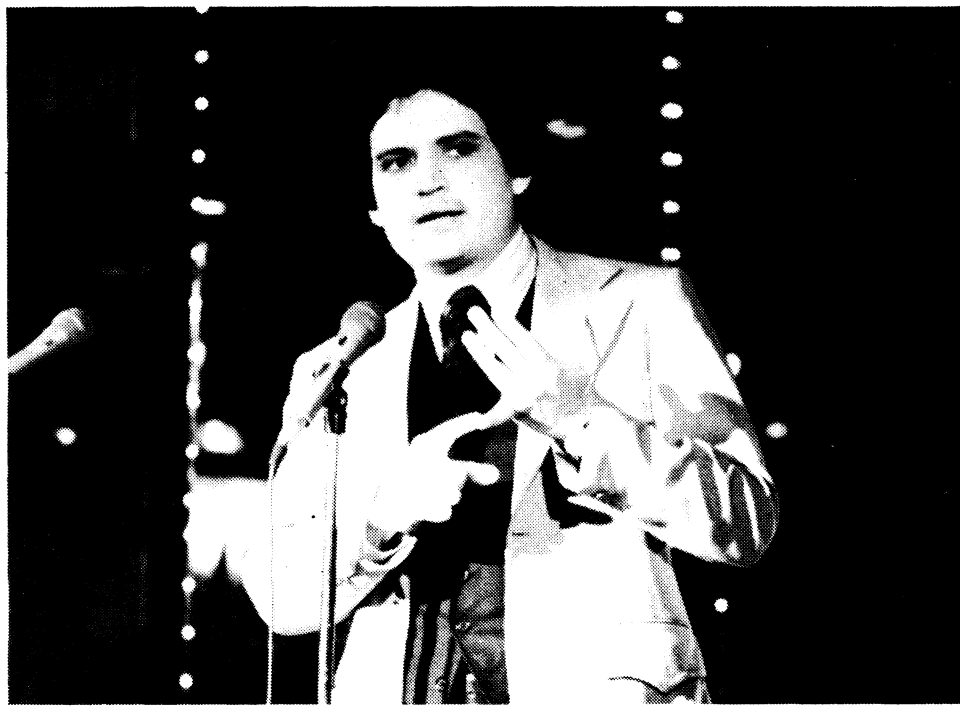
Among the other speakers was Ed Morga, national president of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

Morga told the crowd why he felt it was important for everyone to defend Marroquín despite political differences they might have on other issues.

“Some rights transcend national boundaries,” Morga declared. “Those rights must be fought for, regardless. All countries that perpetrate injustice must be held accountable.”

The gathering also heard Ali Shokri, a former member of the Iranian Air Force, who is also fighting deportation. He faces imprisonment, torture, and perhaps death if forced to return to Iran.

The gathering heard declarations of solidarity with Marroquín from Roberto Enriquez of the Socialist Labor Party, Ed Félix of the Peace and Freedom Party, and Pedro Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party.



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/Harry Ring

## Miner speaks at benefit

LOS ANGELES—A rousing ovation was given Fred Decker, a United Mine Workers organizer from West Virginia, who appeared at the Marroquín benefit here to appeal for support to the striking coal miners.

The hall resounded with chants of “Huelga! Huelga!” when Decker spoke.

“Huelga” is strike, explained Pedro Vásquez, adding that when so chanted, it means, “We support you! We love you! We want you to win. When you win, we win.”

—H.R.

A Chilean exile, Leonardo Ibañez, said there were many refugees from Latin America who face the same danger as Marroquín.

A number of Marroquín supporters were introduced from the audience. Among them were Ignacio “Nash” Rodríguez, who ran for secretary of the United Steelworkers union on the Fight Back slate last year and Raymond and Anna Campos, community activists who have given significant support to Marroquín’s defense. Raymond Campos is the former director of the One-Stop Immigration Center, a major counseling service.

The afternoon’s entertainment was outstanding. Among the individual artists and groups contributing were:

Uruna, a Latin American folklore group, which performed the music of the Quechua Indians of Peru; a ten-member mariachi band from California State University at Los Angeles; the Huastecos quartet; singer Laura Acuña; and Carlos González, a Mexican artist in residence here.

The performers were introduced by Pedro Vásquez, Los Angeles coordinator of the Marroquín Defense Committee.

## Trade unionists back Marroquin asylum fight

The text of a “Labor Appeal to Save the Life of Héctor Marroquín” has been released to the press by the Marroquín Defense Committee. Initial signers of the appeal include officials from seven unions.

“We’re asking defense activists to take the labor appeal and get it signed by as many trade unionists as possible,” said Roger Rudenstein, a defense committee coordinator. “Labor has a big role to play in defending Héctor Marroquín.”

The defense committee intends to use the signed appeal to greatly step up the work of getting labor support.

“Local defense committees can write letters to labor officials explaining the case and then follow up with phone calls and visits,” said Rudenstein. “Union executive boards and local membership meetings can be asked to endorse the appeal. Supporters who are union members can ask everyone they know to sign, from the president of their local to co-workers.”

“The defense pamphlet (*My Story* by Héctor Marroquín) will be helpful in winning new supporters in the labor movement. In this pamphlet Marroquín describes how he participated in a Teamster organizing drive in Houston. He did this knowing if he stuck his neck out for the union he might be deported to Mexico by *la migra*.”

The biggest activities in the labor movement right now are solidarity events in support of the coal miners’ strike. Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are actively involved in this campaign. Joel Britton, who is helping coordinate this work for the SWP, explained how it can be combined with getting labor support for Marroquín.

“The principle that ‘an injury to one is an injury to all’—is being revived by those unionists defending the striking miners.”

“This gives defenders of Héctor Marroquín, a trade unionist and a socialist, new opportunities to discuss the need for labor solidarity with this victim of

a government frame-up. Union officials and activists attending meetings in support of the striking miners will be open to endorsing the labor appeal to save Marroquín’s life.”

Members of the SWP in trade unions have made Marroquín defense a regu-

lar part of their political activity—selling copies of *My Story*, getting petitions signed, collecting funds, and obtaining endorsements. This work has already yielded important gains. In New York City, for example, Marroquín supporters at the Brooklyn Navy

Yard have collected more than eighty signatures on defense petitions.

In Detroit, activists in the United Auto Workers union have set up meetings before their local executive boards to ask for endorsement of the labor appeal.

## Text and signers of labor appeal

We support the appeal for political asylum by Héctor Marroquín, a fellow trade unionist who faces deportation to Mexico where he fears he would be jailed, tortured, and possibly killed.

As a student in the early 1970s, Héctor Marroquín incurred the wrath of the Mexican government for helping to organize peaceful, massive marches in favor of democratic rights and university autonomy. He was falsely accused by the police of murder, assault and “subversion.” He was then tried and convicted in the Mexican press and forced to flee for his life. In 1974 he came to this country as a political refugee without papers.

In 1977 Héctor Marroquín participated in a successful organizing drive for Local 949 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at the Houston Coca-Cola bottling plant where he worked. He is known in Houston’s Latino community as an activist in the movement against racism and as a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

We are concerned that Héctor Marroquín not be deported by our government to Mexico where he would be victimized. Although we do not necessarily agree with his political views, the labor movement must stand four-square behind victims of government repression and injustice. We appeal to all trade unionists to come to the defense of Héctor Marroquín.

An injury to one is an injury to all! Leonard Barker, president, United Steelworkers Local 2584, Pittsburgh; Henry Bayer, director, Council 101, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Illinois; Pete Camarata, Teamsters for a Democratic Union; Percy Edmond, recording secretary, USWA Local 50, San Francisco; Michael Flug, secretary-treasurer, AFSCME Local 836C, Detroit; Earl Gilman, president, Service Employees International Union Local 535, San Francisco; Patrick G. Gorman, chairman of the board, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; Harry Ibsen, president, Communications Workers of America Local 9415, Oakland; Walter Johnson, president,

Department Store Employees Union Local 1100, San Francisco; Charles Leonard, president, USWA Local 7097, Pittsburgh; Max Liberles, president, Illinois Union of Social Service Employees Local 2000, AFSCME; David McCullough, vice-president, United Auto Workers Local 869, Detroit; John Perko, president, USWA Local 6115, Inland Steel, Virginia, Minnesota; Joseph Sperling, vice-president, District Council 37, AFSCME, president Local 371, New York City.

Unions listed for identification purposes only.

If you would like to endorse this appeal, fill out the coupon below.

- ☐ I endorse the “Labor Appeal to Save the Life of Héctor Marroquín.”
- ☐ Please send \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the appeal.
- ☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

Union \_\_\_\_\_

Official position \_\_\_\_\_



Patrick Gorman, chairman of the board of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Clip and mail to Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 254-6062.

## National board meeting

# NOW sets 'ERA emergency' campaign

By Shelley Kramer  
and Claire Moriarty

The National Organization for Women (NOW) convened a special session at its national board meeting February 26 to take stock of the Equal Rights Amendment ratification drive and to review NOW's strategy in light of recent state defeats.

The board acknowledged what has become increasingly obvious—the ERA is in serious jeopardy.

Since it was passed by Congress in 1972, thirty-five states have ratified the ERA. To win, three more states are necessary. The deadline is March 22, 1979.

In the four states where ERA votes have been taken in 1978—Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia—the amendment went down to defeat. Several other states legislatures do not even plan action on the ERA this year.

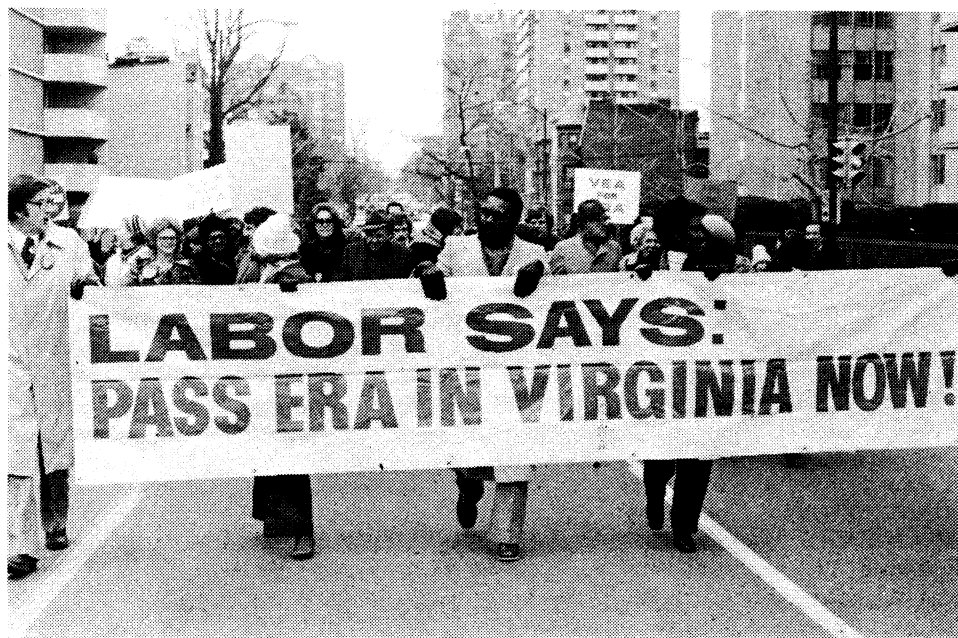
"If the ERA is defeated, it will be perceived as a vote against equality for women," the NOW board warned in a press statement. The NOW leaders are right. A defeat of the ERA would be a grave setback in the struggle to defend all women's rights; a victory for the ERA would be a powerful weapon in defending the gains women have made against government attacks.

The board therefore declared a "state of emergency" in the ERA drive and called for NOW's 82,000 members to "turn all our resources to the ratification effort and to the extension of the deadline for ratification of the ERA an additional 7 years."

The objective of this emergency effort is to pass H.J.Res. 638, a congressional bill to extend the deadline for ratification to March 22, 1986.

To implement this emergency plan, NOW's leaders set new guidelines for the activities of every officer, chapter, and member.

The board voted to reorder the priorities of all national officers and board



Labor coalition organized 3,200-strong January ERA rally in Virginia. But Virginia NOW leaders focused energies on rounding up votes for 'pro-ERA' candidates, not building the action.

members in order to concentrate exclusively for the next six months on lobbying for the extension bill and working to elect "viable pro-ERA" candidates in unratified states.

The membership is to take up the same tasks. Hundreds and thousands of postcards have been distributed to NOW members to mail to congressional representatives and President Carter. Local caravans are circulating to recruit lobbyists and campaign workers. The first task of the newly established NOW Political Action Committee is to solicit funds for unnamed political candidates. A drive has begun to win new sponsors for extension in Congress.

And at a special ERA workshop held at the board meeting, clear instructions were given: upcoming regional conferences are to have an "exclusive ERA focus." Local NOW chapters are

to make extension their number-one priority.

Eleven months ago, when NOW held its national convention in Detroit, the leadership promised a campaign that would win the ERA by 1979. Eleanor Smeal, incoming president, was charged with appointing a National ERA Strike Force to begin "planning the overall strategy, mobilizing all the available resources of the organization, and utilizing all the necessary tactics in order to secure the ratification of the ERA. . . ."

In addition NOW approved a Political Action Committee to raise and disperse funds for political campaigns.

The slogan of NOW's second decade was to be: "Failure is impossible!"

What happened in the past ten months to dampen that optimism?

Smeal put the answer bluntly in her statement adopted by the board:

"There comes a time when the harsh political realities must be recognized: the major interests of our country have hypocritically given lip service to the ERA while sabotaging its ratification by political deals, trade-offs, do-nothingness. . . ."

"We cannot fool ourselves," Smeal added. "We have done less than the best. We cannot fail to recognize that we in fact have not adequately alerted our own membership and indeed the nation to the peril to those of us who dream of full equality for women."

Why and how has NOW done "less than the best" for the ERA? Does the new emergency campaign represent a step forward?

NOW has in fact done what it set out to do in April—and that's the problem. NOW's ERA Strike Force and Political Action Committee—charged with spearheading the ERA effort—were designed to pursue a strategy of lobbying politicians and campaigning for pro-ERA candidates in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Active mobilizations of ERA supporters—rallies, marches, speak-outs—were dropped to secondary tactics at best. At worst they were seen as diversions from the "real" work of postcard writing and corridor lobbying.

NOW members who warned against relying on the politicians in office and proposed a different strategy for NOW—a political strategy of relying on the women's movement's independent strength—were red-baited for their political views. They were branded socialist "disrupters" and their ideas were held as an obstacle to winning the ERA.

### Virginia model

The national NOW leadership pointed to Virginia as a model for ERA strategy. State and national resources were channeled into an electoral cam-

## NJ NOW members call for abortion, ERA drive

By Willie Mae Reid  
and Helen Schiff

PENNSAUKEN, N.J.—About 200 members of the National Organization for Women in New Jersey (NOW-NJ) gathered here March 4-5 for their annual state conference. The membership meeting, scheduled to discuss priorities for NOW-New Jersey in 1978, was the first held since the national NOW board called a state of emergency around the Equal Rights Amendment.

Alice Cohan, national ERA Strike Force organizer, read the board's statement in the opening session. It called for NOW members to "turn all our resources to the ratification effort and to extension of the deadline for ratification of the ERA an additional 7 years."

The effect of NOW's "ERA emergency" on the fight for other women's rights, especially the right to abortion and affirmative action, was revealed at the Sunday plenary.

Judy Knee, regional representative to the national NOW board, introduced an amendment to counter a proposed abortion rights resolution. Knee's amendment called for delaying funding, public actions, and implementation of any non-ERA project until after the "ERA extension is won."

Opponents of this amendment took the floor to call attention to the critical stage the abortion rights struggle has reached.

They pointed to the passage of Akron's highly restrictive abortion ordinance and to the terrorist attacks on abortion clinics across the country.

Knee's attempts to downplay and delay defense of abortion rights, in line with NOW's new "ERA emergency" policy, were unsuccessful. Her amendment was solidly defeated to a round of spirited applause.

Three special ERA workshop sessions were added to the conference agenda to take up the national board's decisions on the ERA. In her report, Cohan railed against "turncoat" politicians in the state legislatures, who could not be held accountable for their ERA promises until the 1979 elections or later.

Quoting a statement released by

NOW President Eleanor Smeal, Cohan admitted that "we have done less than the best" in fighting for the ERA. Her prescription for this malady? More postcards, more local and national bying to get H.J. Res. 638—the extension bill—out of committee and "passed in this session of Congress."

Cohan's update on the betrayals of state politicians angered workshop participants. They began to express the desire to do more, to be more visible, to be more vocal in their activities.

This discussion prompted resolutions on a series of actions that were

adopted by the conference. These resolutions called for: news conferences coordinated statewide March 22 to complement a special New Jersey delegation lobbying in Washington, D.C.; a statewide rally Mother's Day weekend; and a series of walk-a-thons August 26.

The wide support at this conference for a powerful national response to the ERA emergency was expressed in a resolution calling on the national NOW board to "organize a massive, visible action Columbus Day weekend (October 6-8) in conjunction with the NOW national conference."

## Resolutions on non-exclusion

The New Jersey NOW state conference unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a change in NOW's national bylaws. The resolution proposes the bylaws specify that no woman may be excluded from membership because of political affiliation.

The issue of non-exclusion is an important one in NOW. Last December, after a split in the Philadelphia NOW chapter, the local media launched a slander campaign against NOW, and especially against members of the Socialist Workers Party who belong to NOW. The right of SWP members to belong to the organization was called into

question by those NOW members who split from the chapter.

At that time the national NOW leadership appointed a "fact finding committee" to investigate the Philadelphia events. That committee turned in a secret report to the NOW board at its February meeting. A new "grievance committee" was appointed and charged with reporting its findings on the case to a special board meeting March 18-19.

The New Jersey resolution on non-exclusion serves notice on these committees that NOW members want to maintain an open, democratic organization.

At its board meeting March 10, New York state NOW voted to sup-

port the amendment on non-exclusion.

Other NOW chapters in Arizona, Pennsylvania, and Milwaukee have already added political affiliation to their bylaws.

The state of emergency on every major front of the women's rights struggle places the highest premium on democracy within the women's movement. Only a movement that welcomes the creative thinking of every participant, encourages the expression of different viewpoints, and protects the right to discuss and debate different strategies will be strong enough to win the ERA and defend all women's rights. —H.S.



paign to defeat Democrat James Thompson, a powerful anti-ERA incumbent.

In the November 1977 elections, Thompson was defeated. The way was cleared for passage of the ERA—or so the NOW leaders thought.

Meanwhile, a labor-backed pro-ERA rally received little attention from Virginia NOW because of the “priority” campaign against Thompson, despite the fact that 3,200 trade unionists and others turned out for the January action.

But the ERA never even made it onto the floor of the Virginia House. It was defeated in committee by a vote of 12 to 8 on February 9. NOW leaders staked everything on defeating Thompson. His fate was supposed to strike fear in the hearts of other anti-ERA legislators. But the plan failed and to add insult to injury, two Virginia NOW leaders—one a registered lobbyist and the other the organizer of the campaign that defeated Thompson—were assaulted and arrested by cops at the Virginia capitol building.

Smeal and the rest of the NOW leadership are smarting from this betrayal by the politicians. They see their ERA emergency declaration as a way to “get back” at them—by defeating them at the polls and electing better “friends.”

“Most of the traitors who switched votes and sold us out cannot be held accountable until after March 1979 because they are not up for election until 1980,” Smeal declared in her statement, adopted unanimously by the board.

Women *should* get back at the politicians who are holding up the ERA against the wishes of the majority of Americans. And we *do need* extension of the ERA deadline to wage the necessary fight.

But NOW's emergency campaign is just a repeat of the policies that have brought us to the brink of defeat today. Rather than being urged to break with the Democratic and Republican traitors, NOW members are being told to go on an emergency footing to *increase* NOW's reliance on them and their parties.

### Accommodation to enemies

Dissecting NOW's emergency program reveals a growing accommodation to these enemies of women's rights.

At the board meeting itself, 350,000 postcards were divided among chapter representatives. The March center spread of the *National NOW Times*—featuring an “ERA Action Alert”—is pages of more coupons to be clipped and mailed to Congress urging extension. And the “Action Alert Inventory”—a checklist of activities for NOW members—calls for: first, organizing “letter-writing parties” and visits to congressional representatives; second, writing state legislators on the merits of the ERA; and third, asking organizations to respect NOW's economic boycott of unratified states.

Glaringly absent from the proposed “emergency” activities is a priority campaign of picket lines, rallies, and demonstrations such as the union march in Virginia for the ERA. Instead, the proposed campaign is one of deepening NOW's turn toward becoming a lobbying organization. In fact, one NOW member at the board meeting asked if this was indeed the goal of the “emergency.”

### Subordinating other issues

A particularly dangerous side of the board's “ERA emergency” campaign is the subordination of all other women's issues to the ERA extension effort.

Such an approach will doom—not guarantee—an ERA victory. And it will severely weaken NOW at the same time.

Women are confronting a brutal attack upon their rights today. That's what the ERA emergency is all about. But the emergency does not stop there, it extends to abortion rights and affir-



ELEANOR SMEAL: ‘We’ve done less than the best for the ERA.’

mative action with the same immediacy.

Women are in danger of losing the right to control their own bodies—by legislation such as the Hyde amendment and the recent Akron ordinance and by outright terror and intimidation, shown in the mounting vigilante attacks on abortion clinics.

The *Bakke* decision on affirmative action will be heard by the Supreme Court this spring. It poses a major threat to the equal rights victories of women and oppressed minorities.

Postponing a struggle on these fronts as well endangers the ratification and extension effort for the ERA. By “laying low” on other issues, NOW only emboldens the right wing and helps it confuse and mislead public opinion. And the defeats women suffer as a result strengthen the Democrats’ and Republicans’ hands. They will continue to vote against the ERA, citing the “growing public opinion” against women's rights.

Those who want to defend all women's rights have frequently been charged with “diverting” the ERA struggle by NOW leaders. This just displays the logic of a strategy that depends on politicians—lining up Democrats and Republicans for the ERA becomes easier if the words abortion rights and affirmative action are never mentioned. And it certainly is less embarrassing for these politicians if ERA supporters confine themselves to letter writing and lobbying—and do not surface in noisy protests against the attacks on their rights.

### NOW membership

But tens of thousands of women have joined NOW in the past year precisely to defend their rights—all of them. The resolutions of the March 4-5 New Jersey conference show this. If NOW leaders continue to duck the fight for these rights in order to court favor with politicians, they are risking the ERA struggle and the future of NOW itself.

The emergency women face on the ERA, abortion rights, affirmative action, and other issues demands emergency methods. Every action that NOW calls to actively mobilize support for the ERA—such as the proposed “Mothers Day for the ERA” rallies or the Columbus Day action that has been proposed by New Jersey NOW—are steps in the right direction.

But relegated to last place—behind letter writing, lobbying, and vote hustling for “pro-ERA” politicians—these steps are insufficient.

The distance between women and their rights is widening in the U.S. Giant strides are necessary to close this gap.

Only the masses of women and their allies—organized independent of the capitalist politicians—can take these strides. The coal miners are showing women the way to fight back. Not by waiting for favors from the government but in uniting behind what is rightfully theirs.

# Can Democratic Party serve steelworkers?

By Jack Marsh

CHICAGO—When Ed Sadlowski ran for president of the United Steelworkers of America last year it was a big step forward for union members and all working people.

Sادلowski and Jim Balanoff, who was elected director of USWA District 31 on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate, are now active in another campaign. But this one, unfortunately, is a step backward from the logic and the ideas of the Fight Back campaign.

This new campaign is the candidacy in the Democratic Party primary for Illinois legislature of a Democrat named Miriam Balanoff. Miriam Balanoff, a labor lawyer, is the sister-in-law of Jim Balanoff.

During his 1976-77 union election campaign, Sadlowski told the truth about a lot of issues, from union questions such as dues, job safety, and the right to strike, to broader social problems such as racism, the anti-import fraud, and destruction of the environment.

One theme ran through all his campaign speeches. “The workers and the bosses have nothing in common,” Sadlowski would say. “It's a class question.”

“The boss is there for one purpose alone, and that is to make money, not to make steel, and it's going to come out of the worker's back.”

Sادلowski pointed out that working people have won real gains only when we have relied on our own strength, our own organizations—independent of and fighting *against* the bosses and their agents.

Just as workers need our own unions—militant and democratic unions controlled by the ranks—to fight for our interests on the job, we also need *our own* mass political organization to fight for our interests in the political arena. And that means an independent labor party.

If it's true—and it is—that the interests of workers and bosses are fundamentally antagonistic, then it is impossible for one political party to represent both. And in fact political parties represent only one interest, one group, one class.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties represent the bosses, the capitalists. The slight policy differences between them are in part tactical disagreements over how best to defend the profit system. Mostly, however, these differences are a sham, calculated to make working people think we have a real choice in elections.

It's common wisdom by now that the Democratic president, Jimmy Carter, is following “Republican” policies and backtracking on every promise he made to working people.

The Congress and state legislatures,

mostly controlled by Democrats, have denied women the Equal Rights Amendment and denied poor women abortion rights.

Democratic Party mayors, such as Maynard Jackson in Atlanta and Abraham Beame in New York, have slashed social services, fired thousands of workers, and tried to break the unions.

The Democrats are just as guilty as the Republicans of keeping the minimum wage below the poverty line, failing to provide jobs, increasing taxes on workers, and upholding racist discrimination.

I think that many of Miriam Balanoff's backers, including Sadlowski, would agree that a labor party is a good idea . . . sometime in the indefinite future. But they think it is “practical” to support “good” Democrats in the meantime.

In fact there is nothing either good or practical about this, except for the bosses.

Campaigns such as Balanoff's—whatever the intentions of the candidate and her supporters—*bolster* the bosses' two-party shell game just when millions of workers are beginning to have doubts about the capitalist parties.

Balanoff's campaign tells workers a lie. It tells them that progressive social change can be brought about by electing better individuals within the Democratic Party, the bosses' party.

The strength of Sadlowski's campaign was its emphasis on *union democracy*. Bureaucrats like USWA President Lloyd McBride and AFL-CIO President George Meany didn't think that was a very “practical” proposition either.

But the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign showed that when workers hear the truth about the union, the truth about class relations in society, they respond. These ideas won mass support among steelworkers, far beyond the 43 percent vote for Sadlowski.

Union democracy means more than the right to vote on officers and contracts. It means organizing and mobilizing the union ranks to *decide* and *act* in their own interests. It is the opposite of reliance on arbitrators, government boards, and capitalist-party politicians.

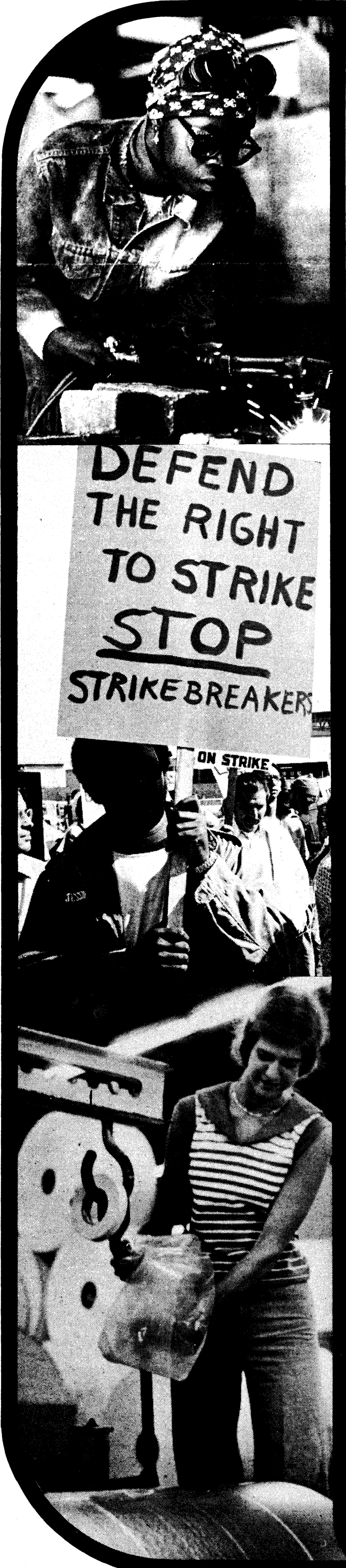
That's why the logical extension of real union democracy is independent working-class political action, a labor party.

And explaining the need for a labor party is one of the most practical—and necessary—tasks for union militants today who want to build a movement to put the unions on the right track.

Like Sadlowski said, it's a class question.



From left: steel unionists Ed Sadlowski and Jim Balanoff with Democrats Miriam Balanoff and Robert Mann. At right is Charles Hayes of Meat Cutters union.



## By Steve Clark

There is greater anticapitalist sentiment and openness to socialist ideas among American workers today than ever before—including the 1930s.

That is the assessment of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, which met in New York City at the end of February.

Convinced that this poses important new challenges and opportunities for the socialist movement, the national committee launched a major step-up in the party's efforts to take its program into the steel mills, coal mines, rail yards, auto plants, and other places where this radicalizing generation of young workers is employed.

The national committee voted unanimously to move immediately toward getting the majority of party members into jobs in major industrial work places.

As Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, put it in the main report at the national committee gathering, "The center of American politics today lies in the industrial working class.

"This is who we want to influence and win to our party," Barnes said. "This is the power we fight to mobilize on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed.

"This is where the majority of the future leaders of the women's movement and struggles of the oppressed nationalities are."

The national committee, elected at the SWP national convention last August, is the party's highest decision-making body between conventions. Among the nearly 200 people who attended the February meeting were not only national committee members, but also organizers of SWP branches and locals, members of the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee, observers from sister organizations of the SWP in several countries, and two guests from the Socialist Labor Party.

### Miners' strike

The plenum, as the national committee gathering is called, occurred in the course of the coal miners' courageous strike against the drive by the energy monopolies and the government to deal a crippling blow to the United Mine Workers union.

The plenum voted to throw the SWP's full energies into getting out the truth about the miners' cause. Socialists are on a campaign footing to get out the *Militant* and Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* to as many people as possible while the strike is on to explain what's at stake for all workers in the miners' battle.

Socialists are also on an all-out drive to help build public solidarity activities for the miners' strike in the unions, on campuses, and in the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women's liberation movements.

### Rulers' offensive

"Nowhere are the scope, the aims, the strategy, and the ferocity of the ruling-class offensive clearer than in the war being waged against the mine workers and their union," explained Larry Seigle in his report on SWP tasks and perspectives.

"It is a preview of what other industrial unions are going to be facing," he said.

"The struggle in the coalfields is an important new stage in the rulers' offensive. It is the first serious attempt to break the grip, to substantially weaken, a major industrial union. It is the most important strike showdown in three decades—since the General Motors strike following World War II."

Seigle explained that the miners' strike is the first major resistance to the rulers' drive to roll back the gains won by the unions and by the civil rights and women's liberation movements.

The bosses and their government are determined to force working people to accept higher prices, less real income, an end to job security, permanent high unemployment, and a reversal of past gains in Social Security and medical benefits.

They are determined to overturn affirmative-action programs for women and oppressed minorities in hiring, on the job, and in education. They are attacking women's right to abortion. They have reinstituted the death penalty.

And while the Pentagon's budget is at an all-time high, the rulers are slashing funds for schools, hospitals, day-care centers, public transportation, and other vital social services.

What the ruling class dreads, Seigle explained, "is the prospect that the confidence and combativity displayed by the miners will inspire others and spread to other sectors of the working class.

"If the miners succeed in turning back this

# A n stag U.S. p SWP turns toward in industrial

offensive," he said, "it will inspire other workers around the country. It will inspire all the oppressed and exploited. Their struggle will encourage others to struggle."

### Changing attitudes

Although the miners' strike is the first massive show of resistance to the ruling-class offensive, the militancy and changing attitudes among young mine workers is not an exception.

The coal miners, Seigle explained, "have a lot more in common with other young workers than the capitalist press would like us to believe. Their experiences, their attitudes, and their aspirations are not so different from the young workers we have been meeting and working with on the railroad, in auto plants, in the steel mills. . . ."

Today, he continued, "there is greater willingness to consider socialist ideas—specific issues and in general—and this is especially true among young workers, workers who are female, and workers of the oppressed nationalities."

The new opportunities this poses for the socialist movement were underlined during the plenum discussion. Speakers reported on the warm reception for the *Militant* in the coalfields, at plant gates, and on the job.

Many speakers described the lively political discussions they have at work, the interest in socialist election campaigns, and the ferment generated by the bosses' offensive.

They talked about their experiences on the job building support for protest activities against the racist and sexist *Bakke* decision, involving working women in the National Organization for Women, and winning backers for Héctor Marroquín, a member of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance, in his fight against deportation to Mexico.

"What is new today," explained Houston steelworker Tom Leonard, "is that there are layers of workers who are consciously looking for *political* alternatives to fight the attacks that are coming down on them.

"There are two processes going on," Leonard said. "There's a criticism developing among workers about what is needed to change their unions.

"But there's also a growing consciousness that alternatives are needed that go beyond the unions."

### 'Militant' opens doors

Tony Austin, a steelworker and SWP mayoral candidate in Newark, said that the "*Militant* has been the best vehicle I've had for opening up discussions with people I work with." Conversations run all the way from grievances about work conditions, to the coal strike, to the recent television series on Martin Luther King.

Dick McBride, a member of Steelworkers Local 1010 in Hammond, Indiana, said that he gets the best hearing for socialist ideas from young workers. "They grab the essence that we're trying to build a working-class party. That we're all members of a class. That we have a lot of power—steel workers, railroad workers, the miners.

"The mine strike has opened up a lot of political discussions in the plant."



# ew e in itics

## new opportunities working class

McBride said he had recently invited a couple of young white workers over to his house on Sunday to hear tapes of speeches by Malcolm X. "They loved it," he said, "because here's a person who was inspiring his people to fight, and inspiring other workers to fight too—uncompromisingly."

### Worldwide assault

In the opening report to the plenum, Caroline Lund analyzed the worldwide character of the assault on working people's rights and living standards.

With the long post-World War II economic boom definitively over, the competing imperialist powers are scrambling for shrinking markets, resorting more and more often to protectionist measures such as tariffs and import quotas.

The recovery from the 1974-75 worldwide depression has been, "limited, faltering, and uneven," Lund said, leaving joblessness and inflation at high levels in all the imperialist countries.

"Hardest hit by the depression, and least touched by any recovery, have been the semicolonial countries," Lund said.

Capitalists everywhere are following the same basic policy: "to boost profits extracted from the hides of the workers."

"So what we see today is a generalized situation of more or less severe austerity policies being imposed in all the advanced capitalist countries."

And "this is only the beginning," Lund said.

It is this belt-tightening squeeze over the past several years that has led to many of the big changes among industrial workers in the United States. "Today more and more this is where the brunt of the ruling-class attack is coming and will come," explained Jack Barnes.

The rulers believe that "they must tame the industrial working class," Barnes continued. "This is their target today. This is the central target of the ruling-class offensive."

These attacks are aimed at a generation of young workers whose attitudes have already been affected by the civil rights movement; by the massive opposition to the Vietnam War among young people both on and off campus, and in the armed forces as well; and by the women's liberation movement.

We are beginning "to see what it means to have more Blacks, more Chicanos, more women, more young workers in basic industry," Barnes said, "and how in real life, in the flesh, the changing attitudes, reactions, and combativity we anticipated begin manifesting themselves."

And manifesting themselves among industrial workers—organized in powerful trade unions—who potentially have the strength to transform society from top to bottom.

### Rightward shift?

The fact that this questioning has not yet found expression in massive strikes and demonstrations has been twisted by the capitalist media to paint a false picture of a rightward shift in American political opinion.

There has been a rightward shift—by the capitalist politicians and parties. This in turn has emboldened some right wingers.

But that is the opposite of what has been happening among this country's working-class majority.

The official leaders of the trade-union, Black, and women's movements have refused to mobilize the power of the oppressed to push back the ruling-class offensive. Their strategy is to corral these movements into getting out the vote for "friends" in the Democratic and Republican parties, hoping to win a few concessions in the bargain.

As the record of the Carter administration shows, this is a dead-end strategy. "It's a demoralizing thing," Seigle explained, "it spreads confusion and lack of confidence, when the misleaders continue to urge the victims of the offensive to look to and rely on the very forces that are responsible for the attacks."

Yet this is the strategy advocated by the top trade-union officialdom, as well as by the leaders of organizations such as the NAACP and the National Organization for Women.

"Once you accept the framework of capitalist politics, of the twin parties, and the framework of the trade-offs as the rulers pose the choices, then as the offensive cranks up, you are going to be forced into more and more grotesque positions and compromises," Seigle said.

As an example he pointed to the NAACP's recent statement on energy. Top leaders of the group have publicly called for deregulation of oil and gas prices and a major increase in nuclear-power development—that is, the program of the giant energy monopolies.

### Women's liberation movement

A separate report by Willie Mae Reid explained how this crisis of political perspectives was affecting the women's liberation movement, and in particular the National Organization for Women.

Socialists understand, Reid said, "that the struggle for women's liberation is part of the class struggle and must be carried out on a class-struggle program that mobilizes women and their allies to defend their rights first, last, and always."

"It is precisely the absence of this kind of perspective in the leadership of the women's movement today that has allowed the government to deal blows to past gains," Reid explained.

The coal miners are setting a powerful example for the women's movement, she said. "Their resistance to the operators' offensive and the outcome of that battle will have an impact on winning the ERA, reclaiming abortion rights for all women, affirmative-action programs, and other women's rights."

The new leaders who can convince the women's movement of this winning perspective are going to come in their great majority from women in industrial jobs and from the communities of the oppressed nationalities, Reid explained. The party's stepped-up efforts to reach industrial workers with its ideas will be important in involving more of these women in the feminist movement.

### Socialist strategy

The default by the current leaders of the labor movement and the organizations of women and oppressed minorities sharply poses the need for a new strategy, new answers, new solutions.

And this is what socialists will be talking about to their co-workers—"talking socialism" as it was called time and again throughout the plenum.

Socialists on the job will be "talking continually to workers about politics," explained Jack Barnes, "about our campaigns, about our paper, about joining the party, about meeting other revolutionists, about supporting social struggles that must have the backing of labor."

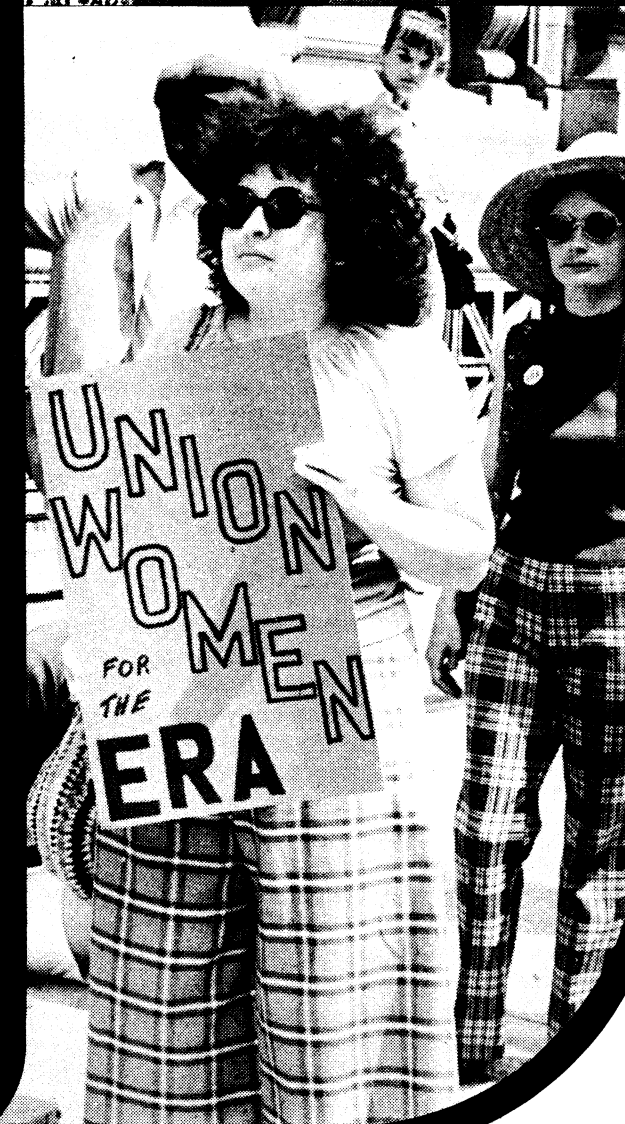
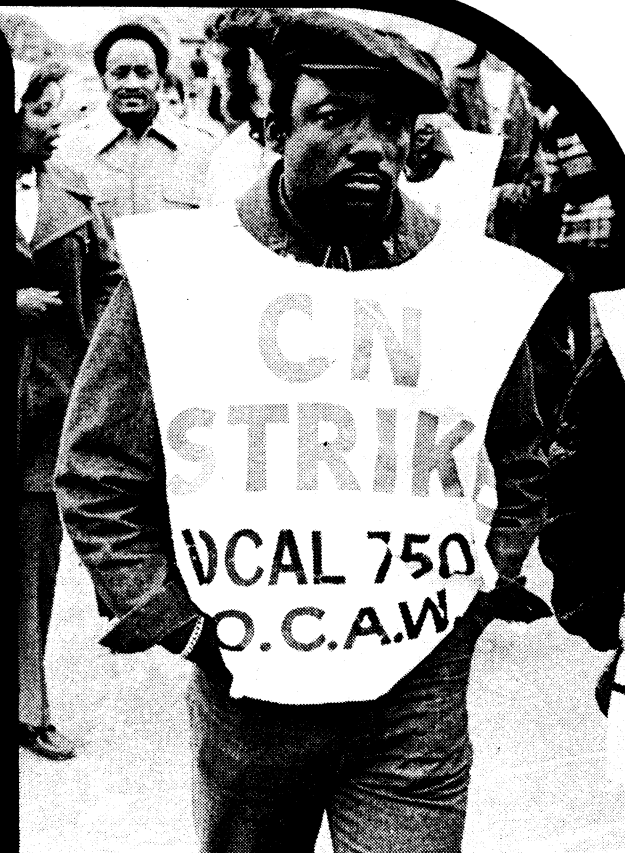
In the process, Barnes said, "We'll get to know workers who are and will become key leaders in the coming battles. This is the most important single arena of training for the proletarian leaders of the struggles to come."

And "it's here," Barnes explained, "that the real leadership of the movements of the oppressed and exploited is being forged—and has to be forged if they're to be led to victory."

Barnes outlined three central concepts at the heart of the SWP's strategy to transform the unions into fighting instruments to advance the interests of all working people: union democracy, working-class solidarity, and independent labor political action.

As the ruling-class offensive intensifies, labor officials attempt to tighten their bureaucratic stranglehold on the unions to keep the ranks under firm

*Continued on next page*



# Big step forward for Fourth International

The following article is based on a report given last month to a meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Fourth International is a worldwide revolutionary Marxist party, with sections in many countries. The SWP is prevented from belonging to the Fourth International by reactionary legislation but is in fraternal solidarity with it.

One of the features of the Fourth International is its democratic internal life. Unlike the Communist parties, for example, differences can be freely expressed, and internal tendencies and factions based on counterposed political perspectives are permitted.

By Barry Sheppard

A new situation is developing in the Fourth International, marking the close of a long chapter. The two major internal political factions in the International, the International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the Leninist Trotskyist Faction (LTF), have now dissolved.

The political differences that led to the formation of the IMT and the LTF originated in a new orientation for the sections of the Fourth International in Latin America adopted by a majority of delegates at a World Congress in 1969. This new orientation consisted of projecting a strategy of guerrilla warfare against military dictatorships on the continent.

The majority that defended the 1969 World Congress turn later formed the IMT, and the minority, which opposed the turn, the LTF. As the debate developed, other issues became involved, including what strategy to take towards the groups and issues emerging around the world out of the new radicalization of the 1960s.

## ...new stage

Continued from preceding page

control. This puts the fight for union democracy at the center of any fight to beat back the rulers' escalating attacks.

This has been dramatically confirmed by the coal miners' strike, where their right to contract ratification has been key at each turning point in pushing the struggle forward.

Pointing to the coal strike, Barnes also explained the importance of solidarity. "Every single one of these struggles turns into a political fight for the minds of the working class," he said. "Not only of the workers who are on strike, but for the workers they must appeal to."

That is why the SWP places such a high priority on getting out the truth about the miners' struggle

The differences were not resolved at the 1974 World Congress, and the two faction formations continued.

In 1968 a split occurred in the Argentinian section over issues that tended to prefigure the differences that were to emerge a year later at the World Congress. The two currents that emerged from this split were one that became the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers Party), and the other that was called the PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Party). The PST current opposed the guerrilla turn, while the PRT extended it, eventually breaking altogether with Marxism and the Fourth International.

Splits occurred in Spain, Canada, Australia, and Mexico in the early 1970s over issues related to those in the factional struggle in the International as a whole. In these countries, two public groups existed side by side, each supporting the Fourth International, but siding with one side or the other in the political debate.

At the same time, responsible leadership from both sides on an international level resisted tendencies toward split and fought to preserve the unity of the International while the political debate was joined.

### Balance sheet on Latin America

Toward the end of 1976, the IMT issued an important document, assessing the turn made at the 1969 World Congress as an error and drawing a critical balance sheet of the consequences of the error. This opened the way to eliminating the issue that had been at the origin of the differences.

At about the same time, motion toward fusions began to develop among the groups adhering to the Fourth International in those countries where there had previously been splits. This reflected three factors.

through sales of the *Militant*, socialist election campaigns, and broad support activities.

The need for solidarity inside the working class also explains why the union movement must become the champion of the demands by women and oppressed nationalities for affirmative-action programs to combat discrimination.

"Without a correct position on these things," Barnes stressed, "without a fight for these things, solidarity is crippled right within the union, right within the work force itself."

The labor movement must place itself at the forefront in the fight for the demands of the entire working class and its allies—the unemployed, the superexploited, the youth, the working farmers.

This also means that the labor movement must wage a political fight for social programs that will benefit the entire class—national health care, a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay, and

One was the example of the International as a whole, which did not split even though a prolonged and at times sharp political struggle was carried on within it.

The second was the greater political experience gained by a new generation of leaders around the world. In confronting all the problems of party building, greater clarity was reached on how to carry out discussion of political differences without resorting to splits.

Most important, a process of political convergence began to develop. In the previous years when splits occurred, there was a tendency in each country for differences to arise over new political issues and to lead to greater and greater conflict. Now, the opposite process began.

Part of this political convergence was a common assessment of the changing world situation. The definitive end of the long capitalist expansion following the Second World War, and the beginning of a new period exemplified by the generalized world recession of 1974-75 and the uneven and halting recovery following it, pose new tasks for revolutionary Marxists.

### Rulers' offensive

In all the imperialist countries, the ruling class has opened an offensive against the working class. Competition between the imperialist powers has intensified. The former colonial countries have been hit hard. The labor bureaucracies in the trade unions, and in the reformist Social Democratic and Communist parties where they exist, cannot offer the working class the necessary leadership to defend its interests against the capitalist offensive. Instead, we see them attempting to contain the struggles of the workers and to administer austerity programs, a policy that flows from their perspective of class collaboration and support of capitalism.

At the same time, radicalizing workers look first

adequate national Social Security benefits and unemployment insurance.

An uncompromising fight for these social programs—and even defense of workers' most elementary rights and past gains—cannot help but run headlong into stiff resistance from both big-business parties.

That's why the perspective of independent working-class political action—a labor party based on a militant and democratic trade-union movement—is necessarily at the heart of any strategy to turn back the ruling-class austerity drive.

### Sales drive

To help explain these basic socialist ideas to the broadest possible audience, the SWP National Committee launched a spring *Militant* circulation drive focusing first and foremost on sales at plant gates and on the job, as well as in the communities of the oppressed nationalities, and—in cooperation with the Young Socialist Alliance—on college and high school campuses.

The special sales effort to get out the truth about the coal miners' fight has helped build momentum toward the official launching of the circulation drive March 15.

Larry Seigle stressed the importance of SWP election campaigns in reaching out to the growing numbers of industrial workers eager to hear new ideas. This year the SWP will be running campaigns in more states than ever before in its history.

Through setting up meetings for candidates before union locals, campaigning at plant gates, bringing co-workers to campaign rallies, and arranging media coverage, the SWP can reach tens of thousands of people and help win new members to the socialist movement.

The SWP's priority on talking socialism in all its activities, Seigle explained, "doesn't mean in any way that our role is limited to commenting on events from the sidelines. Or that actions, rallies, marches on Washington, strikes, and strike support activities aren't on the agenda."

"The point is just the opposite," he said.

Socialists participate in the struggles of the

## New York rally will celebrate completion of Trotsky writings

A rally to celebrate the completion of the twelve-volume *Writings of Leon Trotsky 1929-40* by Pathfinder Press will be held in New York City, Sunday, April 30. This event will culminate a nearly ten-year effort, and the most ambitious project ever undertaken by Pathfinder.

This collection of articles and correspondence by Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the Russian revolution, has been assembled from a number of sources, and many of the items appear in English for the first time. The final volume, *Writings 1936-37*, will appear in April.

Speakers at the rally will include Doug Jenness, political committee member of the Socialist Workers Party; George Breitman, coeditor of the *Trotsky Writings*; and others. There will be many messages from international friends.

The rally will be held at the Ukrainian National Home, located at Second Avenue and Ninth Street, at 3:00 p.m., and a reception with refreshments will follow. Admission is three dollars.

The rally will climax a weekend of classes sponsored by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party and the New York University Young Socialist Alliance.

The classes, organized around the theme of "Fifty Years of American Trotskyism," will be held on Friday night April 28 and Saturday April 29 at Loeb Student Center. Admission for the entire series is three dollars.

For further information on the classes or the rally write: SWP, 853 Broadway, Suite 412, New York, New York 10003 or call (212) 982-5963.



to the big traditional labor organizations for defense, in spite of the misleadership of the reformist bureaucrats. They expect that the trade unions and parties—such as the British Labour Party or the Italian Communist Party—will be responsive to their demands. Revolutionary socialists therefore have to confront the reformist leaderships in the trade unions and work to build a new class-struggle leadership against them. This must be combined with political struggle against the reformist workers parties, counterposing class-struggle methods and program against their political class collaborationism and building the nucleus of the revolutionary party. These tasks cannot be accomplished outside the mass organizations of the working class, the industrial trade unions.

Beginning to grapple with the strategic and tactical problems that this new world situation raises for revolutionary Marxists brought the two tendencies in the Fourth International closer together. In Canada, for instance, the October 1976 general strike against the government's austerity moves was an important factor in bringing the groups supporting the Fourth International together, as was the upsurge in the Québec fight for independence.

### Fusions

In August of last year there were fusions in Canada and Mexico. In Canada three groups had existed—the RMG (Revolutionary Marxist Group), the GMR (Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Marxist Group), and the LSA/LSO (League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière—Socialist Workers League). The RMG existed in English Canada, the GMR in Québec, and the LSA/LSO was a single organization in both nations of Canada. The fused group is called the RWL/LOR (Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire).

In Mexico a fusion occurred between the PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Party) and the LS (Liga Socialista—Socialist League). The PRT itself was the product of previous fusions of Trotskyist groups. The new organization retains the name PRT.

In Spain, the LCR (Liga Comunista Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Communist League) and the LC (Liga Comunista—Communist League) fused in December, retaining the name LCR. Three minority tendencies in the LC rejected the prospect of fusion. At a convention of the LC

held in October, the forces favoring fusion held a majority. These minorities then split, refusing to join the new fused organization.

And in January of this year, the Communist League and the Socialist Workers Party of Australia fused to form a new organization, retaining the name of SWP.

These fusions were all marked by a wide area of political agreement, reflected in the documents adopted. Any new differences will not necessarily reproduce the old lineups, and the new organizations provide a qualitatively better framework to discuss and decide policy on the new challenges facing revolutionary Marxists.

These fusions have had an important result in making the Trotskyist movement more attractive and effective in these countries, in a situation where other groups claiming to stand to the left of the Communist or Social Democratic parties are in increasing disarray.

The same fusion dynamic has recently been evidenced among Iranian supporters of the Fourth International. There have been two such groups, and while they did not result from a split, but came into existence during the first half of the 1970s independently, they tended to line up with one side or the other in the faction debate. Both groups have now made the decision to fuse into a single organization.

A split had occurred in 1974 in the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. The Internationalist Tendency (IT), which had supported the IMT positions, split from the SWP at that time. The IT did not form another organization, but itself divided. Some joined various groupings opposed to the SWP, but others have rejoined the party.

### Dissolution of LTF and IMT

The prospect of clarifying and reversing the error made at the 1969 World Congress, as well as the developing fusions in Canada, Spain, Mexico, and Australia, put the question of dissolving the LTF and the IMT on the agenda.

Since the difference over the strategy of guerrilla warfare was being eliminated, the basis on which the two factions had originally formed no longer existed. While other differences remained, it was wrong to assume beforehand that the discussion about them would proceed on the same basis as before, or that any differences about the big new questions facing revolutionists would automatically follow the old lineups.

To assume otherwise was to fall into the trap of *permanent factionalism*. That is, to automatically assume that the old faction formations should continue, in spite of the resolution of an important aspect of the debate.

Factions or tendencies are, at times, necessary within a revolutionary organization in order to clarify differences and to fight to correct errors, when these are of sufficient gravity. But permanent factions do not have these objectives. They turn into gangs of "likeminded" individuals, whose primary purpose is to hold the gang together. Instead of leading to political clarity, they lead to its opposite.

Both the LTF and the IMT understood this. In August the steering committee of the LTF met and decided to dissolve, and in November the IMT steering committee did likewise.

Agreement was reached in both factions that the best way to discuss remaining differences was without prior discussion by each side in the old formations, but directly through the normal channels of the elected leadership bodies of the Fourth International.

Most important, there is agreement to discuss the new situation and tasks facing revolutionary Marxists on a world scale in this manner, maximizing the opportunities for a rich political discussion and reaching large majority agreement on how to move forward. Any differences that emerge will then be clarified and their meaning for what the Fourth International should do today discussed.

This is the basis on which the discussions are proceeding in the leadership bodies in preparation for the next World Congress, which will be held in 1979.

In the next period the United Secretariat of the Fourth International will also be discussing resolutions on the world political situation, on the tasks facing revolutionists in Europe, and on women's liberation. The outcome of these discussions will clarify what new or old differences exist as the International confronts the new tasks on a world scale, such as the necessity of turning major attention toward the industrial working class as the central arena of political work.

Finally, the dissolution of the LTF and IMT has helped create new opportunities to build a team leadership in the International. The different experiences, strengths, and weaknesses of the leaderships of the different national sections, many of which are relatively new, can be welded together in a more powerful political team.

oppressed not only to help win their goals, but because this is how socialists gain a hearing.

More and more today, SWP members will be taking these campaigns—against *Bakke*, for abortion rights, in defense of frame-up victims—into the industrial unions and involving working people in these crucial social struggles.

### Young Socialist Alliance

The SWP National Committee also discussed ways to improve the party's collaboration with the Young Socialist Alliance.

"A revolutionary youth organization, as embodied in the YSA, is essential to building the mass revolutionary party that will lead the working class and its potential allies to power," explained Malik Miah in a report to the plenum.

As the class struggle in this country heats up, Miah said, the college and high school campuses will become battlegrounds over ideas, as they were during the civil rights movements and the Vietnam War.

Today, for example, the YSA is working with student groups to build campus solidarity meetings for the coal miners. And students are playing the most active role in the fight to overturn the *Bakke* decision, which is extremely important to women and minorities fighting discrimination in hiring and on the job as well.

For these reason, paying close attention to political developments on campus and helping to build the YSA are permanent tasks of a revolutionary working-class party.

A report to the plenum by Mary-Alice Waters pointed to the importance of basic Marxist education in preparing SWP members to meet the exciting challenge of talking socialism to more and more people where they work, live, and go to school. She outlined proposals for educational activities over the spring and summer (see "Learning About Socialism" column on page 31).

Waters also stressed that expansion of the SWP into new cities is a central part of the party's efforts to reach industrial workers with the socialist program.

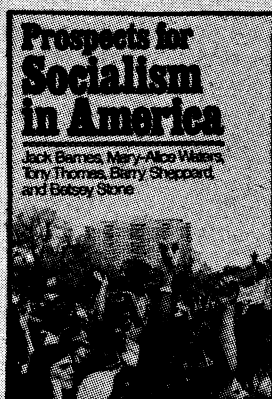
This task—orienting the SWP toward the new opportunities for political activity among industrial workers—was at the heart of every report and discussion throughout the four-day meeting.

"This is not another area of work," Jack Barnes

explained. "This is not another campaign of the party, this is not one of the important tasks of the party. . . .

"This is the entire framework of the party's activity in the immediate future—beginning now."

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# Join the SWP

## Call for protests

# 103 Iranians arrested at Texas college

By Arturo Ramírez Yáñez

BEEVILLE, Texas—A racist, hysterical campaign by the administration of Bee County College culminated March 9 in the arrest of 103 Iranian students.

The students were arrested when they refused to leave a meeting in the school gym after Bee County College President Grady Hogue called them "thieves," "liars," "crooks," and "out-laws."

The students had been instructed to attend the mandatory meeting two days earlier. On that day an article also appeared in the campus paper claiming that Iranian students collaborate with the Soviet secret police, the KGB.

Hogue accused the students at the March 9 meeting of having charged more than \$800 in calls to Iran on the phone bills of townspeople without permission.

The students listened quietly during Hogue's harangue and then demanded

he answer their questions about his charges.

They also wanted to know why the administration was denying them permission to form an Iranian students club. School regulations allow any group to form a club that would compose 7 percent of the student population. (The 200 Iranians on campus are 10 percent of the total Bee College student population.)

Hogue refused to answer the students' questions. Instead he returned later with about a dozen cops who ordered the Iranians to leave.

"I don't want to make Bee County College a forum for foreign activists," he later explained according to a UPI dispatch that appeared in the March 11 San Antonio Light.

When the students refused to leave, Hogue ordered their arrest. The 103 were taken in buses out to jails in nearby towns. Some were released that night, others the following morning—each on \$28.50 bail. Everyone who was

arrested was a registered student at Bee County College.

The students face serious danger. The charges against them have been changed from "disturbing the peace" to "trespassing." This carries a maximum fine of \$200.

President Hogue told the Corpus Christie Caller that the "Board of Trustees has instructed him to take the necessary steps to get rid of trouble-makers."

Hogue told the New York Times that there would be fewer Iranians at the college next year. "We'll probably expel some and change our English proficiency standards to make the people we accept speak better English," he said.

The administration has set up a disciplinary committee to review the status of each Iranian student and find grounds to expel them.

"Such expulsions could lay the groundwork for the possible deporta-

tion of these students to Iran," says Nemat Jazayeri, national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. "In view of their campus protests against the shah, those deported would face possible torture or death." CAIFI is supporting the Beeville students.

On March 10 the students held a news conference demanding that all the charges against them be dropped and that the administration permit an Iranian student club to be formed. They demanded that no students be suspended and that their rights of free speech, assembly, and association be respected.

An Ad Hoc Committee to Defend the 103 Iranian Students in Beeville has been formed. The committee is asking that letters backing the students' demands be sent to Hogue at Bee County College, Route One, Beeville, Texas 78102. Copies should be sent to the committee at: 206 East Inez, Beeville, Texas 78102.

## Davis Cup: sports, politics & free speech

By José G. Pérez

The growing wave of protest against the Davis Cup tennis matches between U.S. and South African teams has sparked a debate on sports, politics, and freedom of speech.

On one side, groups such as the NAACP, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and the Tennessee Coalition Against Apartheid have demanded that the host of the match—Nashville's Vanderbilt University—and the sponsor—the United States Tennis Association—cancel the event.

The foes of apartheid argue that holding the games legitimizes South Africa's system of racial oppression and constitutes scabbing on the international boycott of sports and cultural contacts with the South African regime.

This international boycott has been very effective. South Africa is the only

country ever expelled from the Olympics. It has been excluded from international competition in more than thirty sports and from every major international sports organization except the International Tennis Federation. Even there, a motion to expel South Africa was just a few votes shy of the required three-fourths majority last year. South African teams compete in the North American Zone because no other zone will have them.

Defenders of holding the match say you shouldn't mix sports and politics. But sports competition is highly politicized.

For example, Muhammed Ali, when he was still undebatably "The Greatest," was stripped of his heavyweight champion title because of outspoken support of Black nationalism and opposition to the Vietnam War.

In the case at hand, it is not the foes of racial oppression in South Africa who have mixed sports and politics but the apartheid regime.

When John Vorster became Prime Minister of South Africa in the 1960s, one way he established his credentials with white racists was by promising that Blacks and whites would never play rugby together. Teams in South Africa are rigidly segregated, a policy that Sports Minister Piet Koornhof describes as "99.995 percent successful." Last year, per capita government sports subsidies for whites were 160 times those for Blacks.

In theory competition between teams of different races has been permitted since mid-1976. In fact, however, South African laws require separate bathrooms, lockers, and other facilities, making mixed events next to impossible.

Even on the extremely rare occasions when the government grants official permission for Blacks and whites to compete in the same event, there are other obstacles. In one case, a white cop arrested a Black athlete and demanded to see his permit—right in the middle of a marathon race.

The only exception to the segregationist rules is in international competition. Even there, no Black has ever represented South Africa in the Davis Cup tennis matches. Peter Lamb, a "Coloured," was hastily added to this year's team. But he is a second-stringer and will not step onto the court.

The relaxation of apartheid—but only for teams entered in international events—shows how consciously the South African government uses these events as part of its political campaign to undercut the international movement against apartheid. Those who oppose apartheid have a responsibility to counter these maneuvers.

Recognizing the weakness of the "it's not political" argument, the Vanderbilt administration has retreated to higher ground. Now the university says that if the Davis Cup is political, then it's protected by the university's doctrine of providing an "open forum" for all points of view.

But this is nonsense. Knocking a tennis ball back and forth isn't speech, symbolic or otherwise. What's involved is not discussion or debate but a political act. The university administration and the tennis association are condoning and legitimizing South African



Prime Minister Vorster (center) used pledge to keep sports segregated in his bid for power.

apartheid through their sponsorship of the match.

The argument that some free speech doctrine prevents withdrawal of sponsorship makes as much sense as saying that Vanderbilt University couldn't withdraw official sponsorship from a campus course from which Blacks are excluded.

Moreover, the university's free speech arguments are hypocritical. Vanderbilt does not provide an "open forum" for all points of view. It has set up so many complicated barriers to free speech that, for example, sales of the *Militant* are effectively barred on campus.

If the university wants to promote an "open forum" on the issue of racism, why doesn't it sponsor a symposium on the substantial investments it holds in companies doing business in South Africa? Or a symposium on why Vanderbilt's student body is nearly all white in a city with a substantial Black population?

The reason, of course, is that Vanderbilt isn't interested in free discussion or debate on this question. They only raise the free speech argument as a smokescreen—an attempt to get the heat off the university administration for its outrageous complicity with apartheid.

## On road against apartheid

The Young Socialist Alliance has sent this team to tour campuses in the South and publicize the March 17-19 antiapartheid protests in Nashville. The team is urging support for the protests and selling the *Young Socialist* and the *Militant*.

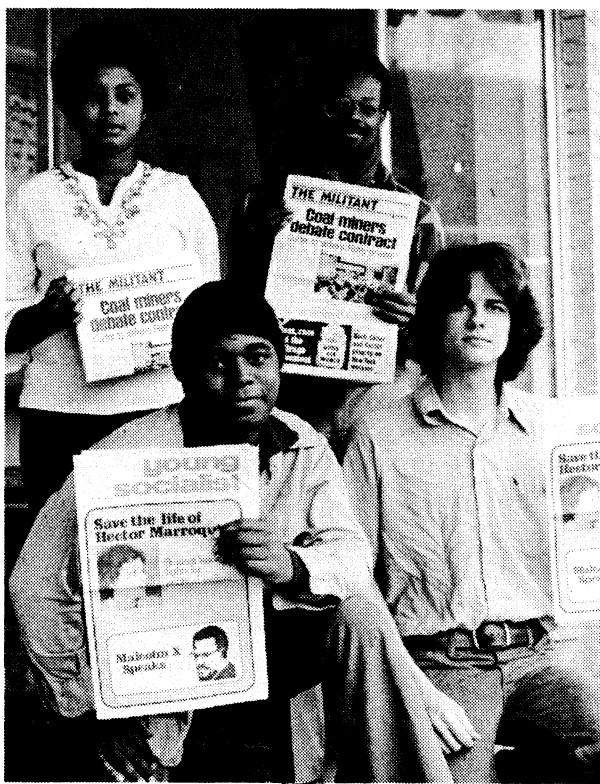
Team members are (clockwise from top left) Shirley Smith, Melvin Chappell, Rick Young, and Sidney Hunter.

The team has already visited the University of Alabama, Miles College, and the Tuskegee Institute. YSA team members spoke to seven classes at Miles and Tuskegee, getting an enthusiastic response.

The team sold 150 copies of the *Militant* in the Birmingham area.

Not only were students excited about the campaign to end U.S. complicity with South Africa, reports the team, students were also interested in the coal miners' strike.

The team plans to visit schools in Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina.



Militant/Harris Freeman



## Robert Sobukwe: 1924-1978

# Antiapartheid leader dies in South Africa

By Ernest Harsch

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, one of the most prominent and influential opponents of white supremacy in South Africa, died in Kimberley February 26 of lung cancer. He was fifty-three years old.

As the leader of the now-banned Pan-Africanist Congress and the organizer of mass antigovernment demonstrations in March 1960, Sobukwe was looked up to by large sections of the Black population as a symbol of resistance to the hated white minority regime.

Sobukwe was forced to spend the last eighteen years of his life either in prison or under partial house arrest. Aware of the inspiration that his speeches and writings could continue to have on young Black militants, the white authorities tried to silence him by declaring him a "banned" person, someone who cannot be legally quoted within the country.

Sobukwe was born in 1924 in Graaff-Reinet in the Cape Province. In 1949, at the age of twenty-five, he became the first elected president of the Students Representative Council at the University College of Fort Hare.

Around that time, Sobukwe joined the African National Congress (ANC), the major Black nationalist group in the country. He became a leading member of the ANC Youth League, a grouping of young militants who were dedicated to transforming the traditionally conservative ANC into a more active organization capable of fighting the racist regime through demonstrations, strikes, and other protest actions.

### Differences with ANC

By the mid-1950s, Sobukwe began to develop differences with the main leadership of the ANC. Along with other militantly nationalist members, who called themselves Africanists, he criticized the ANC's continual efforts to reassure the privileged white minority that their basic interests were not threatened.

In particular, he and other Africanists opposed the ANC's adoption of the 1955 "Freedom Charter," which stated that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white." He saw this as a concession to the whites

and maintained that South Africa rightfully belonged to its original inhabitants, the Blacks.

Sobukwe also condemned the Communist Party's efforts to dampen the national liberation struggle and side-track the ANC. Because of this, he was later slandered as an anticommunist. But Sobukwe responded that there were no real communists in South Africa, just "quacks."

In 1957, Sobukwe became the editor of *The Africanist*, the publication of the Africanist group. Confronted with a series of expulsions and other undemocratic measures against dissidents within the ANC, the Africanists split from it in 1958.

The following year, in April, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) was formally established and Sobukwe was elected its national president. In his opening address at the inaugural convention, Sobukwe declared, "We aim, politically, at government of the Africans, by the Africans, for the Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African."

Sobukwe was first and foremost a nationalist fighter. Although he said that he favored an "Africanist Socialist Democracy" in South Africa, he had little conception of the social revolution that would be required to bring it about, nor of the close interconnection between the class and national liberation struggles in South Africa. Nevertheless, he was emphatic about what he saw as the necessary precondition for freedom in his country—Black majority rule.

With that goal in mind, the young PAC moved into action in early 1960, seeking to mobilize the African population in a mass struggle against the apartheid regime. The focus of its protest campaign was the hated passes that all Africans must carry and that severely restrict their movements and residency rights.

Though the PAC itself was ill-prepared for the campaign and had no clear plans for how to fit it into an overall strategy for liberation, its call for protests found a ready response. On March 21, tens of thousands of protes-



Sobukwe spent the last eighteen years of his life in jail or under house arrest

ters in Cape Town and in the southern Transvaal gathered at police stations without their passes, in defiance of the pass laws. Sobukwe himself participated in the demonstrations in Orlando (now part of Soweto) and was arrested with other activists.

### Pass law protests

Although the demonstrations were organized as peaceful protests, police in Sharpeville fired into a crowd of several thousand Blacks, killing sixty-seven of them, most of whom were shot in the back.

As the unrest continued to mount (including a strike by 70,000 Black workers in Cape Town that lasted for several weeks), the regime cracked down hard. It outlawed both the PAC and the ANC and arrested tens of thousands of activists.

Sobukwe himself was sentenced to three years in prison on charges of "incitement." After he had served his sentence, however, the regime passed a special law—widely known as the "Sobukwe clause"—that allowed the con-

tinued detention of anyone whose release was deemed to further "the aim of Communism." Under it, he was held for another six years on Robben Island, isolated from all other prisoners.

In May 1969 Sobukwe was finally released from prison, but was immediately deported to Kimberley, a town that was unfamiliar to him. He was also banned.

Despite harassment by the regime, Sobukwe retained his faith in the ultimate victory of the Black freedom struggle, a faith he expressed years earlier in 1960:

"We are fighting for the noblest cause on earth, the liberation of mankind. They [the white supremacists] are fighting to retrench an outworn, anachronistic vile system of oppression. We represent progress. They represent decadence. We represent the fresh fragrance of flowers in bloom; they represent the rancid smell of decaying vegetation. We have the whole continent on our side. We have history on our side. *We will win!*"

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## South Africa releases Qoboza, nine others

By Omari Musa

On March 10 South Africa's Justice Minister James Kruger announced the release of ten Blacks jailed during the government's crackdown on the Black movement last October.

Among those released was Percy Qoboza, former editor of the *World*, South Africa's largest-circulation Black-oriented daily before it was shut down.

Others released were Ellen Khuzwayo and Veli Kraai, members of the Soweto Committee of Ten; Moses Tshekane, Justus Legotlo, Moritmedi Malaka, Thabo Sehume, Re-

becca Musi, Kenneth Matime, and Nosidima Pityana.

Pityana was placed immediately under a banning order restricting her movements and prohibiting any political activity.

Kruger said the same fate awaited the others "if they posed any new threat."

The regime is still holding scores of other political prisoners arrested last October under the Internal Security Act.

Among them are Soweto Committee of Ten Chairperson Dr. Nthato Motlana, Black People's Convention President Kenneth Rachidi, and

BPC General Secretary Thandisizwe Mazibuko.

Kruger admitted that 240 people were detained indefinitely under the Terrorism Act alone. Under the Terrorism Act prisoners can be held until they have "replied satisfactorily to all questions."

The murder of Steve Biko and many other Black political prisoners by the South African regime shows that the lives of these activists are in grave danger. Antiapartheid activists must step up their demands for freedom for all South African political prisoners.



PERCY QOBOZA.

## Interview with P.R. revolutionist

# Power company, bus strikes rock island

By José G. Pérez

The March 27 issue of the Spanish-language socialist biweekly, *Perspectiva Mundial*, features an interview with Pablo Soto, coordinator of the Internationalist Workers League (LIT—Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores), Puerto Rican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

The biggest issues in Puerto Rican politics right now, Soto says, are two strikes: one by UTIER, the union of employees of the government-run electric company; the other by TUAMA, the union of workers of the San Juan metropolitan area bus system.

UTIER is one of the largest and most powerful unions in Puerto Rico. Its 6,000 members have been on strike since December for decent wages.

The TUAMA strike started in January. The 1,300 workers of TUAMA are trying to defend two key gains of past contracts: the right to strike and the union shop.

Soto explained, "TUAMA is one of the few unions in the United States or Puerto Rico that does not have a no-strike clause in its contract. The bosses are demanding that binding arbitration be used to settle disputes over the life of the contract."

Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló has played a strikebreaking role in this situation.

"A very important factor in the [1976] election of Romero Barceló," Soto explained, "was that he presented himself as the champion of the rights of working people." Among other things, Romero Barceló promised during the campaign that he would present legislation providing for the unionization of government employees in Puerto Rico.

Soto said the current strikes could be a major turning point in breaking the illusions of masses of people in Romero Barceló and his New Progressive Party.

Soto also reported on the growing solidarity movement with the two strikes. Support committees have been formed in various neighborhoods, and the LIT has participated in these committees. In addition, some other labor unions have joined TUAMA and UTIER on picket lines and demonstrations.

Soto also discussed the recent evolution of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which for several years had been the most visible and active force on the Puerto Rican left, and which plays an important role in several unions. (For example, the president of UTIER, Luis Lausell, is a member of the PSP Central Committee.)

After the 1976 election, the PSP leadership announced in its paper, *Claridad*, that the group would re-evaluate its functioning because of dissatisfaction in the party with the way its election campaign was carried out and with what was viewed as a disappointing electoral showing.

Since then, *Claridad* has frequently reported on changes that the leadership proposes to make in the functioning of the PSP. And it has published reports on the ongoing internal discussions in the organization.

Soto explained that there has also been a noticeable reduction in the PSP's visibility in mass struggles.

*Claridad*, which had been a daily newspaper, went to a weekly schedule more than a year ago. The U.S. weekly bilingual edition of *Claridad* has been suspended.

Given these facts, Soto said, "we believe there is a crisis in the PSP."

"In addition," he said, "there has been a qualitative change in the politics of the PSP."

He explained that since the electoral victory of the prostatehood New Progressive Party in 1976—and since President Ford's lame-duck proposal of statehood for Puerto Rico—the PSP has been advocating the formation of



Luis Lausell, head of power workers union, addresses thousands of workers at February 19 capitol rally sponsored by both striking unions.

an antistatehood or antiannexationist front.

"Historically the PSP has always upheld the idea that unity among independence supporters is needed to win independence," he said. But now, the PSP proposes "forming a front that would include, in addition to supporters of independence, sectors that do not represent the workers, the so-called autonomists or liberals."

Soto explained that what these liberal autonomists support is simply "another form of colonialism." Although Puerto Rican home rule would be broadened under such an arrangement, decisive governmental power would remain in Washington. U.S. social, economic, and political domination of Puerto Rico would continue.

He explained that while the LIT is in agreement with the PSP on the need for a united front of independence

supporters, the LIT is completely opposed to the antistatehood front.

The LIT explains that such a front would tie the fate of the independence movement to that of the politically bankrupt "autonomists," who have largely dominated Puerto Rico's government for thirty years until the recent elections.

In addition, Soto explained, such a front would create illusions in the possibility of an intermediate alternative between U.S. domination and complete independence. And it creates illusions in prominent capitalist politicians who propose such an alternative, such as former Gov. Roberto Sánchez Vilella.

The issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* containing the complete Spanish text of the interview is available for 50 cents from PM, P.O. Box 314 Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

# Shcharansky case: did KGB 'use' CIA?

By Peter Seidman

According to a report in the March 8 *New York Times*, "American intelligence sources" have confirmed that Sanya Lipavsky, a former roommate of imprisoned Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky, worked for the Central Intelligence Agency during 1975-76.

The revelation comes shortly before the opening of Shcharansky's trial on charges of spying and treason.

Shcharansky, thirty, faces a sentence ranging from ten years in prison to possible death. The young dissident insists that he is innocent of all the charges against him.

Shcharansky was a founding member of the Helsinki monitoring group in Moscow. He has openly campaigned on behalf of democratic rights, including the right of Jews to emigrate from the USSR—hardly the type of work that would help a spy gather secret information and escape detection!

The Kremlin has a long record of trying to undercut the appeal of fighters for democracy in the USSR by slanderously labeling them as agents of imperialism. The attack on Shcharansky follows the example of earlier slander campaigns carried out

against opponents of the bureaucracy since the days of Stalin's frame-up trials in the 1930s.

In fact, in its eagerness to link Shcharansky and other dissidents to imperialism, the Kremlin may have even engineered Lipavsky's CIA connection.

Some human rights activists in the USSR claim that Lipavsky was enlisted by the Soviet secret police, the KGB, to work for the CIA as part of a plot to frame Shcharansky.

Speaking of Lipavsky, who has admitted his CIA ties publicly, one dissident asked, "How does it happen that a real spy walks around free and is not being charged?"

The KGB organizes frame-ups linking dissidents to the CIA to help the Kremlin win acceptance for its slander that the movement in the USSR for human rights is a creature of imperialism.

The Kremlin claims it is counterrevolutionary to demand freedom of speech and religion, an end to national oppression, or other democratic rights in the USSR. It falsely equates Stalinist rule with genuine socialism.

Moscow's false claim is echoed by

the U.S. ruling class, which wants working people to believe that socialism and the totalitarian regime in the USSR are one and the same.

In fact, when President Carter—seeking to polish up the U.S. government's Vietnam and Watergate-splattered image—launched his hypocritical and demagogic "human rights" offensive in January 1977, he actually gave the Kremlin a hand in framing up dissidents as imperialist agents.

Soviet dissidents have begun to ask Carter some embarrassing questions. Why did he insist last June that Shcharansky never "had any known relationship in a subversive way or otherwise with the CIA" when he knew Shcharansky's roommate had been recruited by the CIA?

Instead of helping Soviet dissidents, Carter's cynical attempts to use their movement for his own propaganda purposes has put them in danger and helped the Stalinist attempts to discredit them.

Many dissidents were initially taken in by Carter's demagoguery. Given the failure of the trade unions or the massive Communist and Socialist parties of Western Europe to consistently take

up their cause, some dissidents believed that Carter might be a potentially more powerful ally than the movements of labor and other oppressed layers around the world.

But the Lipavsky provocation is helping to clarify Washington's real policies towards the dissidents. It consciously probes and maneuvers with oppositional movements in East Europe. This is not because the CIA's secret counterrevolutionary army of murderers and spies has anything in common with the democratic convictions of the dissident movement.

But rather the CIA is always looking for a foothold in the camp of the oppressed from which to maneuver and influence the outcome of their struggles to the advantage of imperialism.

Fortunately, the Lipavsky incident is causing dissidents to seriously reconsider their views on what Carter is up to. One question they are considering, according to a dispatch from Moscow in the March 9 *New York Times*, "is the degree to which the C.I.A. feels free to engage them in intelligence work, a practice that many feel could taint their struggle for human rights and free emigration."



# Why Carter wants Cuba out of Africa

By Peter Seidman

What's behind the growing chorus of protests by the Carter administration against the Cuban role in Africa?

The current grumblings from Washington have not yet reached the level of Gerald Ford's pistol-packing election-year threats against the Cubans in 1975-76. At that time Cuban aid had been decisive in helping the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) turn back a U.S.-supported South African invasion during the Angolan civil war.

But Carter's threats are serious, nonetheless. The government's rhetoric is cover for stepped-up imperialist pressures against Cuba.

The protests are also designed to win acceptance for gunboat diplomacy such as the dispatch of two U.S. warships to the Red Sea off the Eritrean coast in early February.

It was then that the White House began to escalate its anti-Cuban rhetoric, focusing largely on Havana's assistance to the Ethiopian regime.

By March 2 Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was claiming that the number of Cuban troops in Africa as a whole had climbed to between 35,000 and 37,000.

This is an increase of as much as 37 percent in government-leaked estimates of total Cuban military and civilian personnel in Africa over the figures Washington was claiming just four months earlier.

The big-business press has eagerly chimed in behind the government's propaganda offensive.

The February 15 *New York Times* editorially condemned the Cubans as "tools of Soviet imperial purposes" and "the world's foremost intercontinental force of mercenaries."

The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* followed suit February 23 calling the Cubans Soviet "shock troops" and taking the opportunity to argue for a bigger American military budget.

## Cubans stand firm

The Cuban government insists that Washington's charges are exaggerated.

*Le Monde* correspondent Marcel Niedergang reported from Havana February 14 that, according to Cuban officials, Havana's assistance to the Ethiopian regime does not involve "the sending of large numbers of combat units to Ethiopia."

The top Cuban envoy in Washington, Ram6 Sanchez-Parodi, admitted February 14 that there were some Cuban military units in Ethiopia, however. "We are not acting as an expeditionary force," he said, "but as advisers, technicians and troops."

Against Carter's threats, the Cuban government insists on its right as a sovereign government to conduct its own domestic and foreign policy.

Speaking in Havana December 24 before the National Assembly of People's Power, Prime Minister Fidel Castro said Washington's charges were proof of "a clear intent to blackmail" the Cuban government.

"If the U.S. government believes that in order for relations to improve our people must give up their principles, then in the same manner that in the past we fought against five presidents of the United States, we will now fight against the sixth," Castro said.

## U.S. hypocrisy

Castro also scored the hypocrisy of Washington's denunciations:

"What moral basis can the United States have to speak about Cuban troops in Africa? What moral basis can a country whose troops are on every



Castro with Mengistu Haile Mariam in Addis Ababa. Why is Washington challenging Cuba's right as a sovereign power to conduct its own foreign policy in Africa?

continent, that has, for instance, over 20 military bases in the Philippines, dozens of bases in Okinawa, in Japan, in Asia, in Turkey, in Greece, in the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany], in Europe, in Spain, in Italy and everywhere else?

"What moral basis can the United States have to use the argument of our troops being in Africa when their own troops are stationed by force on Panamanian territory, occupying a portion of that country? What moral basis can the United States have to speak about our troops in Africa when their own troops are stationed right here on our own national territory, at the Guantánamo naval base?"

Castro could have added that despite Washington's hypocritical complaints against Cuba's role in the Horn of Africa, it also supports some of the Ethiopian regime's policies.

One of the chief goals of the Ethiopian military junta (known as the Dergue) is to crush the national liberation struggles of the Somali people in the Ogaden region who want to unify with neighboring Somalia, and of the Eritreans who want their independence.

Right now the State Department also supports these reactionary goals. It fears the impact of any breakdown of the artificial boundaries imposed by the imperialist powers in Africa on the stability of the continent as a whole.

The State Department is actively involved in defense of U.S. interests throughout Africa—most notoriously in collusion with the white racist regime in South Africa.

So, Carter's strident condemnations of Cuban involvement in Africa are clearly hypocritical. At the same time, Washington is genuinely concerned that the presence of Cuban forces in Africa threatens imperialism's neocolonial domination of the continent.

## Washington's real worry

Cuba has given support to numerous anti-imperialist struggles in Africa, including those in Algeria, Mozambique, and Angola.

One current member of the central committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, Commander Pedro Rodríguez Peralta, was imprisoned by the Portu-

guese colonialists for several years because of his assistance to the liberation fighters in Guinea-Bissau.

Che Guevara personally participated in the guerrilla struggle against the imperialist-backed Moïse Tshombe regime in the Congo (now Zaïre) from April through December of 1965.

And in the Republic of Guinea, a Cuban unit helped repel a Portuguese-backed mercenary invasion in 1970.

In numerous African countries, Havana has provided medical, industrial, educational, agricultural, and other assistance. "Indeed," David Ottaway reported in the January 5 *Washington Post*, "Cuba, with a population of less than 10 million, is probably now providing more doctors, medical personnel and technicians to Africa than is the United States, with a population of more than 200 million."

This tradition goes back to the earliest days of the Cuban revolution. In the context of CIA- and Pentagon-directed efforts to destroy the newly born workers state, the Cuban leadership realized that the surest way of defending the revolution was to extend it.

The Castro leadership began helping revolutionists in other Latin American countries in open defiance of Washington. The Cuban involvement in Africa dates from this period as well.

## Negative aspects

Cuba's involvement in Africa, however, has negative as well as positive aspects. During the Angolan civil war, for example, the Cubans (along with the Soviet Union) singled out the MPLA, one of the three main factions involved, for exclusive support. Despite its radical-sounding rhetoric, the MPLA is a procapitalist force. But the Cubans have said nothing about its neocolonialist policies and have in fact helped it to maintain a "left" cover. They also failed to criticize the MPLA's attacks on the working class and its repression against Maoists, Trotskyists, and other political currents critical of the MPLA regime.

These negative aspects of Cuba's foreign policy go back a number of years as well. Before the military coup in Brazil in 1964, for instance, Havana adopted a favorable attitude toward

the regime headed by João Goulart, a bourgeois populist. Havana took a similar stance towards the Allende regime in Chile and the Peruvian military junta of Velasco Alvarado.

Today Castro hails the Ethiopian dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Dergue, as a "true revolutionary" who is working "for socialism."

This is a mistaken description of Mengistu's role and sows illusions about the character of his regime. Although born in the massive social upheaval that overthrew the Haile Selassie dictatorship in 1974, the Dergue is struggling to limit that upsurge within the framework of capitalism, not to extend it toward socialist revolution.

This is why the Dergue bans strikes, brutally represses leftist activists, and wages war against the Somali and Eritrean national liberation struggles.

Washington's protests against Cuban support to this reactionary regime, however, have nothing whatsoever to do with any desire to aid the freedom struggle in the Horn or anywhere else in Africa.

On the contrary, Washington fears:

- That Cuban presence in Africa may represent increased opportunities for Moscow to influence developments there;

- That Cuban forces complicate U.S. maneuverings to uphold imperialist interests among the various regimes and forces;

- That sudden shifts in international alignments might pit Cuban forces more directly against U.S. interests in the Horn than they now are; and most of all

- That in the current period of mass unrest from one end of Africa to the other, Cuban forces may serve to catalyze immense upheavals.

It is these fears, along with Washington's long-standing goal of overturning the gains of the Cuban revolution itself, that explain its latest saber rattling against Havana.

The heightened dangers of imperialist intervention in Africa—and against Cuba—cannot be brushed aside. Opponents of U.S. aggression should remain on the alert.

## Ireland: the liberation struggle enters a new stage



Civil rights march from Belfast to Derry in 1970. After four years of downturn, mass movement is at the beginning of an upswing

### By Peter Archer

On January 22 about 800 people attended a Conference Against Repression held in Coalisland, Northern Ireland. Organized by the Coalisland Relatives' Action Committee (RAC), the conference far exceeded its organizers' expectations in size and in the number of organizations participating.

Representatives attended the conference from the Provisional Sinn Féin, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), the recently formed Irish Independence Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the People's Democracy, and the Movement for a Socialist Republic (Irish section of the Fourth International).

The success of the Coalisland conference is a sign of an important upturn in the Irish liberation struggle after four years of decline.

### 400 years of oppression

Ireland was brought fully under British rule during the wars of conquest fought by England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These wars largely established the pattern that was to make England the greatest of colonial powers.

The colonization of Ireland was maintained through the implantation of a Protestant-settler population. Against them, the Irish population clung to their only historic institution to survive the conquest—the Catholic church. During the period of the conquest and the consolidation of English rule, the European Catholic powers seemed the only possible allies for the embattled Irish people.

Thus, the conflict today in Ireland between Protestants and Catholics is in essence a question of national liberation, not of religious hatred.

In 1921 twenty-six counties in the South broke away from England, and achieved formal independence as the Republic of Ireland. The other six counties—Northern Ireland—remained under British rule.

This partition of Ireland was at first viewed as temporary by the population of the South. The constitution of the

republic, in fact, still explicitly refers to the unification of all thirty-two counties as an eventual goal. But over the past fifty years, the capitalist rulers of the South have increasingly sought to bury this goal in the interests of maintaining good relations with British imperialism.

Within the six counties, the Protestant stronghold in Ireland, Catholics make up roughly 35 percent of the population. They are segregated into inferior housing, denied equal political representation, discriminated against on the job market, and have been the victims of periodic pogroms carried out by Protestant gangs.

In the 1960s a mass civil rights movement against these conditions began to develop. Marches were held involving thousands of Catholics in Belfast, Derry, and other cities. These marches were attacked by right-wing Protestant gangs, aided or tolerated by the Royal Ulster Constabulary. The RUC repeatedly attacked the Catholic ghettos.

The illusion that the Protestant-dominated government in Belfast would grant the Catholic population democratic reforms was shattered by these police attacks.

An enraged population drove the RUC from the ghettos.

This was accompanied by an upsurge in the South, threatening the stability of the capitalist government there. In the struggle of the civil rights movement in the North, the Irish working people of the South saw the possibility to fulfill the dream of a united, independent Ireland.

The British government sent troops to Northern Ireland to "restore order and keep the peace." Just what kind of order they intended to keep was quickly shown.

### Bloody Sunday

In July 1970 the troops raided the Lower Falls Catholic ghetto in Belfast in search of weapons. No such search was ever carried out in Protestant areas, despite the fact that Protestant gangs are much more heavily armed than any Catholic defense force.

After the "Battle of the Falls," the British occupying forces began to fire randomly with intent to kill when there were clashes with Catholic crowds. In January 1972 troops opened fire on a peaceful demonstration in Derry, killing twelve demonstrators. News of the Bloody Sunday Massacre flashed throughout the world, provoking broad sympathy with the Irish struggle.

At the same time, the British government, in an effort to prevent an uncontrollable social explosion, pressured the Belfast government into making some slight cosmetic concessions. The Belfast parliament was dissolved, leading to illusions in Northern Ireland that Britain was going to impose reforms over the heads of the Protestant regime.

In this situation, the Catholic bourgeoisie in the North—which was also aiming to cool down the upsurge—was able to persuade the Catholic minority that it would be possible to achieve improvements through negotiations. It dangled the prospect of some form of power-sharing in the new parliament as an incentive to dissolve the civil rights movement.

As the movement began to dissipate, Protestant right-wing gangs stepped up their terror tactics. Combined with the repressive actions of the British troops, this served to demobilize the movement.

### Lack of leadership

The Irish Republican movement had no strategy to combat these illusions.

The "Official" wing of the Irish Republican Army evolved toward a position that concessions could be won from the Belfast government if the republican movement deemphasized the national oppression of the Irish Catholics and instead tried to forge "unity" between Catholic and Protestant workers around purely economic "bread and butter" issues.

Such an approach ignores the particular dynamic of the struggle for self-determination by an oppressed nationality in the epoch of imperialism.

The Irish working class is oppressed both as a class and as a nation. It is

superexploited by a Protestant ruling class. Unity between Catholic and Protestant workers can be forged, but only by fighting for the right of the Irish population to independence.

But the "Officials" began to see the national question as not only less important than economic demands but as actually harmful to them. They mistakenly saw the source of divisions in the Irish working class as the struggle of the Irish people for self-determination rather than the national oppression of Ireland by Britain and its Protestant agents in the North.

Thus, logically, the "Officials" have begun to find a positive side to the imperialist occupation of Ireland, which, as they saw it, helped prevent "civil war" between Catholic and Protestant workers.

The Provisional IRA, which correctly understands the centrality of the national struggle, unfortunately has a completely bankrupt strategy for how to get the imperialists out of Ireland. They do not understand the importance of the building of the mass civil rights movement and instead counterpose the continuation of a guerrilla warfare campaign against the British troops.

By reducing the struggle to purely military terms, the Provisionals effectively exclude the masses of Irish people—the only force that can win liberation—from any role in that struggle.

Because of their exclusive reliance on guerrilla warfare, the IRA has been largely isolated. This has made it easier for the government to victimize it time and again.

Neither wing of the IRA offered a political program linking the demands of the civil rights movement for an end to housing and job discrimination, political representation, and the right of self-defense, to the broader questions of Irish independence.

### A new situation

But Britain, through its agents in the Belfast government, has been unable to grant any concessions to the oppressed Catholic population.

British imperialism backs the Unionist power structure in the North. It depends on this structure to continue its exploitative relationship to Ireland. It will not take any steps that would substantially weaken that structure for fear of bringing about its overthrow.

Furthermore, the worldwide economic crisis that began in the early 1970s means that Britain must try to maintain at all costs the superexploited position of the Irish Catholic workers—the source of much-sought-for profits.

To demonstrate Britain's commitment to the status quo, Queen Elizabeth toured Ireland last year accompanied by a massive show of force. This was a culmination of the campaign to break the back of the liberation movement once and for all.

But Elizabeth's visit was met by angry demonstrations for independence. Moreover, the royal visit made clear to the Catholic bourgeoisie that to maintain some measure of credibility, it would have to appear to harden its stance toward London.

In the South as well there has been serious discontent with Dublin's proimperialist policies. As the capitalist economies of Western Europe have plunged deeper into crisis, it has become clear that alliance with British imperialism will not bring economic benefits.

In the June 16, 1977, parliamentary elections in the twenty-six counties, voters threw out the ruling Fine Gael party and its junior partner, the Labour Party, and returned a sweeping



majority for Fianna Fáil. For historical reasons and because of differences in their electoral bases, Fianna Fáil is the more vulnerable of the two parties to nationalist pressures.

Especially significant in the elections was the defeat of Conor Cruise O'Brien, one of Southern Ireland's most well-known and vigorous opponents of unification of Ireland.

The *Christian Science Monitor* commented following the elections, "One early explanation for the upset is that Southern Irishmen want more positive action taken to recover Northern Ireland from Britain."

In Northern Ireland the Social Democratic and Labour Party, the Catholic-based opposition party there, recently expelled one of its leading members, Paddy Devlin, in September 1977. Devlin had accused the SDLP of backsliding toward nationalism and moving away from its policy of winning over the "moderate Unionist voters."

What Devlin's expulsion made clear is that the former policy of the SDLP of cozying up to imperialism in the hope of catching a few crumbs is becoming harder and harder to sell to Catholic voters.

### New opportunities

These shifts by liberal capitalist forces do not, however, signal any fundamental change in policy. If possible, both Fianna Fáil and the SDLP would like to reach an accommodation with imperialism.

But they are subject to the pressures of nationalist sentiment in Ireland.

Now that the illusions about possible concessions from Belfast are crumbling, there is the beginning of a revival of the mass movement against the British presence. The Coalisland conference was the most important indication of this to date.

The treatment of political prisoners, which has been a focus of the Relatives' Action Committees, is an extremely sensitive one for the British occupying forces.

Although internment—the practice of imprisonment without trial—was formally ended some years ago, many political prisoners are still held in Irish jails. They are denied the rights normally accorded political prisoners and treated as common criminals.

Moreover there have been widespread reports of torture by the British "security forces." The February 7, 1977, *London Times*, for example, reported that mind-disrupting drugs were being used on prisoners at the



McALISKEY

Militant/Bill Lerman

Gartree maximum security prison. Many times torture is more brutal, involving beatings, and other forms of physical torture.

The Irish government in Dublin submitted charges of British torture to the European Court of Human Rights. But despite overwhelming evidence, the court recently acquitted the British government of the charge, although admitting inhuman treatment of many prisoners.

Organizers of the Coalisland conference speculated that the high turnout for the meeting was probably partly a reaction to this verdict.

The events of the past four years have given food for thought to some forces on the Irish left.

For example, the Movement for a Socialist Republic and People's Democracy have recently been involved in a fusion process. At the Coalisland conference, they conducted a joint intervention based on an agreement on the strategy of building a mass anti-imperialist movement.

Although the Independent Socialist Party, of which Bernadette Devlin McAliskey is a member, did not collaborate directly with the MSR-PD intervention, their perspective at the conference was very similar. Summing up the results of the conference, McAliskey told those assembled, "The people inside this hall are not new to one another. We are the children of '68. Most of us have been through the experience of the civil rights movement and have attained a higher level of consciousness because of that."

"We need to involve the thousands of other people outside this hall, to bring them through the same experiences and give them confidence to struggle."

## ...seizure

Continued from page 11

shown that he stands squarely in the camp of the bosses.

Of course, in his speech announcing his decision, the president tried to preserve an aura of neutrality.

"For too many years in the past the miners, their parents and their grandparents paid an unfair and bitter price for working in the mines," Carter said.

"More improvements are still needed," he admitted.

But "as President, I call on the mine workers, the coal mine operators and all Americans to join in a common effort under the law to . . . resolve fairly the differences which have already caused so much suffering and division in our land."

This pretense was punctured that same night by Doug Arrington, secretary-treasurer of UMW District 28 in Virginia. "I think this is an absolute example of our government ignoring the needs of people and turning to big business and saying, 'We're in your pocket.'"

A few minutes earlier, Arrington and some 200 other striking Virginia miners had voted in favor of government seizure.

What they meant by seizure, and what Carter means by seizure, are clearly two different things. The miners meant that Carter should get out of the coal operators' pocket and instead force them to accept the UMW's just demands.

These expectations among nearly 200,000 militant miners would create an explosive situation for Carter if he were to seize the mines and not meet the union's proposals.

Things didn't work out so well for the government the last time it tried to force strikers back to work by seizing the mines.

When President Truman issued such an order on May 27, 1946, his aim—like Carter today—was to break the UMW's two-month-long strike. To show he meant business, he ordered a detachment of 150 soldiers to Madisonville, Kentucky, to protect a few scab miners.

But Truman's order didn't force the 400,000 striking miners back into the coal pits. "Two days later," Art Preis explains in *Labor's Giant Step*, "the miners chalked up another triumph. Not they, but the administration capitulated."

This is what many miners remember about government seizure. Truman's original intent, however, was to "draft" strikers and force them to work under military orders.

It was the miners' defiance that thwarted this plan.

## ...sales

Continued from page 7

and it draws the lessons to be learned from past struggles."

The team brings along a leaflet with an editorial supporting the miners reprinted from a December *Militant*.

Bechler has been selling the *Militant* for several years. He described these as the easiest sales he has ever had. In some of the hollows, the majority of residents are now *Militant* readers.

In Sharon hollow, where they visited about twenty-five homes, Stoller said, fourteen bought papers and seven others bought subscriptions. Sales also went particularly well in Cabin Creek, Cannelton, Leewood, Hugheston, and Quincy. The response is positive from all age groups.

After reading the *Militant's* masthead, some people ask what a socialist paper is. "When I explain that socialists are like Mother Jones and Eugene Debs," Bechler said, "people get it right away."

The week before, the Charleston daily paper ran a lengthy article on the miners organizing battles of 1912-13. Jones and Debs were prominently mentioned. Apparently many miners had read the article with great interest.

The same is true today. The only thing that will force Carter and the coal operators to back down is the miners' continued will to fight, backed up by solidarity from other unions and working people—financial contributions, car caravans of food and clothing, and union-sponsored rallies and demonstrations.

This will be so no matter which tactic Carter chooses to use against the miners.

The Carter administration's threat to cut off food stamps from the families of striking miners shows just how low the government will stoop in helping out the coal bosses.

The truth is that the Democratic and Republican parties are in the forefront of the assault by big business on the living standards and working conditions of all workers.

The plan to roll back the past gains won by the UMW, for example, was not drawn up by the coal operators alone. It is central to Carter's energy plan, which envisions a major expansion of coal production and profits in coming years.

If the government gets away with using Taft-Hartley to break the miners' strike, it will be emboldened to use this slave-labor law more and more often against working people.

Carter's collusion with the coal bosses shows once again that working people cannot depend on either of the two big-business parties to represent their interests. They need a political party of their own, a labor party based on a united and militant trade-union movement.

A labor party would mobilize the entire union movement in action to support the miners. It would reach out to allies in the women's movement, in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, and on campuses.

A labor party would campaign to force the coal operators to open their books for inspection by committees of miners democratically elected by the UMW ranks.

It would fight to take the mines out of the hands of the profits-first, safety-last coal bosses, and nationalize them under workers' control. This would be the opposite of seizure of the mines by Carter on behalf of the coal bosses.

A labor party would struggle for a workers government that would nationalize all basic industry and the banks and implement democratically planned production for the benefit of the whole population.

The Democratic and Republican parties, and the government they administer, will do none of these things.

Their aim is not to give miners a fair shake. Their aim is to help the coal bosses shake down the miners.

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# In Review



A two record set

34 Jazz performances

**L'Ana Webster.** She may have been the first woman jazz soloist featured with a male band (with Mike Riley's big band, 1937).

**Jazz Women: A Feminist Retrospective. Volumes One and Two.** Stash Records. 1977. \$7.98.

**Women in Jazz: A Survey.** By Frank Driggs. 24 pages. Stash Records. 1977. \$2.00.

*Jazz Women: A Feminist Retrospective* and *Women in Jazz* are both significant contributions to a neglected subject.

As Franklin Driggs explains in his pamphlet, "Despite the fact that women have been active and outstanding since the start of pop music and

make clear, women contributed in many other areas of jazz as well.

Lovie Austin, one of the legendary Chicago musicians of the 1920s, is featured on two cuts. Mary Lou Williams in her liner notes remembers "seeing this great woman sitting in the pit and conducting a group of five or six men, her legs crossed, a cigarette in her mouth, playing the show with her left hand and writing music for the next act with her right."

In a business where cheating artists was the rule, no one put anything over on Austin.

In 1923, when the fabulous Alberta Hunter was eleven years old, she wrote "Down Hearted Blues." It was Lovie Austin who knew copyright law and registered the song in Washington.

Bessie Smith sang "Down Hearted Blues" on her first record, and it sold 780,000 copies. Lovie Austin later wrote "Graveyard Blues" for Smith and made hundreds of other recordings.

Lil Hardin was playing piano in Chicago with King Oliver and the other great jazz musicians who brought the new music up from New Orleans after World War I.

When Louis Armstrong arrived, Hardin influenced him musically, helped him achieve renown and maturity, and played with him in the famous Hot Five band of the twenties.

Being a good businesswoman, she got them nightclub jobs and presumably laid the groundwork for the historic Hot Five recording sessions.

Hardin later studied theory and composition, earning two college degrees. Under the name Lil Armstrong (she married Louis) she is showcased on these albums on three early numbers from her fifty-year career, singing some salty lyrics and accompanying herself on a rollicking ragtime piano.

"At the dawn of the jazz era," wrote Driggs, "it was the singer Mamie Smith whose recording of 'Crazy Blues' on the old Okeh label in 1920 became the hottest thing in the record industry." She helped open the door for other women to begin recording blues and jazz. Ma Rainey and Ida Cox, who both have songs on this album, are two pioneer Black artists who made an enormous contribution to American culture.

Mary Lou Williams, pianist-composer-arranger, is the most important female instrumentalist in jazz. She not only lived through, but played through, all the eras in the history of jazz.

Her extensive liner notes, written especially for this album, sparkle with personal reminiscences. She knew the musicians from Chicago, from Kansas City, and from New York.

During the 1940s in New York her home became a gathering place for all the young musicians who were creating the new music later labeled Bop. She has composed more than 350 pieces.

Recently she had a twin piano concert with avant-garde pianist Cecil Taylor.

At last Williams received national attention when her "Mass for Mary Lou" was choreographed by Alvin Ailey. Three of Mary Lou Williams's numbers are on this album, including the lively piano solo "Nightlife," her first record.

There are two big bands made up entirely of women on the album. Ina Rae Hutton's Melodears, and The International Sweethearts of Rhythm,

probably the best of the "all girl" bands, as they were called.

The International Sweethearts was headed by tenor sax star Vi Burnside. "She was really tough," Mary Lou Williams wrote. "When she passed out some music, it was really played and if one of those men missed a note, he had a hundred lions on his hands."

For the most part women bands were treated as a novelty. Women instrumentalists were not taken seriously. For most women, the jazz scene did not provide the support necessary to develop as musicians. Instead of acceptance, support, and encouragement, they went unrewarded, ridiculed, or ignored.

Recently Driggs saw Ernestine "Tiny" Davis working in a dive in Chicago. It was obvious to him that she was just trying to get through the night.

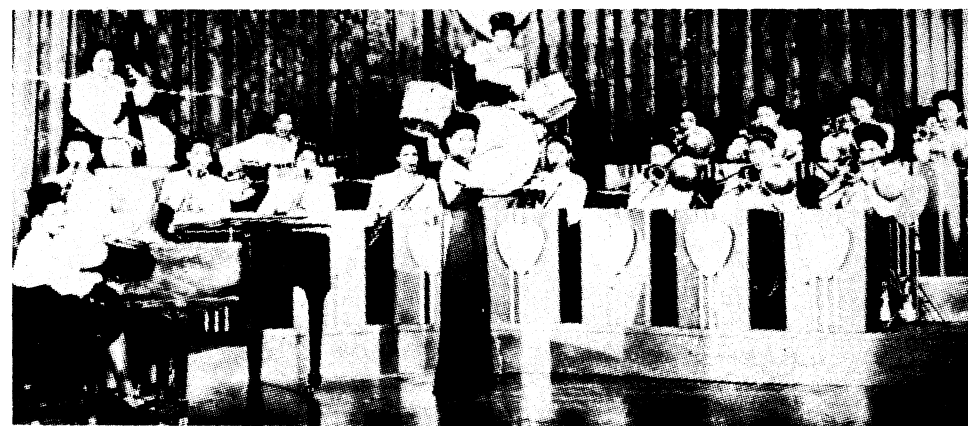
Davis was a highly touted trumpet player from Kansas City. But as Driggs complains, "I've read every issue of *Downbeat* and *Metronome* for the past thirty-five years or so and never saw a story on Tiny Davis, or for that matter too many of the other gifted women in the jazz world. There are plenty of fine male trumpet players not working, so imagine what it must be like for a woman trumpet player?"

"In 1978 there is to be a major woman's jazz festival to be held in Kansas City," Driggs reports. "This is a first and it seems at long last that women may finally be given some of their due, not just as novelties but as players and long-time contributors to the mainstream of American music."

Thanks to Bernard Brightman, founder of Stash Records (Post Office Box 390, Brooklyn, New York 11215) for producing this retrospective. It is a beautifully designed double album containing thirty-four performances by twenty-six groups and individuals.

The albums and pamphlet can be mail-ordered from Stash Records. A free discography and catalogue of other outstanding Stash releases can be had by sending a self-addressed envelope.

—Michael Smith



**The International Sweethearts of Rhythm.** Probably the best among countless big and small bands made up entirely of women who rode buses on one-night stands and played theater, ballroom, and hotel engagements for more than two decades.

## Music

jazz seventy-odd years ago, the music business has rewarded them very rarely."

The pioneer women instrumentalists were for the most part pianists. There was less prejudice against them playing the piano than any other instrument. (Because the piano was so associated with women, Jelly Roll Morton told of lacing his songs with "smutty" words so as to not be thought of as a "sissy.")

But, as the selections on *Jazz Women: A Feminist Retrospective*

## 'HAYMARKET'

The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs. Edited and introduced by Philip S. Foner. Monad Press. Distributed by Pathfinder Press. 198 pages. \$3.95 paper.

## Books

One of the pleasures of being a high school student in Newark, New Jersey, forty or fifty years ago was that you

could go to the top floor of the public library (then its only closed section) and find books written and published more than a century before. History seemed to come alive again as you read the yellowing pages.

The same sensation can be felt from reading *The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs*.

It is not literally an old book, having just been republished as a paperback by Monad Press. But it draws you into a bygone era and gives you a strong feeling of what it was like.

Foner's introduction supplies the background of the dramatic Haymarket case of 1886, when eight men in Chicago were framed up on murder charges because of their participation in the militant struggles of the workers for the eight-hour day and other demands that were radical in that period.

But the book itself consists of brief autobiographies written by these heroic martyrs of the working class: Lingg, who committed suicide; Parsons, Spies, Engel, and Fischer, who were hanged; and Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe who were later pardoned when the capitalist witch-hunt had died down.

The eight men each tell what made them socialists; and you get a glimpse of the conditions of the workers in

those days. In some of the short sketches the authors explain why they became anarcho-communists; and you get an idea of the political differences that divided the early Marxist movement. They talk of their activities propagandizing for socialism and organizing workers in the struggle for the eight-hour day. And a picture is supplied of the daily activities of dedicated revolutionists of that time.

Even the added introduction by Captain W. P. Black, their lawyer, written in the florid style of orators of the day, adds to the canvas of "living history."

We are grateful to Philip Foner for resurrecting this vivid account of radical life in the 1880s and to Monad Press for making it available in paperback.

—Dorothy Breitman



## Adding insult to injury

Last week I described the injury: six abortion clinics set on fire and two others seriously vandalized in the past year. From Alaska to New York clinics have been invaded and their patients harassed by people who object to women's right to choose abortion.

Now comes the insult. Nellie Gray, head of the anti-abortion "March for Life," claims the attacks "could have been by distraught abortees and friends or clinic employees."

What an insult! Not just to women, but to common intelligence.

In several cases people have been arrested for the attacks. We know who they are. In Fairfax, Virginia, for example, six people were arrested for occupying the Northern Virginia Women's Center. A few months later four more were arrested—the clinic being the target of repeated occupations.

Were the culprits distraught patients? Underpaid nurses?

No. The invasions were staged by anti-abortion vigilantes. In fact, the apparently sympathetic judges who tried the protesters acquitted them on the basis of their anti-abortion ideas. Believe it or not, one judge explained that the invaders "had a

good-faith belief that their actions were necessary to save lives."

The head of the Illinois Right to Life Committee tried another line. "It's just as likely that irate clients attacked clinics for bad operations or that competitive abortion clinics are involved," he said.

That is in keeping with anti-abortion groups' attempts to portray medical abortions as sinister and dangerous. To hear the so-called Right to Life people talk, you'd think every doctor doing abortions is a greedy quack with dirty fingernails.

That is the lie written into the new Akron, Ohio, abortion law. Women seeking abortions in that city must be warned of "potentially grave physical and psychological complications which can result" from abortion.

Actually, statistics show that an abortion done in the first three months of pregnancy is almost nine times safer than childbirth for a woman.

The main reason abortion previously seemed so dangerous was that it was illegal. Women resorting to home remedies or back-alley abortionists did face "grave physical and psychological complications." Illegal abortion has a medical complication rate ten times that of legal abortion.

Why are anti-abortionists trying to blame women

### Diane Wang



and clinics for the attacks? They often resort to lies, but why such absurd ones this time?

One reason is that the more "respectable" anti-abortionists are anxious to dissociate themselves from their terrorist colleagues. But people like Nellie Gray *do* bear responsibility for the attacks. And not just because the 1976 Right to Life convention included a workshop on "How to Disrupt an Abortion Clinic."

The anti-abortion violence reminds me of the racist attacks in Boston a few years ago. Demagogues like Louise Day Hicks stirred up racist mobs while the city and national government looked the other way. Then, when mobs went out and tried to lynch Blacks, Hicks, Boston Mayor Kevin White, and President Ford all shed big crocodile tears. They claimed innocence.

In the same way, the Right to Life and March for Life groups demagogically cry that abortion is "murder" that must be stopped at all costs. In the White House, President Carter agrees that "life is unfair" so poor women should be denied abortions. In the courts, compassionate judges let the arsonists off scot free.

With all that encouragement, what more could the anti-abortion bigots ask?

## Capitalism Fouls Things Up

## Green light for supertankers

This may not come as a big surprise, but the U.S. Supreme Court values oil company profits over a clean environment.

In case you needed to be convinced, six of the nine justices ruled March 6 that neither safety nor environmental considerations are sufficient grounds for barring supertankers from Washington State's Puget Sound.

The court told the Atlantic Richfield oil company it could ignore restrictions on tankers laid down by the state. In fact, the court declared, the rules were downright unconstitutional.

Public pressure had forced the state to keep any tankers hauling more than 125,000 tons of oil out of Puget Sound. Much of the state's population lives along the sound, and they prefer clean beaches and live birds to the damage caused by oil spills.

But ARCO and the other oil giants have other concerns, principally hauling the oil riches from the Alaska pipeline. Oil is carried cheapest in the biggest tankers, which are precisely the most dangerous in case of an accidental oil spill.

Puget Sound residents' concern was understand-

able. The average day brings ten new tanker accidents somewhere in the world.

Big oil spills are hardly unknown. There was a string of spills at the end of 1976 and beginning of 1977. The worst was the *Argo Merchant* disaster, when 7.5 million gallons of oil were dumped into the Atlantic Ocean.

(The largest spill to date was in 1967, when the *Torrey Canyon* broke up off the English coast and spilled 30 million gallons. Another tanker went aground off South America in 1974 and lost 15 million gallons.)

The *Argo Merchant* was small potatoes. Large crude oil carriers now have a capacity of nearly 60 million gallons each, and the ultralarge can carry more than double that figure. What happens to Puget Sound if even a modest-sized, 35-million-gallon tanker runs aground or hits another ship?

The possibility is hardly far-fetched. National Academy of Sciences figures indicate that more than 1.4 billion gallons of oil (6 million tons, or 42 million barrels) spill each year. More than 200 tankers have had accidents since 1964.

### Arnold Weissberg



The Environmental Protection Agency estimates government cleanup of oil spills costs twenty-five dollars a gallon. Working people pay for it both ways. Not only is our money extorted at the gas pump by the oil monopolies, but *our* tax dollars have to clean up *their* mess.

The oil companies and the shipping companies would like us to think the fault lies with foreign-flag tankers, ships registered in Panama or Liberia. These ships are supposedly all rusty hulks with drunken captains and cutthroat crews.

But the average age of a U.S. ship is nearly twenty-two years—of Liberian ships, ten years.

"As a rule, the accident record doesn't follow the flag," commented Arthur McKenzie of the Tanker Advisory Center. "It follows the owner." And many of the owners of foreign-flag ships are U.S. companies.

The Supreme Court has openly stated what the capitalists and their government see as the priority in the clash between profits and a safe, clean environment—and it's not a safe, clean environment.

## The American Way of Life

## Close down Keysor!

Last month, sixty-five elementary school children put their names on a notebook-paper petition and sent it to their principal. It said, "Close Down Keysor. Save Saugus School Now ('78)."

Their school was being closed. The 400 students were being bused to other schools because large amounts of cancer-causing gas were being released from a Keysor-Century Corporation factory just 1,000 yards away.

The plant supplies raw materials used in manufacturing phonograph records. High levels of vinyl chloride, a gas proven to cause cancer, birth defects, even genetic mutations, are being emitted from the place. It is owned by the family of California State Rep. James Keysor (D—San Fernando).

When the decision to close Saugus School was announced, the Air Resources Board, the school

administration, and the factory owners all carefully skirted the obvious question: what happens to people who work in the plant and those who live in the area?

One parent expressed concern that no one seems too worried about the effects the vinyl chloride will have on the Mexican families living down the road from the plant, even closer to it than the school.

"Why didn't they just shut down the plant?" she asked.

Well, let's not be hasty. The option of closing the factory *was* considered, said the ARB chairman, but they decided against it "because of economic repercussions it would have on the community and the West Coast record-manufacturing industry."

Oh.

Keysor-Century was awarded a several-million-dollar state loan to conduct a "cleanup." They say it will take nine months to complete. This seems "reasonable," the ARB representative says.

But wouldn't it really be far more "reasonable" to immediately shut down the plant and do the cleanup, using the loan to continue giving the workers their salaries?

Not if you're a capitalist creating your own logic to justify reaping profits at any cost—including human life.

The children at Saugus may not win, but they cut through Keysor's cold-blooded argument with their simple demand: shut down the plant. Save Saugus. And the lives of hundreds of people exposed daily to the killer gas.

—Joanne Tortorici

## Quote unquote

"I will comply with the law. It'll be my job to read it and their job to ignore it."

—James Taranto, president of United Mine Workers Local 1269, on presenting Taft-Hartley to the local membership.

### AFL-CIO BACKS FARM STRIKE

On February 26 the executive council of the AFL-CIO announced its support for the farmers' strike. In an official policy statement, the council called on Carter and Congress to "seek speedy and effective solutions to the plight of family farmers."

The AFL-CIO endorsement can be an important step in rallying the broad labor support farmers need to win their strike demands. Last week Missouri farmers reached out for such support by coming to the aid of the striking coal miners with food donations.

### 'BAKKE' MEETINGS

On March 3, 120 people attended a Milwaukee meeting sponsored by the local Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision, a broad grouping of political and community organizations.

Among the speakers was Ralph Koenig, assistant director of United Auto Workers Region 10. The UAW has filed a court brief against *Bakke*.

Keynote speaker Herbert Hill, former national labor director of the NAACP, told the audience that special programs and quotas "are necessary to break up the racist and sexist patterns that have permeated our institutions—to include



More than 500 students and teachers from Hostos Community College in New York City demonstrated March 9 in the streets of the South Bronx. Hostos is the only bilingual college in the eastern United States.

The protesters called on the city to release funds to convert an additional building for classrooms. Facilities are so crowded students are forced to study in cars and hallways.

those who have been systematically excluded."

In New York, more than 350 people turned out for a March 13 teach-in on affirmative action sponsored by the New York University Coalition to Reverse the Bakke Decision.

Dick Gregory, well-known civil rights activist, was one of the featured speakers.

### ACTIVIST ARRESTED

New York cops arrested Puerto Rican independence activist Vicente Alba on March 12 when he attended a court hearing for a friend. In lieu of \$25,000 bail, Alba was held on

charges of allegedly possessing a gun.

Cops also claim to have found "material related to the FALN" on Alba. The FALN is a mysterious group that reportedly has taken credit for scores of bombings in the United States.

Alba's lawyer charged the case was "political," adding Alba was arrested for "who he is."

Last August, cops staged a highly publicized arrest of Alba and another activist in connection with an FALN bombing. The matter was quietly dropped after cops in

effect admitted they had no cause to arrest the activists to begin with.

### AKRON ABORTION LAW

Mayor John Ballard of Akron, Ohio, declared March 8 he would not veto the new restrictive abortion ordinance that has just been passed by the city council. Ballard piously proclaimed it would be best to resolve the issue in the courts, despite his own admission that the law may be unconstitutional.

The new law requires that any woman seeking an abortion be told that the fetus is "an unborn human life from the moment of conception" and be warned about possible "depression, guilt, or suicide" following the abortion.

The law also requires notifying a woman's husband of any abortion request.

### 2 BLACKS FACE EXECUTION

Utah State Prison is planning to simultaneously shoot Dale Pierre and William Andrews, both Black, on March 22. If carried out, this would be the first executions in the Uni-

ted States since the January 1977 Gary Gilmore execution in Utah. Lawyers for the two men plan appeals and expect to win stays.

Meanwhile, Imani (Johnny Harris), a Black death row prisoner in Alabama, came within three days of electrocution before winning a sixty-day stay from the federal courts March 7.

### FREE SAMI ESMAIL!

Demonstrations in several U.S. cities on March 12 and 13 called on the Israeli government to free Sami Esmail, a U.S. citizen of Palestinian descent who was arrested in Israel last December. Esmail was falsely accused of terrorist activity against Israel and was tortured.

In Dearborn, a suburb of Detroit, 175 people heard Arab community attorney Abdeen Jabara and other speakers at a rally March 12. "We must deal with the State Department's and FBI's complicity in Sami's arrest, torture, and trial," Jabara said.

Another speaker, David As-

## Voters say 'no thanks' to nuke

Voters in California's San Joaquin Valley registered a two-to-one majority against construction of a nuclear power plant March 8. Although the vote is not binding, officials generally conceded it meant the end of a plan to spend \$5 billion to build the world's largest nuclear plant.

The plant would have been owned by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power and several private utilities.

Proponents of the project asserted the vote was the result of local farmers' concerns about the availability of water. Also, it was argued, the Kern County voters just don't like Los Angeles.

While the water issue is a real one, the overwhelming "no" vote is a sign of growing concern about radioactive waste and the other dangers of nuclear power. As California's Governor Brown noted, the vote will "send a few chills" through utility companies.

# What's Going On

## ARIZONA

### PHOENIX

**FRENCH ELECTIONS: THEIR MEANING FOR SOCIALISTS.** Speaker: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1. Aup.: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

## CALIFORNIA

**LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST SON OF S.I.: THE THREAT OF POLICE-STATE LEGISLATION.** Speaker: Joseph Friedman, cochair, committee on national legislation, So. Calif. ACLU. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

## ILLINOIS

**CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE THE FIGHT FOR DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS IN CHICAGO.** Speakers: Cecil Lampkin, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Mar. 24, 7:30 p.m. 2251 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### BOSTON

**ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON: NEW WAR DRIVE AGAINST PALESTINIANS.** Speakers: Peter Seidman, staff writer for the *Militant*; others. Fri., Mar. 24, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. (Kenmore subway stop on Green line). Donation: \$1. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

## MINNESOTA

### MINNEAPOLIS

**DEFEND ALL HUMAN RIGHTS: STOP ATTACKS ON GAYS AND LESBIANS.** Speaker: Alan Spear, Minn. state senator. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake. Donation: \$1. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

## NEW JERSEY

### NEWARK

**MY FIGHT FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM IN THE U.S.** Speaker: Hector Marroquin. Thurs., Mar. 23, 7:30 p.m. Main Lounge, Robeson Student Ctr., Rutgers Univ. Aup.: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW MEXICO

### ALBUQUERQUE

**NATIVE AMERICAN SOVEREIGNTY.** Speakers: John Redhouse, National Indian Youth Council; Lisa Chavez, Kiva Club; Regis Pecos, Americans for Indian Opportunity. Thurs., Mar. 23, 7:30 p.m. Student Union Bldg., Univ. of N.M. Donation: \$1. Aup.: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (505) 255-6869.

## NEW YORK

### NYC: BROOKLYN

**NICARAGUA: THE END FOR SOM-OZA?** Speaker: Fred Murphy, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

**NYC: LOWER EAST SIDE EYEWITNESS REPORTS FROM THE DAVIS CUP PROTESTS.** Speakers: Eli Green, SCAR; Waverly Howard, Lower East Side community activist; Joe Jack-

son, AFSCME. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 7 Clinton St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup.: *Libreria Militante*. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

**NYC: UPPER WEST SIDE NICARAGUA: LATIN-AMERICAN UPRHEAVAL.** Speaker: Eduardo Medrano, staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. (98th St.). Donation: \$1.50. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

**NEW YORK CITY SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Hear New York Socialist Workers candidates. Sat., April 1, 7 p.m. social hour, 8 p.m. rally, 10 p.m. party. Millbank Chapel, Columbia Teachers Coll., 525 W. 120th St. (at Broadway-IRT local to 116th St.). Donation: \$3, includes rally and party. Aup.: Socialist Workers Campaign '78. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

## OHIO

### CINCINNATI

**IN HONOR OF THE EASTER UPRISING: IRELAND IN REBELLION.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### PHILADELPHIA

**DEFEND THE MINERS! EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM THE COALFIELDS.** Speaker: Nancy Cole, staff writer for the *Militant*; unionists from steel, rail, and other industries. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. Assembly Rm. YMCA, 1421 Arch St. Donation: \$1. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 387-2828.

## WASHINGTON

### SEATTLE

**REPRESSION IN IRAN.** Speaker: Representative of Univ. of Wash. chapter of Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Fri., Mar. 31, 8 p.m. 2200 E. Union. Donation: \$1. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

### GEORGIA AVE.

**MINORITY WOMEN AND THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS.** Speakers on abortion, affirmative action, and forced sterilization. Fri., Mar. 24, 7:30 p.m. 105 Douglass Hall, Howard Univ. Donation: \$1.50. Aup.: Howard Univ. Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

## MT. PLEASANT

### POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE U.S.

Speakers: Richard Rosen, Nat'l Wilmington 10 Defense Comm.; Stuart Crome, Student Coalition Against Racism; Tony Grillo, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$1.50. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

## WISCONSIN

### MILWAUKEE

**THE ANTIAPARTHEID MOVEMENT TODAY: REPORT BACK FROM THE NASHVILLE DAVIS CUP DEMONSTRATION.** Speakers: representatives from Socialist Workers Party and other organizations. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

## Forums on the miners

### BALTIMORE

"Taft-Hartley, government seizure, and the right to strike: what's at stake in the miners' struggle." Speaker: Jim Gotesky, member of USWA Local 14019 and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

### CHICAGO

"Miners' solidarity benefit and tribute to UMW women's clubs." Speakers: Lois Scott, Brookside, Ky., Women's Club; Golda Curry, pres., Cumberland, Ky., Women's Club; film, *Harlan County, USA*. Sat., Mar. 25, 7:30 p.m. Blackstone Hotel. Donation: \$3.

### LOS ANGELES

"Miners strike: turning point for labor." Eyewitness report from the coalfields by Fred Halstead, SWP candidate

for governor of California. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East L.A. Donation: \$1. Aup.: Socialist Workers '78 Calif. Campaign and Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

### ST. PAUL

"Coal miners' strike: Taft-Hartley vs. workers' rights." Speakers to be announced. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 176 Western Ave. North. Donation: \$1.25. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

### SEATTLE

"The miners' strike and the labor movement today." Speaker: Louis Cobet, AFSCME Local 1488 and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 24, 8 p.m. 2820 E. Cherry. Donation: \$1. Aup.: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7404.



sad, told the crowd, "The FBI is keeping files on American citizens and their legal activities and is trading them off to foreign governments."

The action was sponsored by the National Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail.

Demonstrators picketed the Israeli consulates in New York and Boston on March 13.

#### NAZI VIOLENCE

A Nazi thug stabbed a woman who was attending a meeting of the Detroit Labor-Community-Interfaith Committee to Get the Nazis Out on February 19.

Before the meeting began, four Nazis were asked to leave the hall. Once outside, one of them pulled a knife on Jan Friedman and slashed open her leg. She was rushed to the hospital for treatment.

United Auto Workers Local 600 initiated the broad-based Committee to Get the Nazis

Out in response to the establishment of a Nazi bookstore and organizing center on Detroit's southwest side. More than 400 people attended the committee's third meeting March 12.

#### VIEQUES RETREAT

On March 13 President Carter moved to North Carolina war games that would have been held next May on Vieques Island, part of Puerto Rico. Protests by Vieques fishermen and other groups recently forced a temporary halt to similar activities. Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló has asked the U.S. District Court in San Juan to ban any future war games on Vieques.

U.S. target practice near inhabited areas has outraged Puerto Ricans, who view this as a symbol of the U.S. government's total disregard for the wishes and welfare of the Puerto Rican people.

### South Africa protests



The Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO) has established a special union fund to defend Juby Mayet and Phillip Mtinkulu, two members of the banned Union of Black Journalists in South Africa.

One hundred students picketed the March 10 meeting of the University of Washington Board of Regents in Seattle to protest the investment of university funds in corporations doing business in South Africa. The administration has ignored the two-to-one decision by the student body to end university complicity with the apartheid regime.

At the University of Chicago, 200 students and faculty held a rally on February 24 to demand the university divest itself of corporate holdings in South Africa.

United Steelworkers Local 65 in Chicago held a special meeting February 25 to demonstrate solidarity with the South African freedom struggle. More than 250 steelworkers and their families heard representatives of the striking United Mine Workers, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) blast the apartheid government.

"We are not only racially oppressed by apartheid but economically exploited as well," Enver Domingo, an exiled SACTU leader, explained. To win economic and political rights, the "mass power of the oppressed" must be mobilized against the government, he added.

**What is Stalinism? What was the meaning of Khrushchev's 1956 attack on Stalin? How will antibureaucratic revolutions take place in the Stalinist-ruled countries?**

Growing agreement on the answers to these questions spurred the 1963 reunification of the Fourth International.

This volume includes "Revolution in Hungary and the Crisis of Stalinism," "The New Stage in the Russian Revolution," Farrell Dobbs's "Trends in the World Revolution," and other documents.

#### EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS

The Struggle to Reunify the Fourth International (1954-63): Volume II

"De-Stalinization," the Hungarian Revolution, and World Trotskyism (Documents, 1955-57)



64 pages. \$2.00. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

# The Great Society

## Harry Ring



**The march of science—**"Controversial," "nothing less than startling," reports the *Los Angeles Times* about the findings of "a little known" sociologist who used "complex computer analysis techniques" to establish that unemployment contributes directly to such problems as crime, drugs, alcoholism, and heart disease.

**Lots of chiefs—**As a result of massive layoffs of municipal workers—all in the lower echelons, natch—New York now has an estimated 3,000 management-level employees with nobody to boss around. They're drawing at least \$90 million a year in salaries.

**American Way—**Herbert Allen, the investment banker who controls Columbia Pictures, explained to a reporter what was involved with David Begelman, the Columbia studio chief who admitted to financial irregularities. Pointing to the busy floor of the Stock Exchange, Allen said: "Look, we trade every day out there with hustlers, deal makers, shysters, con men. That's the way businesses get

started. That's the way this country was built."

**Fashion note—**We regretted not being invited to the opening of Neiman-Marcus's first California store down at Newport Beach. Particularly since an opening feature was the new Yves St. Laurent "Broadway suit." \$9,995.

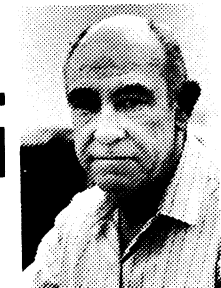
**Tight ship—**King Khaled of Saudi Arabia hired a British baronet to skipper his new \$14-million yacht. But he won't be permitted to bring his spouse aboard.



"Why don't you look at it this way, Mrs. Peters—prices are lower today than they ever will be."

## National Picket Line

### Frank Lovell



## Changing times

This week Frank Lovell writes his final 'National Picket Line.' He will continue to contribute regularly to the 'Militant,' devoting the majority of his time to in-depth articles on developments in the labor movement.

—The Editors

The "National Picket Line," a longtime feature of the *Militant*, has undergone changes over the years and is now reverting to its original format and purpose. Instead of a labor column of analysis and opinion, which it has been in recent years, it will once again become a column of news items about the labor movement.

Marvel Scholl, a frequent contributor to the "National Picket Line" and one of its originators, told me recently that the labor news column idea was used when she wrote for the Minneapolis Teamster paper, *Northwest Organizer*. It wasn't a new idea then, but it came in handy.

There was a need in the union paper for a weekly roundup of labor news, and she began writing such a column in 1937.

When Marvel and Farrell Dobbs moved to New York in 1940, she thought the *Militant* could be improved by a weekly roundup of union news. During World War II such a column appeared. The name that it eventually adopted, the "National Picket Line," came later.

It gave a rundown of what was happening at the time, news items of interest then and today. In the *Militant* of September 17, 1962, for example, the "National Picket Line" reported that the AFL-CIO was preparing to launch an organizing drive. It said, "In Los Angeles, only 42 percent of the workers in the oil, chemical and rubber industries are organized; only 40 percent in metals and machinery, 26 percent in apparel and 13 percent in wholesale and retail trade." Less than 25 percent of all workers are in unions today, and the AFL-CIO is still preparing to launch an organizing drive.

The "National Picket Line" of September 14, 1964, carried the following item: "Fist fights broke out on the floor of the United Mine Workers convention in Miami Beach last week as the machine of UMW President W.A. Boyle was de-

nounced by delegates angry over Boyle's refusal to authorize strikes." Miners are still fighting for the right to strike, the good fight that deserves full support from all workers everywhere.

At the beginning of the 1970s Marvel and I shared the "National Picket Line," and at that time its character changed. The editors of the *Militant* felt that significant new developments in the union movement ought to be explained, or at least commented upon, regularly as events occurred. We got the assignment.

In 1971 Marvel wrote several pieces on the movement to democratize the Mine Workers union. One column was on Boyle's antiunion record. At the same time I undertook to write about the railroad workers, who were then under attack from the Nixon administration and Congress. They were being victimized by antistrike laws as the miners are today.

During the past six or seven years the "National Picket Line" has become a regular feature of the *Militant*, sometimes running contributions from guest writers who work in industry or have special interest and experience in the unions.

Recently we have received so many reports from workers in shops and assembly plants that we started a new column, "Union Talk."

New conditions, the sharpening of class relations, and the persistent attack by the employing class on the living conditions of workers, dictate changes in the way the *Militant* presents these new political developments. As always, such changes are made deliberately, after consultation and careful consideration. "Union Talk" will be heard more frequently. It will become a regular column written by workers in industry who have experiences and ideas to share with other workers.

The "National Picket Line" will no longer appear as labor commentary by myself and occasional guests, but from now on will be a column of news items prepared by members of the staff.

My contributions will appear as articles under my by-line as in the past, the difference being that I now say goodbye to my close friend the "National Picket Line."

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the *Militant*, 1928-1978

## The Paris Commune



"The proletarians of Paris, amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of national affairs. . . . They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power."

Those were the words of the central committee of the National Guard of Paris on March 18, 1871—107 years ago. They ushered in the Paris Commune, the first workers government in history.

Like the Russian revolution forty-six years later, the Paris Commune came about as a result of war—in this case, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. During this war, Paris had undergone a four-month siege, and a National Guard of 300,000 had been built up.

This National Guard, which included virtually every able-bodied man in Paris, not only took responsibility for the defense of Paris during the siege, but also made proposals for governing the city. Its elected leadership met in local, and later in city-wide bodies.

Through the central committee of the National Guard, the workers, soldiers, and artisans called for the abolition of the existing police and judiciary and the election of all municipal authorities. They demanded that private hoards of food be expropriated and that food supplies be distributed equitably from a central fund. They called for the election of local committees to supervise this process, and to ensure that every family had adequate lodging.

As a result of the radicalization of the Parisian workers, the French capitalists were soon considerably more afraid of their own working class than of the German army. Otto von Bismarck, the brain behind the Kaiser's throne, advised French Foreign Minister Jules Favre, "Provoke the insurrection while you still have the power, in order that you may crush it for good."

In keeping with this advice, a series of provocations against the Parisian population were carried out by the capitalist government. On March 10, 1871, the National Assembly canceled the moratorium on payment of rents and other debts instituted at the beginning of the siege, and cut off the pay of the National Guard—the sole source of sustenance for many Parisians.

Further provocations culminated on March 18 with the dispatch of 18,000 government soldiers under orders to seize the artillery of the National Guard, which had been paid for by donations from the

Parisian workers. Met by crowds of protesters led by women, the troops refused to open fire. That day, the central committee of the National Guard proclaimed the Commune.

Elected by 275,000 Parisians on March 26, the Commune's first decree was the abolition of the standing army and its replacement by the armed populace. Other decrees quickly followed: complete separation of church and state, establishment of worker-owned cooperatives, elimination of night work for bakers, and participation of workers in setting job conditions, to name a few.

According to a hostile report on the ferment in Paris in the May 6, 1871, *London Times*, "Clubs, too, are cropping up on all sides—clubs for discussion of political affairs, clubs for disseminating inflammatory and irreligious sentiments, clubs for men and clubs for women."

But the leaders of this working-class rebellion thought that they could coexist with the government of the capitalist exploiters headquartered in Versailles. And so the chance to march on Versailles and disperse the bourgeois National Assembly and its army was lost.

The result was that in May the armies of the Versailles government entered Paris. By May 28, with the fall of the Commune, the army had shot at least 20,000 Parisians. More than 30,000 others were arrested and later jailed, deported, or executed.

For Karl Marx, and Frederick Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, the Paris Commune was proof that the working class had to smash the machinery of the capitalist state—or in turn be smashed by it.

Marx and Engels had drawn this conclusion during the upheavals of 1848-51, but the Commune confirmed that view. At the same time, the Commune showed some of the characteristics of the workers government that would replace the exploiters' state machine.

In his writings on *The Civil War in France*, Marx stressed that the members of the Commune were elected for short terms, subject to recall at all times, and that "From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at *workmen's wages*. The vested interests . . . of the high dignitaries of state disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves."

Although the Commune was crushed within two months of its birth, its heroic example lives on. The Socialist Workers Party has built on that tradition, and when the American working class finally establishes its own government, it will owe a debt to the workers of Paris.

—David Frankel

## Letters

### Well-informed year

I appreciate your extensive coverage of issues that other periodicals ignore, especially women's and gays' issues. Thanks, I look forward to a well-informed year.

S.R.B.

Houston, Texas

The paper serves as a first-rate window onto the American class struggle. I think I can speak for Canadian Trotskyists in saying we're glad the *Militant* gets around. Barry Weisleder

Winnipeg, Canada

### Forced sterilization

The March 3 *Militant* article on the case of Skyhorse and Mohawk ends with the sentence: "A third demand of the rally was for an end to forced sterilization of Native American women."

Maybe I am naïve or ignorant or both, but this piece of news is indeed shocking to me. Is it indeed possible that the most basic human and constitutional rights of American women should be so violated?

Please let me know whatever information you have on this. That women, any women, for whatever reasons, should be made sterile against their will or constrained to give their consent to such procedures is an outrage that places us as a nation in a position no better than that of Nazi Germany.

A.C. Jimenez

Miami, Florida

[In reply—A congressional investigation conducted in 1976 by the U.S. General Accounting Office documented that more than 3,200 American Indian women and 142 Indian men had been sterilized by the government's Indian Health Service in the three-year period between 1973 and 1976. Of these, thirty-six were under the age of twenty-one, and more than 3,000 were between fifteen and forty-four years old.

[According to the May 2, 1977, *Los Angeles Times* report on this study, the GAO found that the Indian Health Service "did not inform the women that they had a right to refuse sterilization."

[In an interview with the *National Catholic Reporter*, Dr. Constance Uri, a Cherokee who has been active in Indian health reforms, said Indian women typically have been pressured into sterilizations. "In almost every situation the woman is talked into it in a very authoritarian or coerced manner," often, she added, while heavily sedated.]

### Book on welfare

The *Militant's* readers may be interested to know that Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, authors of *Poor People's Movements*, reviewed in the February 24 *Militant*, are also authors of *Regulating The Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, the best existing study of the history of the American welfare system. It is available as a Vintage paperback. Walter Lippmann

Los Angeles, California

### From Canadian socialist

With this renewal I wish to extend my congratulations to you on the success you experienced with the *Militant* circulation drive.

### Sharing 'Militant' ideas

Although I am not a member of the Socialist Workers Party, I am a subscriber to the *Militant*, and I appreciate its anticapitalist perspectives. I am also a supporter of a variety of causes—from the coal miners' strike to the fight to halt nuclear power plants—and I use my contributions to those organizations as a way of sharing the *Militant's* ideas.

Each time I send off a donation I enclose an article from the pages of the *Militant* that is relevant to the organization to which I am contributing. I feel that the articles establish my contribution in a broader context of social struggle and call to people's attention the support the SWP brings to their causes.

Jo Anne Baughan

New Orleans, Louisiana

### S. African writes

Once again, the racist South African regime of John Vorster is planning to deny the Blacks one of their fundamental rights, that of citizenship. After the creation of the so-called homelands, which the majority of the people have rejected, the racist regime assured Blacks in urban areas that they will remain citizens of South Africa after the bogus independence of the homelands.

The homelands are in essence labor reservoirs for capitalist exploitation. The regime, together with the multinational corporations operating in South Africa, is definitely benefiting, whilst America and other white powers continue to prattle on in a hypocritical tone about justice and human rights of all people.

The Western powers by now should know that the only way to take workable measures against South Africa is to isolate the regime totally from the international scene both economically and politically. In analysis, however, the nature of the political systems of the Western powers is equivalent to that of South Africa—economic and political exploitation of the working class.

The economic and political support given to South Africa enables it to boost up its atrocious attacks on the rights of the Blacks. The duty to further expose the racist regime and its allies is left in the hands of all the struggling masses of the world.

We can help usher in this historical task (of exposing the racist regime and its allies) by actively opposing any plans or programs that aid South Africa, by constantly opposing the acceptance of the South African status quo, by organizing selective boycotts and demonstrations against



# Learning About Socialism

## SWP leaders discuss education

those banks and companies that boost up the racist regime politically and economically. T.M.  
Houston, Texas

### From Marion Prison

There has been no change in the control unit here at the Marion federal prison. They have put TV in every cell in the control unit. The real story about the control unit is that there is still harassment, cold food is served by the officials, and the suicide rate here is five times the rate in all other prisons in the federal system.

We need people's help from the outside. For those of you who want to support us, write to Judge James Foreman urging him to close down the Marion control unit. Write to U.S. District Court, 750 Missouri Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois 62202.

For more information, contact the National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers, 4556A Oakland, St. Louis, Missouri 63110.

A prisoner  
Marion, Illinois

### Drug hoax

I am forwarding Diane Wang's column "A 'delicate' matter" (February 24 *Militant*) to the U.S. editor of the medical journal *The Lancet*. [Wang's article condemns the Morton-Norwich company's advertising hoax, which encourages Latin American women to use Norforms vaginal deodorant as a contraceptive.]

Such insensitivity to the health and lives of our South American sisters and brothers as seems to be displayed by the capitalist drug manufacturers deserves to be exposed and immediately stopped.

How many unwanted pregnancies Morton-Norwich caused among Chicanas who believed that Norform vaginal suppositories were a contraceptive will probably never be known.

Michele Mooney  
Los Angeles, California

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

### Correction

A proofreading error changed the meaning of a sentence in George Breitman's review of *The Never-Ending Wrong* by Katherine Anne Porter that appeared in the March 17 *Militant*. The sentence should have read, "During the thirty-nine minutes it took to read this book about the Sacco-Vanzetti case, I kept trying to choose between 'pathetic' and 'disgraceful' to describe it."

Education was a major topic of discussion last month at the meeting of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, the elected leadership of the party. In explaining the national committee's unanimous decision to qualitatively deepen the SWP's involvement in the struggles and organizations of industrial workers, National Secretary Jack Barnes said:

"We must now put a greater stress on education. Like the working class itself, our members have a great need and a great desire for education. We have to read, talk, and think about how to explain our ideas. To keep up with the workers we're talking to, we ourselves have to learn more."

The reports and discussion at the meeting reflected this increased stress. In her report on the organizational tasks of the SWP, *Militant* Editor Mary-Alice Waters pointed to "the tremendous thirst for education in the party." She urged branch leaders to organize their responsibilities to allow more time for reading and study. Noting that many members often find themselves swamped with tasks ranging from organizing meetings to answering telephones, Waters explained that it takes conscious and systematic planning to make it possible for people to read and think for an hour.

One of the best ways for SWP members who have been in the party for several years to advance their own education is to teach classes on Marxism. "You learn more by preparing to lead a class on James P. Cannon's *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* or Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism* than by simply rereading them yourself," Waters said.

Her report homed in on several educational tasks.

One was a proposal to organize regional educational conferences around the country in the early weeks of May. These would involve SWP branches and chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance in several cities. Combining the resources of several branches will make it possible to organize a more ambitious educational program and to invite national speakers to participate.

Waters also proposed that more attention be given to the educational period many SWP branches schedule as part of the agenda of their weekly meetings. Such educationals have a special role to play, different from that of a weekly class series. They should be aimed at a more thorough

presentation of, or background to, some current questions relevant to the week-by-week activities of the party.

Branch executive committees should plan such educationals, Waters said, so that "we all leave our branch meetings feeling more comfortable about going out and talking socialism to our co-workers."

Similar consistent attention is needed to organize education in the SWP branches. "To organize a good education program takes time and preparation. The choice of someone to head up this responsibility is not the last assignment the executive committee should think about; it has to be one of the first. It has to be a leader of the branch, someone who will be able to take the time to put together a program that helps us all to better understand the political questions we are facing."

Finally, the report suggested some themes for party education in the weekly classes, regional conferences, and summer schools to be held in the coming months.

"The first is what kind of party are we trying to build? What are the origins and history of the proletarian party in the United States and internationally? We think one of the most fruitful ways to approach this question is by organizing classes around some of the writings of James P. Cannon [the founding leader of American Trotskyism].

"A second theme could be described as the revolutionary strategy of the working class. This can best be summed up as the struggle for the political independence of the working class—a struggle which takes many forms. In the United States today it is concretized around the question of the labor party and the implications that has for every sector of society and every social issue.

"One of the best ways to approach this is around the axis of the transitional program, particularly the discussions Trotsky had with leaders of the SWP about the program. [Available in a 1977 edition of *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* published by Pathfinder Press.]

"These can be studied together with excerpts from Trotsky's *The History of the Russian Revolution* or the section on "Labor's Strategic Line of March" in *Prospects for Socialism in America*. The national education committee will be preparing study materials on this in time for our summer education program."

—Fred Feldman  
and Paul Montauk

## 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: SWP, 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 Castroville 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

## What next in S. Africa solidarity fight?

By Omari Musa

Sentiment among the American people demanding the U.S. government, banks, and corporations break all ties with South Africa's apartheid regime continues to spread. This despite claims from the Carter administration and business executives that the presence of U.S. firms and U.S. government dealings with South Africa help

### FOR FURTHER COVERAGE SEE:

- *South African freedom fighter dies, page 21;*
- *Apartheid regime releases ten political prisoners, page 21;*
- *Sports, politics, and free speech, page 20.*

"moderate" that government's racist policies.

That this rhetoric is designed to hide the real policy of the U.S. toward South Africa has become clearer to millions since the Carter administration vetoed last fall United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa.

Despite the brutal murder of Black South African leader Steve Biko and the apartheid regime's massive crackdown, U.S. Ambassador to the UN Andrew Young, after voting against the sanctions, said "We cannot win the progress we want without holding out some hope of reconciliation in return."

The reality of the Carter administration's policy is the continued defense of the huge investments and profits of U.S. corporations and banks in South Africa.

U.S. banks have more than \$2.2 billion in loans outstanding to the South African government. According to most accounts, U.S. banks provide a third of all international credits to South Africa.

Furthermore, U.S. corporations have more than \$1.7 billion invested in South Africa. These firms reap huge profits from the exploitation of cheap Black labor. In 1974 U.S. companies received a 19.1 percent return on their South African investments, compared to a world average of 11 percent.

The U.S. government also makes direct contributions to South Africa's economic well-being. The government-controlled Export-Import Bank has \$200 million in aid outstanding to the apartheid regime.

The International Monetary Fund, an international financial consortium controlled by the major capitalist countries, approved credit authorizations for Pretoria totaling more than \$366 million in 1976.

These facts and the sheer brutality of the South African government have fueled the sentiment demanding an end to U.S. ties with the white minority regime.

One expression of this deepening sentiment is the NAACP-sponsored March Against Racism in South Africa in Nashville March 18. The demonstration was called to protest South Africa's participation in the Davis Cup tennis matches, the U.S. Tennis Association's sanction of the matches, and Vanderbilt University's complicity with apartheid in hosting the tournament.

The call for the March Against Racism in South Africa accompanied a shift in the NAACP's position on U.S. corporations and banks investing in South Africa.

The NAACP now demands the total withdrawal of U.S. corporations from South Africa. Its previous position was to urge these companies to stop further investment in South Africa until apartheid is abolished.

The NAACP is not the only organization to demand that U.S. businesses sever ties with South Africa.

### Unions condemn U.S. role

On March 3 United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser issued a statement saying, "the International Union will withdraw its funds from banks and financial institutions that participate in loans to South Africa, because of that country's racist, undemocratic political and economic practices."

Fraser also called on the Carter administration to take steps to "end all Export-Import Bank insurance, loan guarantees and discount loans in support of exports to South Africa."

He went on to say that "in cooperation with the International Metalworkers Federation the UAW is planning to expand assistance in the area of trade union education and organizational support for black [South African] metalworkers. . . ."

A week before the UAW statement appeared, the AFL-CIO Executive Council demanded that "U.S. corporations . . . immediately divest themselves of South African affiliates and sever all ties with South African corporations."

At its last meeting in December the executive council called on U.S. corporations in South Africa "to recognize South African trade unions and to begin treating black and white employees equally."

AFL-CIO President George Meany also threatened a "selective boycott" of South African exports if the apartheid regime continued its "intransigence."

Antipartheid activists in United Steelworkers of America Local 65 put into practice a motion opposing the South African regime passed at their district conference last October.

On February 25 the South Chicago local held a "South Africa Night."



Militant/Joanne Murphy

More than 250 people showed up for the meeting. Speakers included an exiled leader of the South African Congress of Trade Unions; a representative of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; and Bessie Lou Barker, a leader of the Brookside Women's Club in Harlan County, Kentucky.

### Same enemy

Trade-union solidarity with Black workers in South Africa will have an increasingly larger impact. A look at the biggest U.S. corporations reveal that they are the same ones workers here must battle for decent wages and working conditions. Ford, GM, IBM, Mobil Oil, Caltex (a joint Standard Oil of California and Texaco operation), Firestone Tire and Rubber, Goodyear, and General Electric are among the largest U.S. investors in South Africa.

Students have been the backbone of the movement demanding an end to U.S. complicity with the South African government.

They have discovered that universities across the country have huge investments in corporations with holdings in South Africa.

Student protests have brought the issue of campus complicity with apartheid into public view and forced some universities to get rid of these holdings.

### More actions needed

Students have also been in the forefront of organizing street demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Angola and Zaïre, and against repression in South Africa. Black students played a major role in organizing the African Liberation Day actions that have drawn thousands into action.

It is clear from the Nashville pro-

tests against the Davis Cup tennis match, from union actions like that of USWA Local 65, from campus struggles against university investment in companies doing business in South Africa, and from recent African Liberation Day demonstrations that thousands of people are ready to protest the role of the U.S. in propping up the South African regime.

The civil rights groups, trade unions, women's organizations, and student activists that have mounted these anti-apartheid actions have an important role to play. They can begin to draw into action the millions of Americans who support the Black freedom struggle in South Africa and oppose U.S. complicity with the South African regime.

By mounting more speakouts, conferences, debates, rallies, and demonstrations forces could be mobilized to demand an end to all U.S. economic and military ties with South Africa; freedom for the scores of Black activists under house arrest or jailed by the South African regime; the right of Black workers to organize and recognition of their unions; and Black majority rule.

Such protests and the depth of sentiment they represent are already a factor that Washington and American big business must take into consideration.

Continuing and expanding such protests could lay the basis for a united movement of all groups and individuals opposed to U.S. complicity with South Africa.

A movement of that sort would put even more pressure on the U.S. government, banks, and corporations to get out of South Africa and set a powerful example for antiapartheid forces around the world.